

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL
CONVENTION
OF
THE AMERICAN
FEDERATION OF LABOR



HELD AT HOUSTON, TEXAS
OCTOBER 3 TO 13 INCLUSIVE

1938



JUDD & DETWEILER
WASHINGTON, D. C.

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OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION

OF LABOR

1939

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DELEGATES

TO THE

Fifty-eighth Annual Convention

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
		44	Frank Gillmore, 25 West 45th Street, New York, New York.
		44	Ralph Whitehead, 25 West 45th Street, New York, New York.
Actors and Artistes, Associated	4	44	Leo Fischer, 25 West 45th Street, New York, New York.
		44	Mrs. Florence Marston, 25 West 45th Street, New York, New York.
Air Line Pilots' Association	1	10	David L. Behneke, 3145 West 63rd Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and	1	35	Joseph A. Mullaney, 41-32 Benham Street, Elmhurst, Long Island, New York.
		156	A. A. Myrup, 2719 North Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America	4	155	Joseph Schmidt, 2719 North Wilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		155	Peter Beisel, 153 Selma Avenue, Webster Grove, Missouri.
		155	J. Goldstone, 2401 Davidson Avenue, New York, New York.
		93	William C. Birthright, 1141 North Delaware Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen	5	93	Charles T. Crane, Room 407, Labor Temple, 4th and Jefferson Streets, Portland, Oregon.
		93	Anthony Merlino, 5 Cambridge Court, East Haven, Connecticut.
		93	Patrick H. Reagan, 509 Seward Street, Rochester, New York.
		93	John B. Robinson, 5524 Miller Avenue, Dallas, Texas.
Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance	1	16	Leo Abernathy, 303 Bessemer Building, 6th Street and Duquesne Way, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of	2	25	Roy Horn, 2922 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		25	John Pelkofer, 2328 West Orchard Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
		70	J. A. Franklin, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	4	70	J. N. Davis, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		70	Wm. E. Walter, 522 Brotherhood Block, Kansas City, Kansas.
		70	Harry Nacey, 162 East 23rd Street, New York, New York.
		58	John B. Haggerty, 307 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of	3	58	J. B. Prewitt, 310 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		58	Miss Anastasia Becker, 300 St. Louis Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.....	1	308	John J. Mars, 246 Summer Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United.....	3	140 140 140	Joseph Obergfell, 2347 Vine Street, Station E Box 28, Cincinnati, Ohio. Albert J. Kugler, 2474 Hudson Boulevard, Jersey City, New Jersey. Adam E. Zusi, 124 Maple Avenue, Irvington, New Jersey.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America.....	6	109 109 108 108 108 108	William J. Bowen, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Harry C. Bates, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Richard J. Gray, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. John J. Stretch, 910 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois. William J. Moran, care, Labor Advocate, El Paso, Texas. Edward L. Nolan, 360 State Building, San Francisco, California.
Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United.....	2	25 25	Frank Kasten, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Illinois. William Tracy, 1550 West 95th Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association.....	5	83 83 83 82 82	P. J. Morrin, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri. W. J. McCain, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri. J. H. Lyons, 1615 Syndicate Trust Building, St. Louis, Missouri. John J. Dempsey, 1415 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio. L. Morgan, 4514-a Manchester Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
Building Service Employees' International Union.....	6	110 110 110 110 109 109	George Sealise, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York. Wm. McFetridge, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois. Thomas Burke, 509 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Charles Hardy, 109 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California. Mathew Taylor, 202 South State Street, Chicago, Illinois. James J. Bambrick, 570 7th Avenue, New York, New York.
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway.....	4	163 163 162 162	Felix H. Knight, 107 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri. Irvin Barney, 5236 South Spaulding, Chicago, Illinois. Joseph Tremblay, 4431 Wellington, Verdun, Quebec, Canada. J. O. Holmgren, 11740 Wentworth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of.....	8	375 375 375 375 375 375 375 375	M. A. Hutcheson, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Indiana. Frank Duffy, Carpenters' Building, Indianapolis, Indiana. F. H. Garretson, 4147 Cass Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. John O'Donnell, 33-25 65th Place, Maspeth, Long Island, New York. Vic Ridgeway, 2301 San Jacinto Street, Houston, Texas. Harry Barbour, 130 Bartlett Street, Rochester, New York. John R. Stevenson, 4644 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois. Wm. J. Kelly, 1225 Farragut Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Cigarmakers' International Union of America.....	1	70	R. E. Van Horn, 604 Carpenters Building, Washington, D. C.
Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of.....	3	53 53 53	W. S. Gross, 1 West Linwood Boulevard, Kansas City, Missouri. John Zitello, 1740 East 12th Street, Rooms 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio. H. E. Greenwald, 1740 East 12th Street, Rooms 219-220, Cleveland, Ohio.
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office..	5	76 76 76 76	Leo E. George, 3851 31st Street, Mt. Rainier, Maryland. William I. Horner, 2244 North Vernon Street, Arlington, Virginia. George G. Case, 110 Westland Avenue, Rochester, New York. G. W. Strybos, P. O. Clerk, Houston, Texas. John C. Sweeney, 1673 Cedar Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway.....	3	304 303 303	H. R. Lyons, Marquette Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri. J. L. Dyer, M. & M. Building, Room 707, Houston, Texas. E. Z. Harris, 1225 Jackson Boulevard, Houston, Texas.
Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail.....	2	234 233	W. G. Desente, 175 Miramar Avenue, San Francisco, California. C. C. Coulter, Lock Drawer 248, Lafayette, Indiana.
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.....	1	14	E. W. Kearns, 1519 Tulane Street, Houston, Texas.
Draftsmen's Unions, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects and.....	1	18	C. L. Rosemund, 200 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of.....	7	250 250 250 250 250 250	D. W. Tracy, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. G. M. Bugniazet, 1200 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Chas. M. Paulsen, 4919 Cuyler Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Geo. A. Mulkey, 1406 Textile Tower, Seattle, Washington. E. J. Brown, 744 North 4th Street, Room 424, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. R. T. Moody, 1807 Spring Garden Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. G. R. Tschirn, 528 Bienville Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Elevator Constructors, International Union of.....	3	34 34 34	John C. MacDonald, 321 Tremont Street, Room 10, Boston, Massachusetts. F. B. Comfort, 20 West Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Harry Milton, 200 Guerrero Street, San Francisco, California.
Engineers, International Union of Operating.....	5	84 84 84 84	John Posschl, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Frank A. Fitzgerald, 1003 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. William P. Walsh, 11119 Clifton Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio. William E. Maloney, Room 718, 332 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Joseph S. Fay, Room 1101, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo.....	3	34 34 34	Frank H. Glenn, 3138 So. Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri. Matthew Woll, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York. Henry F. Schmal, 3138 South Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.

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ORGANIZATIONS'	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Fire Fighters, International Association of	3	100 100 100	Fred W. Baer, 207 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. John P. Redmond, 1837 North Austin Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. James A. Petris, 309 South Guthrie Avenue Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Firemen and Oilers, International Brother- hood of	4	64 64 63 63	John F. McNamara, 321 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts. John Clinton, Suite 1410, 350 S. Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois. James L. Kelley, 330 S. Wells Street, Suite 1410, Chicago, Illinois. Roy E. Seitz, 1280 West 3rd Street, Clevel- and, Ohio.
Foundry Employees, International Brother- hood of	1	35	Harold H. Hiley, 416 South 67 Street, Mil- waukee, Wisconsin.
Garment Workers of America, United.....	5	80 80 80 80 80	T. A. Rickert, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York. A. Adamski, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York. George C. Slater, 130 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois. J. P. McCurdy, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York. Mrs. D. A. Houck, Room 621, 45 Astor Place, New York, New York.
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	4	50 50 50 50	James Maloney, 1525-12 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. William W. Campbell, 157 Sherwood Avenue, Rochester, New York. Cecil Eklund, 1042 Sunset Boulevard, Hay- ward, California. Edgar Hann, 108 South Stricker Street, Baltimore, Maryland.
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window ..	1	12	Joseph Edgar Mayeur, Continental Building, 11 East Gay Street, Columbus, Ohio.
Glass Workers' Union, American Flint....	1	179	M. J. Gilooly, 204 Hardee Building, corner Huron and Jefferson Street, Toledo, Ohio
Government Employees, American Feder- ation of	3	71 71 70	Charles I. Stengle, 900 F Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. Cecil E. Custer, 900 F Street, N. W., Wash- ington, D. C. Berniece B. Heffner, 900 F Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The.....	1	50	Laurence Foley, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts.
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' In- ternational Union, United	4	57 56 56 56	Max Zaritsky, 245 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York. Herman Finkelstein, 245 Fifth Avenue, Room 1810 New York, New York. Max Goldman, 102 West 38th Street, New York, New York. Abraham Mendelowitz, 31 West 37th Street, New York, New York.
Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, Interna- tional	7	211 211 211 211 211 211 211	Joseph V. Moeschi, 25 School Street, Quincy, Massachusetts. Joseph Marshall, P. O. Box 355, San Fran- cisco, California. Herbert Rivers, 400-405 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. James Bove, 731 Bryant Park Building, 55 West 42nd Street, New York, New York. J. B. Etchison, 415 Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio. M. Carrosso, 100 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois. Homer J. Odell, Labor Temple, Houston, Texas.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION vii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Hotel and Restaurant Employes' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.....	7	252	Edward Flore, 426 Woodbridge Avenue, Buffalo, New York.
		252	Robert B. Heaketh, 528 Walnut Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		252	Chris. Lane, 184 West Canton Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
		252	Nat Messing, 21 Sumner Avenue, Brooklyn, New York.
		251	Emanuel Koveleski, 90 State Street, Rochester, New York.
		251	Louis Koenig, 201 Lawyers Building, Detroit, Michigan.
Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal.....	3	251	Miss Helen Caren, 167 Church Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
		27	William J. McSorley, 2605 Detroit Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
		27	George T. Moore, 5807 Cornelia Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Laundry Workers' International Union....	2	27	Chas. J. Case, Room 61, Leverone Building, 4 West 7th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		97	W. C. Brooks, Box 332, San Francisco, California.
Leather Workers' International Union, United.....	1	97	Dave Otter, 5544 West North Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		25	W. E. Bryan, 539 Bryan Place, Middleport, Ohio.
Letter Carriers, National Association of...	5	120	Edward F. Gainor, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		120	M. T. Finnan, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
		120	Luther E. Swartz, Stahlman Building, Nashville, Tennessee.
		120	Charles D. Duffy, 332 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		120	William J. Gorman, 2429 Cornelia Street, Brooklyn, New York.
Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural.....	1	6	Frank Meyer, Route 1, South Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada.....	3	38	Andrew J. Kennedy, 205 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		37	Robert Bruck, 1506 Jonquil Terrace, Chicago, Illinois.
		37	Fred W. Rose, 3829 Fillmore Street, St. Louis, Missouri.
Longshoremen's Association, International.....	3	208	Joseph P. Ryan, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York.
		208	Michael Dwyer, 1808 Avenue K, Galveston, Texas.
		208	John R. Owens, 19th Floor, 265 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y.
Machinists, International Association of..	6	317	H. W. Brown, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
		317	Charles Poe, Lynrose Hotel, 508 St. Charles Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
		317	A. H. Greener, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		317	Don M. Burrows, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		317	W. F. Robinson, Labor Temple, 11th and Marshall Streets, Richmond, Virginia.
		316	N. P. Alifas, Room 303, Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.
Maintenance of Way Employes, Brotherhood.....	5	105	R. H. Smith, 120 Gazette Building, Texarkana, Texas.
		105	E. E. Millman, 61 Putnam Avenue, Detroit, Michigan.
		105	J. J. Farnan, 1202 Belmont, South Bend, Indiana.
		104	Geo. H. Davis, 6 Cohen Building, 18 Pike Street, Covington, Kentucky.
		104	Louis Vogland, 815 Pence Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of.....	2	28	William McCarthy, Room 306, Bowen Building, 815 15th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		27	David Danahy, 321 East 73rd Street, New York, New York.
Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization.....	1	30	John J. Scully, Room 1103, 15 Moore Street, New York, New York.
		105	Patrick E. Gorman, 829 Eastern Parkway, Louisville, Kentucky.
		104	Dennis Lane, 160 North La Salle Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated.....	5	104	M. S. Maxwell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
		104	Earl W. Jimerson, 7554 Collinsville Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
		104	James Laverty, 128 North Wells Street, Chicago, Illinois.
		50	John J. Hynes, 642 Transportation Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet.....	4	50	James J. Ryan, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		49	James W. Close, 620 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		49	James T. Moriarty, 122 Bow Doin Street, Suite 23, Boston, Massachusetts.
Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive.....	2	175	Joe Ozanic, 744-747 Monadnock Block, 53 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
		175	C. E. Pearey, 744-747 Monadnock Block, 53 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Molders' Union of North America, International.....	4	70	Harry Stevenson, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		69	Jas. McConnell, 274 Vernor Highway, East, Detroit, Michigan.
		69	Henry Sternau, Box 699, Cincinnati, Ohio.
		69	Ed. Heisler, Room 216, Granite Building, 4th and Market Streets, St. Louis, Missouri.
		167	Joseph N. Weber, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		167	C. L. Bagley, 720 Washington Building, 311 South Spring Street, Los Angeles, California.
Musicians, American Federation of.....	6	167	Chauncey A. Weaver, 616 Insurance Exchange, Des Moines, Iowa.
		167	Edward Canavan, 1450 Broadway, New York, New York.
		166	Frank B. Field, 45 Lincoln Avenue, South Norwalk, Connecticut.
		166	Vincent Castronovo, 123 Sutton Street, Providence, Rhode Island.
		166	L. P. Lindelof, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
		166	Clarence E. Swick, Painters and Decorators Building, Lafayette, Indiana.
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of.....	6	166	John Oliver, 326 Stuyvesant Avenue, Newark, New Jersey.
		166	Christian M. Madsen, 3209 Evergreen Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
		165	James P. Meehan, 84 Towerhill, Lawrence, Massachusetts.
		165	Jos. F. Kelley, P. O. Box 433, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of.....	3	55	Matthew J. Burns, 217 Standard Building, 112 State Street, Albany, New York.
		54	Arthur Huggins, 112 State Street, Albany, New York.
		54	Frank P. Barry, 42 Front Street, Ballston, New York.
Pattern Makers' League of North America.....	1	68	George Q. Lynch, 311 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION 1x

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative....	4	48 48 48 47	M. J. Colleran, 401 West 263rd Street, Riverdale, Bronx, New York. M. J. McDonough, 411 Machinists Building, Washington, D. C. John E. Rooney, 15401 Grovewood Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio. Mike Reilly, 803 Salmon Drive, Dallas, Texas.
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of.	5	76 76 75 75 75	John Coefield, Machinists Building, 9th and Mt. Vernon, Washington, D. C. Thomas E. Burke, 9th and Mt. Vernon, Washington, D. C. Charles M. Rau, 408 South Leavitt Street, Chicago, Illinois. Chas. Anderson, 1901 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. William Fallon, 150 Virginia Street, Jersey City, New Jersey.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal.....	1	70	W. W. Britton, 48 Blymyer Building, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car.....	2	30 30	A. Philip Randolph, 36-38 West 135th Street, New York, New York. Milton P. Webster, 4231 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative.....	3	40 40 40	James M. Duffy, Box 6, East Liverpool, Ohio. E. L. Wheatley, Broad Street Bank Building, Room 215, Trenton, New Jersey. William Watkin, 605 Edgewood Avenue, East Liverpool, Ohio.
Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate.....	1	9	Joseph Draley, 1215 Kearney Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International.....	5	75 75 74 74 74	George L. Berry, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee. Joseph C. Orr, Pressmen's Home, Tennessee. Daniel C. Murphy, 90 Justin Drive, San Francisco, California. Albert Hunter, 4509½ Swiss Avenue, Dallas, Texas. F. A. Verhines, 1124 Jerome Street, Houston, Texas.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood.....	4	75 75 75 75	John P. Burke, Fort Edward, New York. H. W. Sullivan, 88 Brandon Road, Worcester, Massachusetts. Jack McLaughlan, 115 Bell Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. E. A. Mangan, 249 South High Street, Akron, Ohio.
Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric	6	132 132 132 132 131 131	Edward McMorrow, 260 East Vernor Highway, Detroit, Michigan. Joseph J. Kehoe, 328-338 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. Henry Nelson, 6146 Suburban Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. William T. Egan, 2 Franklin Street, Natick, Massachusetts. John J. Sherry, 2424 Kirkham Street, San Francisco, California. Frederick E. Griffin, 2070 Whyte Avenue, Vancouver, B. C., Canada.
Railway Mail Association.....	3	73 72 72	Henry W. Strickland, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. C. M. Harvey, 507 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C. William J. McCain, 111 Summit Street, Little Rock, Arkansas.

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ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition	2	20 20	George W. Jones, 1116 Washington Boulevard Oak Park, Illinois. J. M. Gaviak, 3091 Coleridge Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio.
Sheep Shearers' Union of North America ..	1	8	A. A. Evans, 14 West Platinum, Butte, Montana.
Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of	1	11	George L. Warfel, 3922 Wabash Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical	4	70 70 69 69	George E. Browne, 630 5th Avenue, New York, New York. John P. Nick, 4 South 8th Street, St. Louis, Missouri. Thomas Vincent Green, 210 Richelieu Terrace, Newark, New Jersey. E. J. Brock, 760 Hippodrome Building, Cleveland, Ohio.
State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of	4	50 50 50 50	Arnold S. Zander, Westmorland, Madison, Wisconsin. James M. Clancy, 1607 Ashland Avenue, St. Paul, Minnesota. H. F. Hillebrandt, % 615 Bank of Wisconsin Building, Madison, Wisconsin. Frank C. Snyder, 4022 Walker Street, Toledo, Ohio.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	2	44 43	Leon De Veze, 89 West 33rd Street, Bayonne, New Jersey. Chas. A. Sumner, 2645 East 28th Street, Kansas City, Missouri.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, Journeymen	2	21 21	M. W. Mitchell, 8 East Market Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. P. J. Cullen, 180 West Adams Street, Room 412, Chicago, Illinois.
Stove Mounters' International Union	1	36	Edw. J. Winter, 503 North 3rd Street, Belleville, Illinois.
Switchmen's Union of North America	2	42 41	Thomas C. Cashen, 3 Linwood Avenue, Buffalo, New York. John Lundergan, Imperial Hotel, New York, New York.
Teachers, American Federation of	4	56 55 55 55	Jerome Davis, 489 Ocean Avenue, West Haven, Connecticut. Irvine R. Kuenzli, 506 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. John M. Fewkes, 185 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. Mrs. Mary Foley Grossman, 2302 Delancey Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	6	516 516 515 515 515 515	Daniel J. Tobin, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. Thomas L. Hughes, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. John M. Gillespie, 222 East Michigan Street, Indianapolis, Indiana. John O'Rourke, 265 West 14th Street, New York, New York. George Wilson, 639 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. F. W. Brewster, 552 Denny Way, Seattle, Washington.
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad	2	175 175	W. H. Robinson, Box 292, Boyce, Louisiana. H. B. Perham, 6828 19th Avenue, N. E., Seattle, Washington.
Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial	1	29	Frank B. Powers, 113 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Tobacco Workers' International Union.....	2	72 71	E. Lewis Evans, 807 Realty Building, Louisville, Kentucky. J. E. Lentie, 807 Realty Building, Louisville, Kentucky.
		133	Claude M. Baker, Typographical Terrace, Meridian and 28th Streets, Indianapolis, Indiana.
		133	Glenn L. Mitchell, 230 East Ohio Street, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Typographical Union, International.....	6	132	Nicholas M. DiPietro, 17 North Broadway, Tarrytown, New York.
		132	Elmer David Manning, 3236 Pleasant Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota.
		132	William H. Harris, 609 Owen Building, Detroit, Michigan.
		132	Henry E. Clemens, 446-49 I. W. Hellman Building, Los Angeles, California.
Upholsterers' International Union of North America.....	2	55 55	Sal B. Hoffmann, 19 West 44th Street, Suite 701, New York, New York. Alfred Rota, 205 West Wacker Drive, Room 922, Chicago, Illinois.
Building and Construction Trades Department.....	1	1	Jos. A. McInerney, 503 A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Metal Trades Department.....	1	1	John P. Frey, Room 402, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Railroad Employes' Department.....	1	1	Bert M. Jewell, 844 Rush Street, Fort Dearborn Station, Chicago, Illinois.
Union Label Trades Department.....	1	1	I. M. Ornburn, A. F. of L. Building, Washington, D. C.
Alabama State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Mrs. Ida Lee Merchant, Route One, Box 400-A, Military Road, Mobile, Alabama.
Arizona State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	C. L. Daugherty, % 219-Ellis Bldg., Phoenix, Arizona.
California State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas Nickola, 1623½ Market Street, San Francisco, California.
Connecticut State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John J. Egan, 76 Overland Avenue, Bridgeport, Connecticut.
Florida State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Wendell C. Heaton, Capitol Building, Tallahassee, Florida.
Georgia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	D. F. Allen, care Trades and Labor Assembly, 814 East 31st Street, Savannah, Georgia.
Illinois State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Reuben G. Soderstrom, 704 Security Building, Springfield, Illinois.
Indiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Carl H. Mullen, 701 Peoples Bank Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.
Iowa State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	A. A. Couch, 914 Paramount Building, Des Moines, Iowa.
Louisiana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	E. H. Williams, 222 Ward Building, Shreveport, Louisiana.
Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Frank J. Coleman, 414 Washington Loan and Trust Building, 9th and F Streets, Washington, D. C.
Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Kenneth I. Taylor, 11 Beacon Street, Boston Massachusetts.
Michigan State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John Reid, 806 Bauch Building, Lansing, Michigan.
Minnesota State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George W. Lawson, Labor Temple, St. Paul Minnesota.
Mississippi State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	L. H. Jones, 512 East George Street, Jackson, Mississippi.
Missouri State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John W. Bailey, 2345 Lafayette Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.
Montana State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James D. Graham, Box 1176, Helena, Montana.
Nebraska State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Roy M. Brewer, Box 255, Grand Island, Nebraska.
Nevada State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	James Farndale, % 334 W. Puebla, Reno, Nevada.
New Hampshire State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	John L. Barry, 50 Conant Street, Manchester, New Hampshire.
New Jersey State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Louis P. Marcianite, 374 Plane Street, Newark, New Jersey.
New Mexico State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Olyver G. Wright, P. O. Box 168 Santa Fe, New Mexico.

xii DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
New York State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	George Meaney, 265 West 14th Street, Room 1102, New York City.
Ohio State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas J. Donnelly, Suite 405, Atlas Building, Columbus, Ohio.
Oregon State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Ben T. Osborne, 506 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor...	1	1	James L. McDevitt, 430 North Street, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.....	1	1	Santiago Iglesias, 3175 Porter Street, Washington, D. C.
South Carolina State Federation of Labor...	1	1	John R. Brawley, R. F. D. #1, College Place, Columbus, South Carolina.
Tennessee State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Lev Loring, 887 Hawthorne Street, Memphis, Tennessee.
Texas State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Andrew S. McBride, P. O. Box 802, Houston, Texas.
Virginia State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Joe. Rossano, 1316 Spratley Street, Portsmouth, Virginia.
West Virginia State Federation of Labor...	1	1	Tom Cairns, 503 Grant Street, Charleston, West Virginia.
Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry Ohl, Jr., 516 Metropolitan Block, 1012 North Third Street, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.
Amarillo, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. W. Finch, Amarillo, Texas.
Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council.....	1	1	Redmond M. Burr, 320 South 5th Avenue, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Charlie H. Gresty, Box 32, Arkansas City, Kansas.
Asbury Park, N. J., Monmouth and Ocean Counties Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Stanley C. O'Hoppe, 829 Dunlewy Street, Asbury Park, New Jersey.
Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades.....	1	1	Dewey L. Johnson, 701 City Hall, Atlanta, Georgia.
Baton Rouge, La., Central Labor Union...	1	1	E. J. Bourg, 743 St. Napoleon Street, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
Beaumont, Tex., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	J. W. Park, 1580 Monroe Street, Beaumont, Texas.
Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council.....	1	1	Miss Mary Lillie Price, 301 Midland Street, Fairview, Birmingham, Alabama.
Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor...	1	1	Dioan Summers, 712 North Grant Street, Bloomington, Indiana.
Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Thomas J. O'Brien, 49 North Ogden Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Boise, Ida., Trades and Labor Council....	1	1	Guy H. Hunt, 1412 East Jefferson Street, Boise, Idaho.
Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles A. Burns, 120 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.
Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Charles F. Hoppeter, 471 North 35th Street, Camden, New Jersey.
Canton, O., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Henry E. Martin, Flory Hotel, Canton, Ohio.
Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union.	1	1	Erskine Mabee, 512 Hamilton Bank Building, Main Street, Chattanooga, Tennessee.
Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Alfred C. Woyner, 8019 South Morgan Street, Chicago, Illinois.
Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	L. Goudie, 216 South Ashland Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois.
Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John J. Hurst, Room 407, 1015 Vine Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Thomas A. Lenehan, 1248 Walnut Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Council Bluffs, Ia., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Gordon E. Beck, 2640 Avenue D, Council Bluffs, Iowa.
Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties...	1	1	Milton J. Doll, 217 West 12th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Denison, Tex., Labor Trades Council.....	1	1	Roy S. Hall, 102 West Texas Street, Denison, Texas.
Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	James W. Soutter, 1367 East 14th Street, Des Moines, Iowa.
Detroit, Mich., Federation of Labor (Detroit and Wayne County).....	1	1	J. N. Cummings, 1220 Francis Palms Building, Detroit, Michigan.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xiii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
East St. Louis, Ill., Trades and Labor Union.....	1	1	A. L. Wegener, 701 Illinois Avenue, East St. Louis, Illinois.
Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council.....	1	1	George F. Cushing, 1076 Julia Street, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Elkhart County, Ind., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	S. S. Van Patten, 811 Cleveland Avenue, Elkhart, Indiana.
El Paso, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	C. E. Westbrook, care Geo. F. Webber, Secy., P. O. Box 301, El Paso, Texas.
Fort Worth, Tex., Trades Assembly.....	1	1	A. L. Bailey, 928 Missouri Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.
Galveston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	B. A. Gritta, 915 8th Street, Galveston, Texas.
Goose Creek, Tex., Tri-Cities Central Labor and Trades Council.....	1	1	Percy Taylor, Goose Creek, Texas.
Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Charles Farrell, Labor Temple, Hamilton Ohio.
Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	John F. Cauley, 972 King Street, West, Apt. 4, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.
Harlingen, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jack Green, 106 South A Street, Harlingen, Texas.
Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Edward M. Foley, 43 Merrimack Street, Haverhill, Massachusetts.
Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Francis M. Curran, 100 St. James Avenue, Holyoke, Massachusetts.
Houston, Tex., Labor Council.....	1	1	Hugh B. McGinn, Room 202, 707 Rusk Avenue, Houston, Texas.
Huntsville, Ala., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lo Petree, Huntsville, Alabama.
Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. G. Byars, 1254 North Congress Street, Jackson, Mississippi.
Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County.....	1	1	Tony Augustino, Ottawa Street, Joliet, Illinois.
Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Floyd Webb, 302½ Main Street, Joplin, Missouri.
Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	Bradley Marcotte, 372 South Chicago Avenue, Kankakee, Illinois.
Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	R. R. Graham, 917 North 6th Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council.....	1	1	Max Dyer, Labor Temple, 14th and Woodland Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri.
Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Bertram Day, 5919 31st Avenue, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council.....	1	1	James G. Kennedy, 8100 Champlain Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lucille Thornburgh, 424 Clark Street, Knoxville, Tennessee.
Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	W. R. Mayo, Lake Charles, Louisiana.
Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	B. R. McMahon, 128 North West Street, Waukegan, Illinois.
Leominster, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Arthur J. Taylor, 29 Pleasant Place, Leominster, Massachusetts.
Lima, O., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Alfred T. Murphy, 801 South Elizabeth Street, Lima, Ohio.
Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	George C. Benton, 1231 Locust Avenue, Long Beach, California.
Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Buzzell, Labor Temple, 540 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Sidney E. Le Bow, 18 Prescott Street, Lowell, Massachusetts.
McComb, Miss., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	V. F. O'Flinn, 1039 Venable Street, McComb, Mississippi.
Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	R. F. Brown, 1005 Galloway Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee.
Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Walter Hoyte, 2106 N. E. 2nd Avenue, Miami, Florida.
Middletown, O., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	W. J. O'Brien, 118 North and Bellemonte Streets, Middletown, Ohio.
Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	J. F. Friedrich, 518 Metropolitan Block, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

XIV DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Alden P. Baker, 112 Kirby Street, Moberly, Missouri.
Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	Wm. R. Ross, 55 South Conception Street, Mobile, Alabama.
Monroe, La., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	F. W. Simpson, % Central Labor Union, Monroe, Louisiana.
Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Lucas, 406 East Broadway, Muskogee, Oklahoma.
Nampa, Ida., Trades and Labor Council....	1	1	Louis J. Koutnik, 711 2nd Street, South, Nampa, Idaho.
Newark, N. J., Essex Trades Council.....	1	1	Jacob Baer, 66 Hughes Street, Maplewood, New Jersey.
New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Edward Burns, 634 Gravier Street, New Orleans, Louisiana.
New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.....	1	1	James C. Quinn, 265 West 14th Street, Room 301, New York, New York.
Norman, Okla., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jack Kennedy, Norman, Oklahoma.
Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Walter Nelson, 1609 N. W. 7th Street, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trades and Labor Association.....	1	1	P. M. Draper, 172 McLauren Street, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.
Parkersburg, W. Va., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. D. Bowers, P. O. Box 654, Parkersburg, West Virginia.
Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly....	1	1	Jack Kinsella, 400 N. Jefferson, Peoria, Illinois.
Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity.....	1	1	Frank Burch, 814 Commonwealth Building, 1201 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John A. Stackhouse, 308 Peoples Alliance Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Port Arthur, Tex., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Randolph Varnado, 2703 Thomas Boulevard, Port Arthur, Texas.
Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity.....	1	1	Gust Anderson, 101 Labor Temple, Portland, Oregon.
Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council....	1	1	A. P. Bower, 705 Walnut Street, Reading, Pennsylvania.
Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council.....	1	1	George W. Stokel, 728 I Street Labor Temple, Sacramento, California.
St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council....	1	1	Warren S. Welsh, Room 9, Old Corby Building, 5th and Edmond Street, St. Joseph, Missouri.
St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union...	1	1	Joseph P. Clark, 1411 N. Grand Boulevard, St. Louis, Missouri.
St. Petersburg, Fla., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Charles M. Perry, 1827 8th Street, North, St. Petersburg, Florida.
Salinas, Calif., Monterey County Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Lyman Dixon, 651 East Gabilan Street, Salinas, California.
Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor...	1	1	William O. Dix, 987 Windsor Avenue, Salt Lake City, Utah.
San Antonio, Tex., Trades Council.....	1	1	A. F. Cadena, Labor Temple, San Antonio, Texas.
San Bernardino, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	J. W. Cox, % Labor Temple, San Bernardino, California.
San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council.....	1	1	Jno. A. O'Connell, 2940 16th Street, San Francisco, California.
San Pedro, Calif., Central Labor Council (San Pedro and Wilmington).....	1	1	H. L. Woxberg, 351 West 9th Street, San Pedro, California.
Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Union...	1	1	Paul E. Weaver, 547 15th Street, Santa Monica, California.
Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Charles Waid, 408 East Park Avenue, Savannah, Georgia.
Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council....	1	1	Claude O'Reilly, 7912 Fremont Avenue, Seattle, Washington.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xv

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	J. A. Bradley, 2714 Stonewall Street, Shreveport, Louisiana.
South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	Frank E. Doyle, 7325 Coles Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor.....	1	1	R. E. Woodmansee, 223½ South 6th Street, Springfield, Illinois.
Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	E. J. Barrett, 302½ E. Walnut, Springfield, Missouri.
Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly.....	1	1	George E. McKenna, 119 East Clark Street, Springfield, Ohio.
Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	W. T. Morris, 1225 East 69th Street, Tacoma, Washington.
Texas City, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Fred Sandberg, Sr., Texas City, Texas.
Tucson, Ariz., Central Trades Council.....	1	1	John J. Durkin, 121 East 10th Street, Tucson, Arizona.
Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council.....	1	1	Grafton J. Fox, 911 South Elwood, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council.....	1	1	John A. Edwards, 23 La Vuelta Avenue, Vallejo, California.
Waco, Tex., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Harry Wilson Alexander, 1210 North 17th Street, Waco, Texas.
Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	John Locher, 1211-A Connecticut Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Waukesha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	Edward Hughlett, 931 Genesee Street, Waukesha, Wisconsin.
Wichita Falls, Tex., Trades and Labor Council.....	1	1	S. S. Diebrow, 2211 Princeton Street, Wichita Falls, Texas.
Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	James T. Houghton, 203 West 4th Street, Wilmington, Delaware.
Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	G. D. Sexton, 703 West Academy Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.
Wood River, Ill., Central Labor Union.....	1	1	Jos. R. Kelehan, 2721 Edwards Street, Granite City, Illinois.
Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers Union, United, No. 19338, Louisville, Ky.....	1	6	W. R. Conder, 3133 Garland Avenue, Louisville, Kentucky.
Boilermakers' Helpers' Union No. 20887, Galveston, Texas.....	1	1	W. M. Massey, 611 15th Street, Galveston, Texas.
Brakemen Porters' Union No. 21718, Texarkana, Texas.....	1	1	Floyd Jackson, 825 Hubert Street, Waco, Texas.
Brush Workers' Union No. 20468, Troy, N. Y.....	1	2	Howard Wiltsey, 346 9th Street, Troy, New York.
Cannery Workers' Union No. 20147 (San Pedro, Wilmington and Terminal Island, California).....	1	16	James Waugh, 526 Ocean Avenue, Terminal Island, California.
Crescote Workers' Union No. 19974, Brownville, Alabama.....	1	1	James Hendricks, Brownville, Alabama.
Embalmers' Union, Professional, No. 9049, San Francisco, Calif.....	1	1	Wm. J. Williams, 3825 Quintara Street, San Francisco, California.
Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.....	1	16	Claude Watkins, 2316 63rd Street, Kenosha, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.....	1	1	Charles Heymanns, 935 Huron Avenue, Sheboygan, Wisconsin.
Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio.....	1	4	Tom Finnegan, 1524 Wertz Avenue, S. W., Canton, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 18852, Kansas City, Kans.....	1	5	Earl Dietz, 321 Commerce Building, Kansas City, Missouri.
Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.....	1	19	William Ketner, 1912 West Carey Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.....	1	2	J. C. Daniel, 6507 Mount Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri.

xvi DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Federal Labor Union No. 19766, Houston, Texas.....	1	3	T. J. Ewell, 525 Caplin Street, Houston, Texas.
Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, Ohio.....	1	3	Jack Cikity, 1501 Kenmore Boulevard, Akron, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union No. 20336, Crossville, Tenn.....	1	1	Oren G. Metzger, 23 Highland Lane, Cumberland Homestead, Crossville, Tennessee.
Federal Labor Union No. 20388, Battle Creek, Mich.....	1	7	Rex O. Ballard, care Durward McCleary, 47 West Burnham Street, Battle Creek, Michigan.
Federal Labor Union No. 20407, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1	11	Phillip Whitehead, 1405 East Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Federal Labor Union No. 20579, Houston, Texas.....	1	1	Lonzo Silas, 3006 Holman Street, Houston, Texas.
Federal Labor Union No. 20714, Houston, Texas.....	1	1	J. M. Howard, 4609 Lockwood Drive, Houston, Texas.
Federal Labor Union No. 20783, Algonac, Mich.....	1	4	Edwin Reagan, Algonac, Michigan.
Federal Labor Union No. 21181, Texas City, Texas.....	1	1	Dan W. Curtis, 1828 Avenue J., Galveston, Texas.
Federal Labor Union No. 21371, McComb, Miss.....	1	1	F. P. Posey, 802 Wall Street, McComb, Mississippi.
Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.....	1	1	George Barnes, 1954 North 4th Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 19272, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Raymond Smith, 440 Boswell Street, Kansas City, Kansas.
Freight Handlers' Union No. 21192, Houston, Texas.....	1	1	Luther Chavis, 1215 McCall Street, Houston, Texas.
Fruit Cannery Workers' Union No. 20228, Olympia, Wash.....	1	1	J. B. Jackson, Labor Temple, Olympia, Washington.
Fur Workers' Unions Nos. 21479, 21480, 21481, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.....	1	3	Max Federman, 169 Robert Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.....	1	9	Patrick Gallagher, 9624 South Hamilton Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Gas Workers' Union No. 18744, San Antonio, Texas.....	1	1	Gilmore Offer, 429 Denver Boulevard, San Antonio, Texas.
Grocery Employees' Union, United, No. 20541, Pittsburgh, Pa.....	1	1	Donald E. Douty, care Wm. F. McConnell, Secy., 143 Southern Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Gypsum Mill Workers' Union No. 21307, Quanah, Texas.....	1	1	L. Sparks, Acme, Texas.
News Writers' Union No. 19982, Jackson, Miss.....	1	1	Fred W. Patton, P. O. Box 1461, Jackson, Mississippi.
Office Employees' Union No. 20732, Chicago, Ill.....	1	2	Charles F. Wills, 6019 South Maplewood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
Quarry Workers' Union No. 21469, Bloomington, Ind.....	1	2	Clyde Danner, Smithville, Indiana.
Salesmen's Union, Wholesale Licensed Alcoholic Beverage, No. 20376.....	1	5	Sol Cilento, 250 West 57th Street, New York, New York.
Salt Workers' Union No. 18952, Grand Saline, Texas.....	1	2	Gene Carroll, Route 2, Grand Saline, Texas.
Shrimp Headers' Union, United, No. 21044, Galveston, Texas.....	1	1	Baily Dunn, 3222 Avenue I, Galveston, Texas.
Silk Weavers' Union No. 21675, Fayetteville, N. C.....	1	1	James E. Miller, 429 Roberson Street, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

DELEGATES TO THE FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL CONVENTION xvii

ORGANIZATIONS	No. of Delegates	No. of Votes for each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES
Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.....	1	1	Will Fetrow, 1202 South Main, Blackwell Oklahoma.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18198, San Juan, Puerto Rico.....	1	1	Laura Iglesias, 548 Riverside Drive, Apt. 3-D, New York City.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.....	1	1	L. E. Groner, Labor Temple, St. Paul Minnesota.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19903, Atlanta, Ga.....	1	1	Benjamin M. Dobbs, 1026 St. Charles Avenue, N. E., Apt. 4, Atlanta, Georgia.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19980, Oklahoma, City, Okla.....	1	1	Harriette Peterson, 516 West California, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20380, Miami, Fla.....	1	1	Mrs. M. E. Roberts, 2106 N. E. 2nd Avenue, Miami, Florida.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20590, Galveston, Texas.....	1	1	C. H. Lindberg, 5027 Avenue "Q", Galveston, Texas.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.....	1	2	C. J. Haggerty, Labor Temple, 538 Maple Avenue, Los Angeles, California.
Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 12223, Houston, Texas.....	1	1	Rena Mae Chadick, 709 East 14th Street, Houston, Texas.
Sulphur Workers' Union No. 21195, Freeport, Texas.....	1	1	Edw. R. Moffett, 623 West 5th Street, P. O. Box 1034, Freeport, Texas.
Terminal Baggage Mail Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 19251, Washington, D. C.....	1	1	Norris O. Lancaster, 746 Park Road, N. W. Washington, D. C.
Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.....	1	3	Louis Lufrano, 41 Union Square, New York, New York.
Train Porters' Union No. 21599, San Antonio, Texas.....	1	1	Del McKinney, 912 North San Jacinto Street, San Antonio, Texas.
Train Porters' Union No. 21630, Fort Worth, Texas.....	1	1	Richard Bennett, 1415 Illinois Avenue, Fort Worth, Texas.
Warehouse and Storehouse Employees and Janitors' Union, Station. No. 20290, Kansas City, Mo.....	1	1	Ike Franklin, 403 Troup, Kansas City Kansas.
British Trades Union Congress.....	2	1	Joseph Jones, "Hillcrest", 15, Huddersfield Road, Barnsley, Yorkshire, England.
Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....	1	1	J. W. Stephenson, 15, Abbeville Road, Clapham, London, S.W. 4, England.
Women's International Union Label League.....	1	1	W. G. Russell, 804 Shaw Street, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
			Mrs. Mary Cramer, 2501 Chestnut Street, Hannibal, Missouri.

Number of Unions	Name	Number of Delegates	Number of Votes
85	National and International.....	274	33,225
4	Departments.....	4	4
34	State Bodies.....	34	34
106	Central Labor Unions.....	106	106
57	Trade and Federal Labor Unions.....	55	160
3	Fraternal Organizations.....	4	3
289		477	33,532

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates

Delegates from the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions

1909 Samuel Gompers.	1911 James Duncan *1915	1913 George W. Perkins. *1917
To British Trades Union Congress		
1895 { Samuel Gompers. P. J. McGuire.	1910 { W. B. Wilson. T. V. O'Connor.	1924 { Peter J. Brady. Edward J. Gainer.
1896 { J. W. Sullivan. Adolph Straasser.	1911 { Wm. B. McFarlane. Daniel J. Tobin.	1925 { A. Adamski. Edw. J. Evans.
1897 { Martin Fox. Geo. E. McNeill.	1912 { George L. Berry. John H. Walker.	1926 { †Frank Farrington. Wm. L. Hutcheson.
1898 { James Duncan. Harry Lloyd.	1913 { Chas. L. Baine. Louis Kemper.	1927 { John Coesfield. Michael Casey.
1899 { James O'Connell. Thomas F. Tracy	*1914 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1928 { Michael F. Greene. William B. Fitzgerald
1900 { J. M. Hunter. Sidney J. Kent.	†1915 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1929 { William J. Rooney. William P. Clarke.
1901 { Daniel J. Keefe. Eugene F. O'Rourke.	1916 { W. D. Mahon. Matthew Woll.	1930 { John J. Manning. Thomas E. Maloy.
1902 { Patrick Dolan. Henry Blackmore.	1917 { John Golden. James Lord.	1931 { Joseph P. Ryan. Joseph V. Moreschi
1903 { Max S. Hayes. Martin Lawlor.	1918 { J. A. Franklin. Wm. J. Bowen.	1932 { Joseph A. Franklin. E. E. Milliman.
1904 { W. D. Ryan. D. D. Driscoll.	1919 { †Wm. L. Hutcheson. John J. Hynes.	1933 { Thomas E. Burke. Christian M. Madsen
1905 { John A. Moffitt. James Wood.	1920 { Timothy Healy. Mrs. Sarah Conboy.	1934 { Michael J. Colleran. Edward Flore.
1906 { Frank K. Foster James Wilson.	1921 { Wm. J. Spencer. James J. Forrester.	1935 { Henry F. Schmal. Dennis Lane.
1907 { John T. Dempsey. W. E. Klapetsky.	1922 { Benjamin Schlesinger. E. J. McGivern.	1936 { William J. McSorley. Edward Canavan.
1908 { Andrew Furuseth. James J. Creamer.	1923 { Peter Shaughnessy. Anthony J. Chlopek.	1937 { William C. Birthright John B. Haggerty
1909 { John P. Frey. B. A. Larger.		1938 { P. J. Morrin Daniel J. Tobin

From British Trades Union Congress

1894 { John Burns. David Holmes.	1909 { A. H. Gill. J. R. Clynes.	1924 { C. T. Cramp. A. B. Swales.
1895 { Edward Covey. James Mawdsley.	1910 { W. Brace. Ben Turner.	1925 { Ben Smith. A. A. Purcell.
1896 { Sam Woods. John Mallinson.	1911 { G. H. Roberts J. Crinion.	1926 { J. Bromley. G. Hicks.
1897 { Edward Harford. J. Havelock Wilson.	1912 { J. A. Seddon. R. Smillie.	1927 { Arthur Pugh. W. Sherwood.
1898 { William Inskip. William Thorne.	1913 { I. H. Gwynne T. Greenall.	1928 { John Marchbank. E. Edwards.
1899 { James Haslam. Alexander Wilkie.	**1914 {	1929 { J. T. Brownlie. J. Bell.
1900 { John Weir. Pete Curran.	1915 { C. G. Ammon. E. Bevin.	1930 { A. A. H. Findlay. A. Shaw.
1901 { Frank Chandler. Ben Tillet.	1916 { H. Gosling. W. Whitefeld.	1931 { F. Wolstencroft. J. Beard.
1902 { M. Arrandale. E. Edwards.	1917 { John Hill. Arthur Hayday.	1932 { W. Holmes. Charles Dukes.
1903 { William Mullin. James O'Grady.	***1918 { F. Hall. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1933 { James Rowan. J. A. Hall.
1904 { William Abraham. James Wignall.	1919 { S. Finney. Miss Margaret Bondfield.	1934 { Alexander George Walkden. John Stokes.
1905 { William Mosses. David Gilmour.	1920 { J. W. Ogden. J. Jones.	1935 { Andrew Conley. Andrew Naemith.
1906 { Allen Gee. J. N. Bell.	1921 { J. H. Thomas. James Walker.	1936 { William Kean. George Gibson.
1907 { David J. Shackleton. John Hodge.	1922 { E. L. Poulton. H. Smith.	1937 { William R. Townley John C. Little
1908 { John Wadsworth. H. Skinner.	1923 { R. B. Walker. W. C. Robinson.	1938 { Joseph Jones J. W. Stephenson

List of Delegates and Fraternal Delegates—Continued

To Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 Thomas I. Kidd.	1912 John T. Smith.	1926 James B. Connors.
1899 James H. Sullivan.	1913 Wm. J. McSorley.	1927 Thos. J. McQuade.
1900 W. D. Mahon.	1914 M. M. Donoghue.	1928 Joseph W. Morton.
1901 John R. O'Brien.	1915 H. J. Conway.	1929 John D. Haggerty.
1902 D. D. Driscoll.	1916 Harry P. Corcoran.	1930 Adolph Kummer.
1903 John Coleman.	1917 Emanuel Koveleski.	1931 Charles J. Case.
1904 John H. Richards.	1918 Stuart H. Hayward.	1932 Frank B. Power.
1905 Frank Feeney.	1919 Sam Griggs.	1933 James C. Quinn.
1906 Thomas A. Rickert.	1920 W. G. Shea.	1934 Joseph P. McCurdy.
1907 Robert S. Maloney.	1921 John O'Hara.	1935 James Maloney.
1908 Hugh Frayne.	1922 William E. Hulsbeck.	1936 M. J. Gillooly.
1909 Jerome Jones.	1923 Walter N. Reddick.	1937 R. A. Henning
1910 John J. Manning.	1924 Walter W. Britton.	1938 Joseph J. Kehoe
1911 Wm. J. Tracy.	1925 James Duncan.	

From Canadian Trades and Labor Congress

1898 David A. Carey.	1912 John W. Bruce.	1926 Richard Lynch.
1899 David A. Carey.	1913 Gus Franco.	1927 Alfred Farnulo.
1900 David A. Carey.	1914 R. A. Rigg.	1928 Wm. Varley.
1901 P. M. Draper.	1915 Fred Bancroft.	1929 James A. Whitebone.
1902 John H. Kennedy.	1916 Thomas A. Stevenson.	1930 William E. Stephenson.
1903 James Simpson.	1917 Wm. Lodge.	1931 Colin McDonald.
1904 John A. Flett.	1918 Thos. Moore.	1932 W. V. Turnbull.
1905 William V. Todd.	1919 J. M. Walsh.	1933 Fred J. White.
1906 Samuel L. Landers.	1920 J. A. McClellan.	1934 William Dunn.
1907 W. R. Trotter.	1921 M. U. F. Bush.	1935 J. A. P. Haydon, M. C.
1908 P. M. Draper.	1922 Ernest Robinson.	1936 George R. Brunet.
1909 F. Bancroft.	1923 James A. Sullivan.	1937 Rod Plant
1910 R. P. Pettipiece.	1924 John Colbert.	1938 W. G. Russell
1911 Wm. Glockling.	1925 Donald Dear.	

From German Federation of Labor

1924 Peter Grassman.

From Mexican Federation of Labor

1924 { Jose W. Kelly.	1925 { Canuto A. Vargas.	1926 { Ricardo Trevino.
{ Roberto Haberman.	{ Roberto Haberman.	{ Jose F. Guiterrez.
		{ Salustrio Hernandez.

*No convention.

**No delegates.

†Did not attend

Conventions of American Federation of Labor

Year	City and State	Date
1881	Pittsburgh, Pa.	December 15-18.
1882	Cleveland, Ohio.	November 21-24.
1883	New York, N. Y.	August 21-24.
1884	Chicago, Ill.	October 7-10.
1885	Washington, D. C.	December 8-11.
1886	Columbus, Ohio.	December 8-12.
1887	Baltimore, Md.	December 13-17.
1888	St. Louis, Mo.	December 11-15.
1889	Boston, Mass.	December 10-14.
1890	Detroit, Mich.	December 8-13.
1891	Birmingham, Ala.	December 14-19.
1892	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 12-17.
1893	Chicago, Ill.	December 11-19.
1894	Denver, Colo.	December 10-18.
1895	New York, N. Y.	December 9-17.
1896	Cincinnati, Ohio.	December 14-21.
1897	Nashville, Tenn.	December 13-21.
1898	Kansas City, Mo.	December 12-20.
1899	Detroit, Mich.	December 11-20.
1900	Louisville, Ky.	December 6-15.
1901	Scranton, Pa.	December 5-14.
1902	New Orleans, La.	November 13-22.
1903	Boston, Mass.	November 9-23.
1904	San Francisco, Calif.	November 14-26.
1905	Pittsburgh, Pa.	November 13-25.
1906	Minneapolis, Minn.	November 12-24.
1907	Norfolk, Va.	November 11-23.
1908	Denver, Colo.	November 9-21.
1909	Toronto, Ont., Can.	November 8-20.
1910	St. Louis, Mo.	November 14-26.
1911	Atlanta, Ga.	November 13-25.
1912	Rochester, N. Y.	November 11-23.
1913	Seattle, Wash.	November 10-22.
1914	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 9-21.
1915	San Francisco, Calif.	November 8-22.
1916	Baltimore, Md.	November 13-25.
1917	Buffalo, N. Y.	November 12-24.
1918	St. Paul, Minn.	June 10-20.
1919	Atlantic City, N. J.	June 9-23.
1920	Montreal, Que., Can.	June 7-19.
1921	Denver, Colo.	June 13-25.
1922	Cincinnati, Ohio.	June 12-24.
1923	Portland, Oreg.	October 1-12.
1924	El Paso, Tex.	November 17-25.
1925	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 5-16.
1926	Detroit, Mich.	October 4-14.
1927	Los Angeles, Calif.	October 3-14.
1928	New Orleans, La.	November 19-28.
1929	Toronto, Ont., Can.	October 7-18.
1930	Boston, Mass.	October 6-17.
1931	Vancouver, B. C., Can.	October 5-15.
1932	Cincinnati, Ohio.	Nov. 21-Dec. 2.
1933	Washington, D. C.	October 2-13.
1934	San Francisco, Calif.	October 1-12.
1935	Atlantic City, N. J.	October 7-19.
1936	Tampa, Fla.	November 16-27.
1937	Denver, Colo.	October 4-15.
1938	Houston, Texas	October 3-13.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1939

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It, therefore, behooves the representatives of the Trade and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of rights to which they are justly entitled.

We, therefore, declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the Trade Union system.

CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I.—NAME

This Association shall be known as THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS

SECTION 1. The object of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial, or Provincial organizations to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

SEC. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

SEC. 3. The establishment of Departments composed of National or International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, of the same industry, and which Departments shall be governed in conformity with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to

aid and assist each other; to aid and encourage the sale of union label goods, and to secure legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.

SEC. 5. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION

SECTION 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the first Monday in October, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention, except during the years when a presidential election occurs, when the Convention in those years shall be held beginning the third Monday of November. If the proper Convention arrangements or reasonable hotel accommodations can not be secured in that city, the Executive Council may change the place of meeting.

SEC. 2. A. Special conventions may be called by direction of a regular convention, by order of the Executive Council or on request of National and International Unions representing a majority of the total membership of the American Federation of Labor, as evidenced by the records of the Secretary-Treasurer to the last regular convention.

B. Special conventions shall not be called unless at least 30 days' notice of such special convention together with statement of particular subject or subjects to be considered has been given to all affiliated organizations.

C. Representation to special conventions shall be on the same basis and subject to like qualifications and procedure governing regular conventions.

D. Special conventions shall be clothed with like authority and power conferred upon regular conventions, its decisions shall be equally binding and it shall be governed by the same procedure applicable to regular conventions; however, such special conventions shall be limited solely to the subject or subjects specifically and definitely indicated in the call for such special convention.

SEC. 3. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

SEC. 4. The following committees, consisting of fifteen members each, shall be appointed by the President: First, Rules and Order of Business; second, Report of Executive Council; third, Resolutions; fourth, Laws; fifth, Organization; sixth, Labels;

seventh, Adjustment; eighth, Local and Federated Bodies; ninth, Education; tenth, State Organizations; eleventh, Industrial Relations; twelfth, Building Trades (to which shall be referred all grievances and other matters pertaining exclusively to the building trades); thirteenth, Legislation.

Sec. 5. The President shall direct the chief executive officers of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations-elect, who shall compose an Auditing Committee. The committee shall meet at such place as the President of the American Federation of Labor may direct, and at such time prior to the Convention as the President may determine it necessary for the proper performance of their duty; and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months, and report upon credentials immediately upon the opening of the Convention. The expense of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

Sec. 6.—All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

2 All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

3 Any or all proposals emanating from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals.

4 Proposals emanating from state federations of labor to receive consideration of a convention of the American Federation of Labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

In the case of city central labor unions any proposal or proposals to be considered must have first received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of such organization.

5 All resolutions, memorials, petitions and/or appeals received shall immediately upon the expiration of the time for introduction hereinbefore indicated shall cause all such proposals to be grouped as to nature of contents, character of subjects embraced and committees to which they are to be referred and that all such proposals in such allocated form shall be prepared for distribution

at the opening session of the convention.

6 The President shall be authorized in the interest of helpful consideration and expediency to appoint the contemplated chairman and secretary of the Committee on Resolutions and/or of any other committee to be appointed and as the number and character of proposals may indicate, and to require such chairman and secretary to meet either at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, or at the convention city previous to the opening of the convention to consider proposals to be referred to such committee or committees and in order to enable them to more speedily and effectually report thereon to the convention itself.

SEC. 7. The Convention shall have power to order an executive session at any time.

SEC. 8. None other than members of a bona fide Trade Union shall be permitted to address the Convention or to read papers therein, except by a two-thirds vote of the Convention.

SEC. 9. Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 10. The rules and order of business governing the preceding Convention shall be in force from the opening of any Convention of the American Federation of Labor until new rules have been adopted by action of the Convention.

SEC. 11. A quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of not less than one-fourth of the delegates attending a Convention.

SEC. 12. No grievance shall be considered by any Convention that has been decided by a previous Convention, except upon the recommendation of the Executive Council, nor shall any grievance be considered where the parties thereto have not previously held a conference and attempted to adjust the same themselves.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION

SECTION 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National and International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on. From Central Bodies, State Federations, National Departments, Federal Labor Unions, and Local Unions having no National or International Union, one delegate; provided, however, that Local Unions and Federal Labor Unions herein referred to, located in one city, shall have the right to unite in sending a delegate to represent them unitedly. Only bona fide wage workers who are not members of, or eligible to membership in other Trade Unions, shall be eligible as delegates from Federal Labor Unions. Only those persons whose Local Unions are affiliated with Central Bodies, or with State Branches and who are delegates to said Central Bodies or State Branches shall be eligible to represent City Central Bodies or State Branches in the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 2. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the annual convention of the American Federation of

CONSTITUTION AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR xxiii

Labor, and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 3. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents, provided that the delegate's union has been affiliated with the Federation for the full fiscal year preceding the Convention. When affiliated for a period of less than one year, each delegate shall cast one-twelfth of one vote for each one hundred members or major fraction thereof which he represents for each month for which per capita tax has been paid upon the members of his union. No City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote.

Sec. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the average membership during the year, from reports made to the office of the Federation not later than August 31, preceding the Annual Convention.

Sec. 5. No organization or person that has seceded, or has been suspended, or expelled by the American Federation of Labor, or by any National or International organization connected with the Federation shall, while under such penalty, be allowed representation or recognition in this Federation, or in any Central Body or National or International Union connected with the American Federation of Labor, under the penalty of the suspension of the body, violating this section. No organization officered or controlled by Communism, or any person espousing Communism or advocating the violent overthrow of our institutions shall be allowed representation or recognition in any Central Body or State Federation of Labor.

Sec. 6. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, and no person shall be recognized as a delegate who is not a member in good standing of the organization he is elected to represent.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS

SECTION 1. The officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, and a Secretary-Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention on the last day of the session, unless otherwise determined by the Convention, and these officers shall be the Executive Council.

Sec. 2. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 3. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 4. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the thirty-first day of December succeeding the Convention.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary-Treasurer shall engage suitable offices in the same building at Washington, D. C., for the transaction of the business of the organization.

Sec. 6. All books and financial accounts shall at all times be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF PRESIDENT

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at the regular and special conventions; to exercise supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to sign all official documents, and to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 2. The President shall submit to the Secretary-Treasurer at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and shall report to the Annual Convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie but shall not vote at other times. He shall be required to devote all his time to the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 4. The President shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary; and shall preside over their deliberations, and shall receive for his services \$12,000 per annum, payable weekly.

Sec. 5. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation, or other cause, the Secretary-Treasurer shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In that event it shall be the duty of the Secretary-Treasurer to issue, within six days from the date of vacancy, a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at headquarters for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

Sec. 6. The President shall be authorized and empowered to discipline State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions, and Local and Federal Labor Unions, including authority to suspend and/or expel any officer or member thereof, and/or to suspend and/or revoke their charter subject first to an appeal to the Executive Council and thereafter to the next regular convention immediately following. The President with the approval of the Executive Council shall likewise have authority and be empowered to safeguard and protect and if necessary take immediate charge of all equities and properties, tangible or intangible, acquired and/or possessed by State Federations of Labor, City Central Labor Unions and Local and Federal Labor Unions or their subsidiaries or agents, whenever or however such equities and/or properties may be jeopardized through disobedience to the constitution, laws, rules and requirements of the American Federation of Labor or for any other reason or cause deemed imperative by the President and the Executive Council, and shall hold same in trust as provided by the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE VII.—DUTIES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER

SECTION 1. The duties of the Secretary-Treasurer shall be to take charge of all moneys, property, securities and other evidence of investment, books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as Sec-

retary at the regular and special conventions, and to furnish the Committee on Credentials at the Convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body; to forward on March 1st and September 1st of each year to the secretaries of all affiliated organizations a list of the names and addresses of all secretaries and organizers.

Sec. 2. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the regular and special conventions may direct; he shall receive and collect all moneys due the Federation which shall be paid out only on the approval of the President.

Sec. 3. The Secretary-Treasurer shall collect the interest on all interest-bearing securities or other deposit at the expiration of each interest-period. The Secretary-Treasurer shall deposit in open account in bank or banks in the name of the American Federation of Labor and as Secretary-Treasurer all amounts in his possession not in certificates of deposit or invested in interest-bearing securities and before any money thus deposited can be withdrawn each check shall be signed by him as Secretary-Treasurer. A copy of this section shall be forwarded by the President of the Federation to each bank upon which the Federation holds certificates of deposit.

Sec. 4. The Secretary-Treasurer shall pay all warrants regularly drawn when signed by the President or his authorized agent as required by this constitution and none others.

Sec. 5. The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue stamps to Local and Federal Labor Unions, which shall be used by such unions with which to receipt for members' dues.

Sec. 6. It shall be the duty of each International, National, Local Trade and Federal Labor Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to furnish to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a copy of all official reports issued by such affiliated organizations containing a statement of their membership in good standing and to furnish such additional statistical data as may be called for by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor as may be in the possession of the respective unions.

Sec. 7. The Secretary-Treasurer shall give a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such amount as may be determined by the Executive Council and shall report to the annual convention of the Federation through the report of the Executive Council, and for his services he shall receive \$10.00 per annum payable weekly.

Sec. 8. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit to the Auditing Committee for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; close all accounts of the Federation on August 31 of each year and all moneys received or disbursed after such date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing Convention. He shall print the financial statement quarterly as a separate document and forward copy to all affiliated national and international unions, state federations of labor, city central bodies and directly affiliated local unions.

ARTICLE VIII.—DUTIES OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall appoint three of its members as a Finance

Committee, of which the President shall be one. This Finance Committee, with the Secretary-Treasurer, shall be clothed with authority to invest the surplus funds of the Federation in sound securities, or to deposit same in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit. Surplus funds of the American Federation of Labor shall be invested in sound securities or shall be deposited by the Secretary-Treasurer in bank or banks in interest-bearing certificates of deposit in the name of the American Federation of Labor as directed by the Finance Committee and in order to be cashed shall require the signatures of the Secretary-Treasurer or his authorized agent, and the President or his authorized agent.

Sec. 2. All securities and other evidence of investment shall be placed in a safe deposit box in the name of the American Federation of Labor in a bank selected by the Finance Committee and access to said box shall only be had jointly by the Secretary-Treasurer and the President or the Secretary-Treasurer and at least one member of the Finance Committee designated by the President.

ARTICLE IX.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade or Labor Unions, and to organize Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions, and connect them with the Federation until such time as there is a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. When a National or International Union has been formed, the President shall notify all Local Unions of that trade to affiliate with such National or International Union, and unless said notification be complied with, within three months, their charters shall be revoked.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall also prepare and present to the Convention, in printed form, a concise statement of the details leading up to approved and pending boycotts (and all matters of interest to the Convention), and no indorsement for a boycott shall be considered by the Convention except it has been so reported by the Executive Council.

Sec. 5. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers from place to place in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The remuneration for organizers of the American Federation of Labor shall be \$10.00 per day as salary, actual railroad fare, and hotel expenses of \$8.00 per day when travelling away from their home city. The remuneration for services of members of the Executive Council, fraternal delegates, interpreters and speakers or other

persons temporarily employed by the American Federation of Labor shall be determined by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. The Executive Council shall have power to make the rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution, or the constitution of affiliated unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 9. In the event of a vacancy of any member of the Executive Council other than that of the President, by reason of death, resignation, or other cause, the President shall make such vacancy known to the Executive Council, and shall call for nominations. The names of all nominees shall be submitted to the Executive Council, and it shall require a majority vote of the Executive Council to elect. Upon each unsuccessful balloting the name of the candidate receiving the lowest number of votes shall be dropped.

Sec. 10. All Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions holding charters direct from the American Federation of Labor, desiring the assistance of the American Federation of Labor in trade disputes, shall submit to the President of the American Federation of Labor for approval by the Executive Council the full statement of the grievance, and shall receive within twenty (20) days from the President an answer as to whether they will be sustained or not, and no benefits shall be paid where a strike takes place before the Local Union has received the approval of the Executive Council.

Sec. 11. No charter shall be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any National, International, Trade, or Federal Labor Union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions, without the written consent of such unions; no affiliated International, National or Local Union shall be permitted to change its title or name, if any trespass is made thereby on the jurisdiction of an affiliated organization, without having first obtained the consent and approval of a convention of the American Federation of Labor; and it is further provided that should any of the members of such National, International, Trade or Federal Labor Union work at any other vocation, trade, or profession, they shall join the union of such vocation, trade, or profession, provided such are organized and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 12. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall only have power to revoke the charter of an affiliated National or International Union when the revocation has been ordered by a two-thirds majority of a regular or special convention of the American Federation of Labor by a roll-call vote.

Sec. 13. The Executive Council shall be authorized and empowered to take such actions and render such decisions as may be necessary to carry out fully and adequately all provisions contained in the constitution and general laws as well as declarations and decisions of the conventions and it shall be authorized and empowered to take such further actions and render such further decisions during the interim of conventions as may become necessary to safeguard and promote the best interest of the Federation and of all its affiliated unions.

ARTICLE X.—REVENUE

SECTION 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from a per capita tax to be paid upon the full paid-up membership of all affiliated bodies, as follows: From International or National Trade Unions, a per capita tax of one cent per member per month; from Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, thirty-five cents per member per month, twelve and one-half cents of which must be set aside to be used only in the case of strike or lockout unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council; the amount received by the American Federation of Labor on each initiation fee from all directly affiliated local unions shall be 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by the local union from the individual, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than \$1; from Central and State bodies, \$10 per year, payable quarterly. Revenue may also be derived from assessments when and as ordered by a majority vote of a regular or special convention.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in the regular or special conventions unless the tax and assessments of their organization, as provided for in section 1, Article X, and assessments as provided in Article XII, sections 1 and 2, have been paid in full to the second month preceding the regular or special convention.

Sec. 3. Any organization affiliated with this Federation not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, and assessment or assessments when due and payable, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall become suspended from membership by the Federation, and can be reinstated only by a vote of the Convention when such arrearages are paid in full, as provided in section 2 of this Article.

ARTICLE XI.—LOCAL CENTRAL BODIES

SECTION 1. No Central Labor Union, or any other central body of delegates, shall admit to or retain in their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, hostile to any affiliated organization, or that has been suspended or expelled by, or not connected with a National or International organization of their trade herein affiliated; nor are delegates to be seated from Locals of National or International organizations which are not affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, under penalty of having their charter revoked for violation of their charter by the President or the Executive Council subject to appeal to the next Convention.

Sec. 2. It shall be the duty of all National and International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to instruct their Local Unions to join chartered Central Labor Bodies, Departments, and State Federations in their vicinity where such exist. Similar instruction shall be given by the American Federation of Labor to all Trade and Federal Labor Unions under its jurisdiction.

Sec. 3. Where there are five or more Local Unions in any city belonging to any National or International Union affiliated with this Federation they may organize a Central Labor Union, or shall join such body if already in existence.

SEC. 4. The Executive Council and Local Central Labor Unions shall use all possible means to organize and connect as Local Unions to National or International Unions the organizations in their vicinity; to aid the formation of National or International Unions where none exist, and to organize Federal Labor Unions where the number of craftsmen precludes any other form of organization.

SEC. 5. No Central Labor Union, or other central body of delegates, shall have the authority or power to order any organization, affiliated with such Central Labor Union, or other central labor body, to strike, or to take a strike vote, where such organization has a national organization, until the proper authorities of such National or International organization have been consulted and agreed to such action. A violation of this law shall be sufficient cause for the President or Executive Council to revoke the charter.

SEC. 6. Separate charters may be issued to Central Labor Unions, Local Unions, or Federal Labor Unions, composed exclusively of colored members, where, in the judgment of the Executive Council, it appears advisable and to the best interest of the Trade Union movement to do so.

SEC. 7. No Central Labor Union or other Central Body of delegates shall have power or authority to originate a boycott, nor shall such bodies endorse and order the placing of the name of any person, firm or corporation on an unfair list that has agreements with any International or National Union or Local Unions until the National or International Unions or Local Unions having such agreements are informed of the request made upon the Central Body of delegates and such International, National or Local Unions working under agreements that may be affected have had reasonable time to intercede and until the Local Union desiring such action by the Central Body has, before declaring the boycott, submitted the matter in dispute to the Central Body for investigation and the best endeavors on its part to effect an amicable settlement.

Failure to reach an understanding between the Unions involved the entire matter shall be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor which shall be empowered to grant or refuse such request.

SEC. 8. No Central Body or Department affiliated with the American Federation of Labor shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a Local Union chartered by a National or an International Union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; provided, however, that upon written charges, signed by at least three delegates, any delegate of an affiliated Union may, upon conviction after a fair trial, be expelled or suspended. Action of the Central Body under this section shall be subject to appeal to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and no delegation representing Local Unions affiliated, as herein described, shall be suspended or expelled until like action is taken.

SEC. 9. No Central Body shall take part in the adjustment of wage contracts, wage disputes or working rules of Local Unions, affiliated with a National or International Union, unless the laws of the National or

International Union permit, except upon the request or consent of the executive officer of the National or International Union affected.

SEC. 10. Local Unions of National or International Unions affiliated with the Departments attached to the American Federation of Labor, in any city where a Local Department exists, shall not be eligible to membership in any Local Department unless they are connected with the chartered Central Body, nor shall they be eligible to membership in the Central Body unless they are affiliated with the local Department.

SEC. 11. The representation of local unions entitled to affiliation in Central Labor Unions shall be as follows: Local Unions having 50 members or less, 2 delegates; from 51 to 100 members, 3 delegates; 101 to 250 members, 4 delegates; 251 to 500 members, 5 delegates; 1 additional delegate to be allowed for each additional 500 members or majority fraction thereof.

ARTICLE XII.—ASSESSMENT IN DEFENSE OF NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

SECTION 1. The Executive Council shall have power to declare a levy of one cent per member per week on all affiliated unions for a period not exceeding ten weeks in any one year, to assist in the support of an affiliated National or International Union engaged in a protracted strike or lockout.

SEC. 2. Any Union, International, National, or Local, failing to pay within sixty days the levies declared in accordance with Section 1 shall be deprived of representation in convention of the American Federation of Labor and in City Central Bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

ARTICLE XIII.—DEFENSE FUND FOR LOCAL TRADE AND FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS

SECTION 1. Unless otherwise ordered by the Executive Council the moneys of the defense fund shall be drawn only to sustain strikes or lockouts of Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions when such strikes or lockouts are authorized, indorsed, and conducted in conformity with the following provisions of this Article:

SEC. 2. In the event of a disagreement between a Local Union and an employer which, in the opinion of the Local Union, may result in a strike, such Union shall notify the President of the American Federation of Labor, who shall investigate, or cause an investigation to be made of the disagreement, and endeavor to adjust the difficulty. If his efforts should prove futile, he shall take such steps as he may deem necessary in notifying the Executive Council, and if the majority of said Council shall decide that a strike is necessary such Union shall be authorized to order a strike, but that under no circumstances shall a strike or lockout be deemed legal, or moneys expended from the defense fund on that account, unless the strike or lockout shall have been first authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council.

SEC. 3. When a strike has been authorized and approved by the President and Executive Council, the President of the Local Union interested shall, within twenty-four hours, call a meeting of said Union, of which every member shall be regularly notified, to take action thereon, and no member shall vote on such question unless he is in good

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standing. Should three-fourths of the members present decide, by secret ballot, on a strike, the president of the Local Union shall immediately notify the President of the American Federation of Labor of the cause of the matter in dispute, what the wages, hours, and conditions of labor then are; what advances, if any, are sought; what reductions are offered, if any; state the number employed and unemployed; the state of trade generally in the locality, and the number of persons involved, union and non-union; also the number of members who would become entitled to the benefits herein provided should the application be authorized and approved.

SEC. 4. No local shall be entitled to benefit from the defense fund unless it has been in continuous good standing for one year; and no member shall be entitled to benefit from said defense fund unless he has been a member in good standing in the American Federation of Labor for at least one year.

SEC. 5. When a strike has been inaugurated under the provisions of Sections 2 and 3, the American Federation of Labor shall pay to the bonded officer of the Union involved, or his order, for a period of six weeks, an amount equal to seven (7) dollars per week for each member. Each Local Union shall require its treasurer to give proper bond for the safe-keeping and disbursement of all funds of the Local. No benefit shall be paid for the first two weeks of the strike. The Executive Council shall have the power to authorize the payment of strike benefits for an additional period.

SEC. 6. No member of a Local Union on strike shall be entitled to weekly benefits unless he reports daily to the proper officer of the Local Union while the strike continues, and no member who shall receive a week's work, three days to be a week, shall receive benefits. Any member refusing other work while on strike (providing said work is not in conflict with labor's interests) shall not be entitled to any benefits.

SEC. 7. Any Union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the Executive Council shall not receive benefits on account of said strike.

SEC. 8. In case of lockout or the victimization of members, the Executive Council shall have power to pay benefits if, upon investigation, it is found that the Local Union whose members are involved did not by their actions or demands provoke the lockout by their employer.

SEC. 9. During the continuance of a strike the executive board of the Local Union shall make weekly reports to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, showing the amount of money distributed for benefits and to whom paid, furnishing individual receipts to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor from all members to whom such benefits have been paid, and all other facts that may be required.

SEC. 10. Before a strike shall be declared off a special meeting of the Union shall be called for that purpose, and it shall require a majority vote of all members present to decide the question either way.

SEC. 11. In the event of the defense fund becoming dangerously low through protracted strike or lockout, the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall have the power to levy an assessment of ten cents on each member of Local Trade

and Federal Labor Unions, assessments to be restricted to not more than five per year; and further, that there shall always be a surplus of five thousand (\$5,000) dollars in the defense fund.

SEC. 12. No Local shall be entitled to any of the benefits of the defense fund unless it requires its members to pay not less than one dollar (\$1.00) per month. The financial secretaries and the treasurers of each Local Trade or Federal Labor Union directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor shall, through the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, bond said financial officers in such sum as shall be adequate to protect its funds.

SEC. 13. Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall set aside for the maintenance of a local defense fund not less than five cents a month from each member.

SEC. 14. That initiation fees charged by directly affiliated Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall be not less than \$2.00 nor more than \$15.00, and that 25 per cent of the total initiation fee received by such Local Trade or Federal Labor Union from each individual shall be forwarded to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, but in no case shall the amount received by the American Federation of Labor be less than one (\$1.00) dollar, together with the per capita tax, accompanied by a monthly report giving the number of members paid for, and names of those initiated, reinstated, suspended and expelled, and number of members upon whom back per capita tax is being paid and months paid for, on blanks to be furnished by the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation. When dues are paid, the Financial Secretary of the Local Union shall place a per capita tax stamp in the member's due book. These stamps must be used. Suspended members can be reinstated only by the payment of three months' back per capita tax, in addition to the tax for the current month, and a fee of one dollar (\$1.00) for reinstatement stamps.

SEC. 15. That traveling cards issued to members by Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions shall admit members presenting the same to membership in Local Trade or Federal Labor Unions directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 16. That Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions shall be prohibited from assessing their members or appropriating their funds for any purpose other than union or American Federation of Labor purposes. That each directly affiliated union shall forward monthly to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor a complete statement of all funds received and expended.

SEC. 17. No Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, shall disband so long as seven members or five Local Unions desire to retain the charter. Upon the dissolution, the suspension or the revocation of the charter of any Local Trade or Federal Labor Union, or Central Body or State Branch, all funds and property of any character shall revert to the American Federation of Labor, to be held in trust until such time that the suspended or defunct organization may be reorganized and ready to confine its activities and actions to conform with recognized enforceable laws of the American Federation of Labor. It shall further be the duty of the officers of

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the Local Trade or Federal Labor Union or Central Body or State Branch, which has been dissolved, or whose charter has been suspended or revoked, to deliver all funds and property to the President of the American Federation of Labor or a representative whom he may designate for that purpose.

ARTICLE XIV.—MISCELLANEOUS

SECTION 1. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

SEC. 2. The Executive Council is authorized and empowered to charter Local Trade Unions and Federal Labor Unions, to determine their respective jurisdictions not in conflict with National and International Unions, to determine the minimum number of members required, qualifications for membership and to make rules and regulations relating to their conduct, activities and affairs from time to time and as in its judgment is warranted or deemed advisable.

SEC. 3. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be five (\$5) dollars, payable to the Secretary-Treasurer of the Federation, and the fee shall accompany the application.

SEC. 4. The American Federation of Labor shall refer all applications for certificates of affiliation from Local Unions or Federal Labor Unions from a vicinity where a chartered Central Labor Union exists to that body for investigation and approval.

SEC. 5. Certificates of affiliation shall not be granted by State Federations of Labor. That power is vested solely in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the executive officers of National and International Unions affiliated therewith.

SEC. 6. Fraternal delegates attending the Convention of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to all the rights of delegates from Central Bodies.

ARTICLE XV.—GENERAL RULES GOVERNING DEPARTMENTS OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SECTION 1. For the greater development of the labor movement, departments subordinate to the American Federation of Labor are to be established from time to time as in the judgment of the American Federation of Labor, or of its Executive Council, may be deemed advisable. Each department is to manage and finance its own affairs.

SEC. 2. To be entitled to representation in any department, organizations eligible to join it must first be and remain in affiliation to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 3. To be entitled to representation in local councils, or railway system federations of departments, local unions are required to be part of affiliated National or International Unions affiliated to departments or directly affiliated to the American Federation of Labor. Said Local Unions shall first be and remain in affiliation to Central Labor Unions chartered by the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 4. The fundamental laws and procedure of each department are to conform to, and be administered in the same manner as the laws and procedure governing the American Federation of Labor. No Department, Local Council or Railway System Federation of same shall enact laws, rules, or

regulations in conflict with the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor, and in the event of change of laws and procedure of the latter, department, local councils, and railway system federations are to change their laws and procedure to conform thereto.

SEC. 5. Each department to be considered the official method of the American Federation of Labor for transacting the portion of its business indicated by the name of the department, in consequence of which affiliated and eligible organizations should be part of their respective departments and should comply with their actions and decisions, subject to appeal therefrom to the Executive Council and the conventions of the American Federation of Labor. When an organization has interests in departments other than the one of its principal affiliation, in which it shall pay per capita tax upon its entire membership, it is to be represented in and pay per capita tax to the other departments upon the number of members whose occupations come under such other departments, but this in no instance shall be less than 20 per cent of the membership upon which it pays per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 6. Departments of the American Federation of Labor are to have their headquarters located in the city of Washington, D. C., and if possible in the same building with the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, unless there are reasons to the contrary satisfactory to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

SEC. 7. Departments of the American Federation of Labor shall hold their conventions immediately before or after the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and in the same city where the Convention of the American Federation of Labor is held, at which time and place their laws and procedure shall be made to conform to the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor and to go into effect the first day of January immediately following, to conform to the date when the laws and procedure of the American Federation of Labor go into effect. For reasons of transportation, expediency and the methods of representation the Railway, Metal Trades and Mining Departments may hold conventions at other dates and places, and in that event said departments shall authorize their executive boards to have said departments' laws conform to the preceding portion of this section.

SEC. 8. The Executive Council of each Department shall consist of not more than nine members, including the executive officer or officers, thereof. This not to apply to or interfere with the procedure on this subject found to be essential in the Railway Department.

SEC. 9. The officers of each department shall report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that the department has conformed to the laws, procedure and actions of the American Federation of Labor as they affect each department.

SEC. 10. In the Building Trades Department (on the basis of its law of 1913), organizations having seven or more delegates, each such delegate shall on roll-call be entitled to two votes. A roll-call shall be held upon the demand of one-fourth of all delegates whose credentials have been accepted and who have been seated in the Conventions.

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Sec. 11. The officers of the various departments shall submit a quarterly report to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor of the work done by their department, and its general conditions.

Sec. 12. At all regular meetings of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor there shall be present, during some period of the Council meeting, the executive officer or officers of each department, to take up with the Council matters that may be of mutual interest.

Sec. 13. A page of each issue of the *American Federationist* to be available to and to be used by each department for official report or for publication of some subject identified with the department, each department to designate its officer to submit the report.

ARTICLE XVI.—AMENDMENTS

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

FOLLOWING ARE RULES ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

UPON RESOLUTION, DULY MADE, SECONDED AND PASSED, THE FOLLOWING RULES WERE ADOPTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, PURSUANT TO THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY AS SET FORTH IN SECTION 8, OF ARTICLE 9, OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, IN SESSION IN WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 5-20, 1936:

"1. If any national or international union, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, violates any provision of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor, or any order of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor issued under and in pursuance of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor, involving a breach of the contractual obligations assumed by said union in its charter from the American Federation of Labor, and if notice or charge of said breach of obligation or of violation of any of the provisions of the constitution or laws of the American Federation of Labor or of orders of the Executive Council issued thereunder and in pursuance thereof is filed with the Executive Council by any of its affiliated national or international unions, or by the Executive Council of its own motion, the national or international union so complained of or charged with wrong doing shall be notified by the President or the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor of such charges or notice of complaint if in the judgment of the Executive Council such charges or complaints warrant further consideration and action with direction to appear at a given date before the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor or a committee of its members appointed by the President of the American Federation of Labor for that purpose, and then and there to submit such evidence it desires in refutation of said charges or complaint. The Executive Council or a committee of its members appointed for that purpose shall also hear evidence in support of said charges or complaint.

After said hearing—or if said union defaults in its appearance after notice and opportunity to be heard—the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor shall then in executive session determine what step shall be taken, if the said union is held guilty of having breached its contractual obligations in its charter from the American Federation of Labor or laws of the American Federation of Labor or of orders of its Executive Council, issued thereunder and in pursuance thereof. In the event the Executive Council finds said union guilty, the Executive Council may take any of the following steps: (a) Forgive said breach with or without conditions to be fulfilled by said union; (b) suspend said union from the American Federation of Labor and from enjoying the benefits from said membership for a definite or for an indefinite time; (c) penalize said union for said breach in any other way; or (d) if the actions of said union have been so serious that all relations between it and the American Federation of Labor should be severed, revoke its charter, but only

upon instructions from or approved by a Convention of the American Federation of Labor passed by a two-thirds vote ordering or approving the revocation of said charter.

2. State Federations of Labor chartered by the American Federation of Labor shall adopt their policies—legislative, political, civic and organizational—to the policies adopted by the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and if any State Federation of Labor purposely deviates from the policies of the American Federation of Labor, or if any State Federation of Labor violates any of the laws or provisions of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor or any order of its Executive Council pursuant thereto, such State Federation of Labor shall be dealt with by the Executive Council in the manner provided for in Rule 1, above, for dealing with national and international unions.

3. The President of the American Federation of Labor, under authority vested in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, is hereby authorized to discipline any Central Labor Union or any Federal or Local Labor Union and where the President of the American Federation of Labor in pursuance of this authority has disciplined any Central Labor Union, or Federal or Local Labor Union, and has suspended or expelled its officials, or has suspended its charter, an appeal may be taken by the aggrieved party to the Executive Council, and if the said appeal presents a *prima facie* case of error on the part of the President, the Executive Council may hear and determine the appeal.

4. The Executive Council shall investigate the affairs and audit the books of Federal and of Local Labor Unions periodically, and if said audit and investigation shows that said Federal or Local Labor Union has more members than it is paying a per capita tax on, the Executive Council shall take steps to collect in full the per capita tax due the American Federation of Labor."

Approved by 1936 Convention held in Tampa, Fla. (page 497 official proceedings).

THE FOLLOWING RULE WAS ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HELD AT THE COSMOPOLITAN HOTEL, DENVER, COLORADO, OCTOBER 14, 1937:

EXPENSES INCURRED IN RECOVERING PROPERTY AND FUNDS ARE CHARGEABLE TO FUNDS OR PROPERTY RECOVERED.

"Whenever a directly chartered trade or federal labor union or state or city central body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor needs, or its charter is suspended or revoked, and demand is made upon such organization or its officers to deliver to the President of the American Federation of Labor, or his authorized representative, the records, property and funds of such organization, and such demand is refused, then all expenses, of whatever nature, incurred by the American Federation of Labor in recovering such records, property and funds, shall be a lawful charge upon the property and funds involved, and on recovery thereof, the American Federation of Labor shall reimburse itself from the property and funds recovered."

Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor 1938

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

First Day — Monday Morning Session

Houston, Texas,
October 3, 1938.

Pursuant to law, the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor convened in the Sam Houston Coliseum, at 10:00 o'clock, E. E. Stokes, Chairman of the Convention Arrangements Committee, presiding.

Preceding the opening of the convention a band of union musicians presented a musical program.

Chairman Stokes: Houston and all Texas welcome you. We are glad to have you here. We are very proud of the great labor movement with which we are connected, we are very proud of our state, our city, and our citizens, and we want you to know each other. We wanted you, we invited you, you accepted, and you are here. We are very happy today. We, as your committee, stand pledged to the utmost of our resources to see that you are comfortable and happy during your deliberations. It is now my pleasure to turn the gavel over to your official host, the President of the Houston Labor and Trades Council, A. J. Bannon.

MR. A. J. BANNON

President Bannon: Chairman Stokes, thank you for your turning over the gavel to the Houston Trades and Labor Council. As Chairman of the Convention Committee, you have done a fine job.

President Green, delegates to the American Federation of Labor, distinguished guests, speakers, we are very proud and pleased to have you as our guest for the ensuing two weeks. The Houston Trades and Labor Council has looked forward to your coming for a number of months. We watched you, in your Departments, labor in order to get a flying start on this convention for this morning. We have observed that you are determined and

that you have not mixed the least horse-play with your work. The Houston Trades and Labor Council extend to you every welcome and during your stay, any time any delegate or your friends may wish any information or any assistance, you need go no further than any officer or member of the local Trades Council.

We have arranged for your entertainment a program which we think you will enjoy. From time to time during your deliberations you will be informed as to different entertainments that will occur during your stay. I hope that you will each afford us the pleasure of entertaining you.

First we will call on Bishop Byrne, who will give us the invocation.

INVOCATION

RT. REV. C. E. BYRNE,
(Bishop of Galveston)

Oh, God, Who did have compassion on the multitude when their zeal for Thy truth left them unprovided with food. Thou Who did vindicate the right of Thy disciples to shell corn on the Sabbath to appease their hunger, and Who did declare the laborer worthy of his hire, and Who placed the crime of defrauding the laborer of his wages among the sins crying to Heaven for vengeance.

Look down with gracious eye upon this assembly gathered to consider ways and means to assure to themselves and to millions more the right to freely labor, and then, too, for a remuneration that shall give to all a decent living, needful leisure and the ability to provide against the rainy day and the steady approach of old age. This we ask in the words of Thy own immortal prayer, taught to men through which they might seek Thy glory and their own good:

Our Father, Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us

our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil. Amen.

Chairman Bannon asked the band to play "Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here." The music was played and the entire audience arose and sang the song. Following that they sang "The Eyes of Texas Are Upon Us."

Chairman Bannon: The first speaker I will introduce is a young man, a native of our state who, incidentally, was the youngest Governor in the United States at the time he took office. He is a leading example of the old saying that small things come in small packages—no, I mean good things come in small packages. While I was thinking of that I was thinking of the campaign slogan his opponent was accusing him of—they called him the "little boy with the big breeches." Since being Governor he has been appointed as United States Circuit Judge of this District. I take great pleasure at this time in presenting Governor James V. Allred of Texas.

HONORABLE JAMES V. ALLRED
(Governor of Texas)

Mr. Chairman, President Green and other distinguished guests and all our friends of Texas and of the nation—it is an unusual pleasure to me to be here this morning as Governor of the Lone Star State, to welcome you to Texas, and to the city of Houston.

At the time the Battle of San Jacinto was fought Texas had less than 35,000 population. Today more than 6,000,000 people are honored and happy that the great American Federation of Labor has seen fit to come here, to avail themselves of our hospitality and at the same time to afford us an opportunity of getting better acquainted and understanding one another's problems.

We are not all native born Texans down here. More than a million of our six million Texans were not born in Texas, and when they came here a little more than one hundred years ago there were, of course very few native Texans. They came to us from everywhere, from across the seas and from every state in the then known nation. As Henry W. Van Dyke has said, they came:

"Men of mark from old Missouri,
Men of daring from Kentucky,
Tennessee, Louisiana,
Men of many states and races
Bringing wives and children with them,
Followed up the wooded valleys,
Spread across the rolling prairies,
Raising homes and reaping harvests,
Rude the toil that tried their patience,
Fierce the fights that proved their courage,
Rough the stone and tough the timber
Out of which they built their order!
Yet they never failed or faltered,
And the instinct of their swarming
Made them one and kept them working,
Till their toil was crowned with triumph,
And the country of the Texas
Was the fertile land of Texas."

The motto of Texas is friendship. We hope you have all found evidence on every hand

of that friendly spirit. We like to believe it denotes Texas. I have found in addressing other visiting conventions to Texas, even in attending the Governors' conferences, that some of our friends from the North and East come here expecting to find cowboys, Indians, and all of us wearing boots and spurs and ten-gallon hats. Well, we do that in some sections of the state. In fact, all of us wear the ten-gallon hats and the boots upon occasion, and from the program I see we are going to show you something of the Western life and give you a little bit of our Western atmosphere during the coming festivities. I am mighty proud and happy that they have arranged this frontier celebration for you and that you are going to get to see a real Texas rodeo.

We are particularly proud and happy that your great leader, of whom all the country is proud, has honored us with his presence upon this occasion. He came here last year and spoke at Dallas on Labor Day. At that time I was present at a conference of the Governors at New Orleans, and did not have the privilege of welcoming him officially at that time. But I wanted to be here this morning particularly to greet him, to express our appreciation for his coming and for the fine type of leadership that he has given you and given the country during the trying hours and days and months and years through which we have passed. He has many friends in Texas.

We always make it a point, when a great and distinguished guest comes to Texas, to give him a little token of our appreciation, and so this morning we are going to make him one of those big-hatted Texas Rangers, and present him, in the name of the State of Texas, a ten-gallon hat which he can sleep upon and out of which he can drink when the occasion arises. I am going to appoint Captain Green, of the Texas Rangers, as general supervisor of all the festivities. I think he has a bunch of blank pardons in his pocket if any of you happen to need them.

Last summer Mrs. Allred and I had the pleasure of going down into Mexico on our vacation trip. They were very lovely to us and we attended one of the performances in the National Theater there. Those of you who have been down to Mexico know how many curio sellers there are and how we all flock around wanting to buy curios and mementos of that country. One of the little skits on the stage was put on by Roberto Soto, who plays the big fat Mexican, who cannot speak any kind of language, in the picture, "Tropical Holiday," with Bob Burns and one or two others. Probably most of you have seen the picture. But in this particular skit on the stage Soto was a dispenser of curios, just a street vender, and he had baskets and satchels full of curios and he was selling particularly "mecates" or ropes that belonged to Pancho Villa. A charming looking American school teacher came along and bought one of these mecates, about the sixtieth he had sold. Then she saw a human skull and she said, "What is that?" "Oh Senorita," he said, "that is the skull of Ponce De Leon." She said, "How

"much is it?" and the Mexican answered, "One hundred pesos, only one hundred." And so she bought that skull of Ponce De Leon. Then she looked around a little bit further and saw another skull just about the size of my fist and she said, "What's that?" He said, "That is the skull of Ponce De Leon." She said, "I thought you told me this was the skull of Ponce De Leon." He said, "Oh, yes, Senorita, but this is when he was a little baby."

We want to be ready down here in Texas to give the delegates here most anything they want at most any stage of life. My purpose in telling you that story is to tell you that we want to give you just a little bit of every kind of Texas that we have got down here. You can call upon the Ranger with the ten-gallon hat if you are not exactly satisfied with what is being furnished.

We could not have wanted you to come to a finer or more typical city in Texas than Houston, a city of 400,000 population, we think the metropolis of the whole South, our hope and promise of tomorrow in Texas, represented by the evolution and the growth of Houston. Houston still, of course, carries with it the traditions and memories of what happened 100 years ago out here on the battlefield of San Jacinto. Houston is named for the greatest Texan of all times, one of the greatest Americans this country has ever known, a man who had it not been for an unfortunate domestic tragedy in his life, might and probably would have succeeded Andrew Jackson as President of the United States, but a man who was called to a higher destiny than that, called to serve not only as governor of Tennessee, and as commander-in-chief of the armies of Texas, and as President of the Republic of Texas, twice serving in the Congress of the Republic of Texas, serving as United States Senator from Texas, then defeated and then elected as governor of Texas, from which post he resigned the second time, giving up the governorship of a great state because of principle.

And so we are glad to have you here in Houston, because of our pride in all that the name of Houston represents, the breath and the memory of yesterday not only in the early history of Texas, but because we still see here on every side the evidences of that romantic era in the South, the era of the old, broad pillared, white pillared southern mansion, the era of the courtesy and of the hospitality of yesterday in the old South.

Then we see today the Houston of today and tomorrow, representing the economic and industrial progress of this particular part of the South, and the hope and promise for a greater Texas of tomorrow in which labor inevitably must continue to play a prominent part.

Houston, with its memories of yesterday, has been beautifully pictured as one of the belles of the old South by a Texas poet, Karl Wilson Baker of Nacogdoches, when she said:

"She dresses in the mode and she assumes
The visage of the hour—for she is wise

And strong, and subtle in the mysteries of power.

She courts no backward-looking dooms;

Yes, breathing through her spirit's secret rooms,

Lovers may catch the perfume of old sighs,
And in her heart are moonlit balconies,
Tall, white old pillars, and magnolia blooms.
For here that fragile Yesterday, apart
In the still light of lovely vanishing things,
By hasty mind and heedless eye unguessed,
But faithful still to the remembering heart,
Bends to a shadowy harp with muted strings—
Her face star-white, and jessamines at her breast."

Then in picturing the Houston of tomorrow:
"Her birthday is tomorrow; throbbing Power
Dilates her heart. She has no time to love
Old, gentle things: nor ever backward move
The hinges of her iron doors, where tower
The soaring exhalations of an hour
Of iron music. But in vain Power strove
With Beauty, ever. From her garden-grove
She goes, smiles; and lo, an iron flower.
So I have seen this city on a night
Of rain a-blossom in a mist of gold;
So followed stamen-streets, that turned to
bright

Rivers of jewels, like fables old,
Torrents of emerald, ruby, chrysolite,
Whereof, in rich old days the travelers told."

And so we find this industrial city of Houston, with its memories and reminders of yesterday, and with the hopes and the promise of tomorrow. We find here almost the realization of all the dreams we ever had.

That is why we are glad to have you here in Houston, where I expect shortly to make my own home. My friends, I hope you will pardon me if in welcoming you to Texas we try to let you understand just why it is we modest Texans, when we come to your national conventions in other sections of the country, want to tell you so much about Texas. I have told you something about Houston. I want to tell you just a little more about the state, and ask you, as you go homeward from here in almost any direction, to visit other sections of the state, to come to know our people and our traditions better.

We want you to visit Fort Worth and Dallas if you can. We would like to have you visit our beautiful old capital at Austin, amid the purple hills, where in springtime the Blue Bonnets grow. We would like to have you visit our citrus groves down in the Rio Grande Valley. We would like for you to see old San Antonio, where a little more than 100 years ago a little band of 181 Texans for more than two weeks withstood a whole army of invaders. Someone asked me what the Alamo is. The Alamo is the cradle of Texas liberty, located in San Antonio, an old Spanish mission behind the walls of which this little band of 181 men retired and there withstood this tremendous army, this well-equipped army, and for more than two weeks held the line there until a Declaration of Independence could be written, until a constitution could be written and a government formed to secure the liberties declared for in that Declaration of Independence.

We like to have our visitors know about William Barrett Travis, that young commander 28 years of age there in command, who could have escaped, who could have gone with all his men. We would like for you to know about James Bowie and Davy Crockett, about Bonham and all the others who died there, when they could have slipped away in the nighttime. But they chose to stand and hold the line for Texas, for civilization, for freedom, and for liberty.

I never like to have an audience come to Texas without reminding them of something that was penned by mortal, almost by divine inspiration, it seems to me, and sent from behind those besieged and beleaguered walls, the message of Travis to the world when he said: "The enemy have demanded a surrender. I have answered the demand with a cannon shot, and our flag still floats bravely from the wall. I shall never surrender nor retreat. I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible and then die like a soldier who never forgets what is due his sacred honor and that of his country, God and Texas, liberty or death.—William Barrett Travis."

"Postscript: The spirits of my men are still high." With the certainty of death, with the certain knowledge of death and destruction, he still could write from behind those walls, "The spirits of my men are still high."

Today Texas is the bright spot on the map of the nation, and if you want to know what I think about it, I think the principal reason for it is not alone our great national resources, not alone the abundant wealth that God has blessed us with, but the spirit of Texans that reaches back yonder to those men whose spirits were still high in the face of disaster—a spirit that will carry us on to the future, in my opinion, and help to settle every problem that the mind of man can raise.

I have no desire, my friends, to try to discuss with you problems upon which you are far better posted than I am. My function here, as I understand it, is to welcome you to Texas, and I wanted you to know something and very briefly, about this marvelous, beautiful state of ours which has been so beautifully pictured in the song written by our Governor-elect, W. Lee O'Daniel. Probably most of you have heard it over the radio:

"Beautiful, beautiful Texas, where the beautiful bluebonnets grow,

We're proud of our forefathers who died in the Alamo,

You can live on the plains or the mountains, Or down where the sea breezes blow, And you're still in beautiful Texas, the most beautiful state that we know."

We are happy to have you here, we want you to enjoy yourselves. We want you to leave with us a better understanding of the things in which you are interested. I have already observed that most of the legislative program that you have sponsored, and to which you point with pride is not alone primarily in the interests of those who happen to belong to the organizations you represent, but I was proud to see that you have taken

such an active part in the general social security program, in humanitarian measures, in public health measures and safety measures designed for the protection of the public as well. I wish all of the people of this country knew more about what organized labor and your particular part of it has been doing in the matter of the general welfare of the public.

My friends, you have already found we have some very nice weather down here:

"A warm place, a cool place, our weather is divine,

Here sunshine spends the winter and the Gulf breeze all the time.

Romantic and historic, it lifts us from the clod,

Welcome to beautiful Texas, where men walk and talk with God."

Chairman Bannon: Thank you, Governor Allred, for your inspiring invitation and address of welcome to the delegates of the America Federation of Labor.

At this time I want to remind the delegates that in this same hall next Wednesday evening there will be a grand ball to which each of you and your friends and families are invited. I hope you will arrange to be present and enjoy the fine dance music this coming Wednesday evening.

I have the pleasure at this time of introducing to you the Mayor of the city of Houston.

HONORABLE R. H. FONVILLE (Mayor of Houston, Texas)

President Green, Governor Allred, Bishop Byrne, Secretary Morrison, ladies and gentlemen—There isn't much left for a greeter when he follows the eloquent Governor of the State of Texas. One thing the Governor did not elaborate on and that is that according to the morning papers we are having the very worst weather in Houston that we have known for a long time. The temperature was higher yesterday than any day this year. I am sure this convention had nothing to do with it, but the warm feeling that Houston people have for you may have been responsible in a degree.

As Mayor of the City of Houston, it gives me great pleasure to greet this group of leaders of one of the most important of all questions, not only today, but throughout the ages.

We are delighted to have you and we feel, as we felt when we were advised you accepted our invitation, we have been honored here by your presence.

The American Federation of Labor has been particularly fortunate throughout the years thru its wisdom in the selection of leadership. I believe I have never met a finer group of men than is represented here on this occasion and the continued progress of wages and living conditions of the people is easily traceable

to the efforts of you and your predecessors. Almost all of us here today can recall when wages were less than half of what they are today, and living conditions generally were far worse.

You have fought your battles for the things you have thought were right which have been the secret of your success, yet we have tremendous problems facing the country today. There was never a time when the people of the world were so ready to accept the leadership of some person with a wisdom and foresight to meet the demands of the hour. In other words, we are ready for a messiah to lead us out of the wilderness. We have just witnessed the last few weeks how people respond to emotional tendencies to worship those who achieve outstanding events. The flight of Hughes around the world was hailed as a great feat and that of Corrigan showed that the people are in a frame of mind to bow down and worship those who are able to do outstanding things. Some five hundred years ago we had our renaissance that more or less upset the world, and apparently we are going through a renaissance today, and the wisdom of the leadership will certainly determine the results which will be far reaching in the destinies of this country. Most certainly we have not found the answer, but we may be finding it daily, and only the future can answer that. It may be little by little we will obtain the goal that is necessary to straighten out the many difficult problems that are facing the world today, politically and socially.

Houston is one of the most active industrial cities in the United States today, if not in the world, and the splendid manner in which industry and labor cooperate is having much to do with the progress of this city. Houston has been fortunate throughout the years to have had such men as our Mr. A. S. McBride and Mr. George Wilson, and others, who have been willing to sit down and talk over their troubles together and find the answer without serious difficulties. Too, I want to pay homage to those two outstanding characters I have known in Houston who have since passed on—Mr. Billie Wilson and Mr. Heinie Winkler—two men who have meant much to labor in Houston and the city at large, and their loss was most unfortunate to our people generally.

We are delighted to have Mr. Green with us. I have wanted to meet him personally for a long time, and I am pleased to have had that pleasure and I am not in any sense disappointed in the fine type of person I have always felt he was.

Again I say, I welcome you. And, whatever is possible to add to your pleasure and the success of this Convention, I want to assure you your City Council stands ready to render.

Chairman Bannon: I thank you, Mayor Fonville, and I am sure we will be calling upon you from time to time to further extend the hospitality of the city of Houston to some of our visitors.

I want to tell any of you delegates who feel the warm climate that you may take off

your coats and be comfortable. Next Saturday and Sunday afternoon at the Buffalo Stadium, the baseball field, there will be a first class, rip-snorting rodeo. We want each of you to be there and bring your friends.

The labor movement of Houston and this vicinity has been particularly fortunate in maintaining fine relationships between labor and the Chamber of Commerce. Some of the labor representatives of this vicinity are members of the Chamber of Commerce. We are particularly fortunate this morning to have with us to address you Vice President Hiram O. Clark, of the Houston Chamber of Commerce, and I take pleasure in introducing him.

MR. HIRAM O. CLARK
(Vice-President, Chamber of Commerce)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Officers and Delegates of the American Federation of Labor:

The Houston Chamber of Commerce in behalf of its more than 7000 business and professional members, citizens of this City, extend you sincere greetings and a warm welcome to our City. It is their hope that your stay here in Houston will be pleasant and that your deliberations and conclusions in the sphere of human relationships will be of great help, not alone to your members, but to all the people throughout this great republic.

The past few days have been extremely trying to the average person as he picks up his daily paper and finds it filled with the accounts of the meetings being held by the leaders of the great nations of Europe, who are forced at the point of declaring war to attempt some control of the selfish and almost inhuman ambitions of one, Adolf Hitler, who like all other dictators is deaf to the pleas to avoid bloodshed, the sacrifice of human lives, the destruction of beautiful homes, and the wrecking and maiming of countless thousands, and can hear only plaudits of self-glorification and the attaining of personal gratification and objectives.

Apparently, the only permanent effect of the World War was to increase the intense hatred the nations of the Old World have for each other. The ruthless methods used in Russia and Germany to destroy the Bill of Rights of a people to think and act independently, and through force and fear to bend them to the will of a dictator proves there is little safety in the thought of Age Old Customs. The world has been shocked by the efforts to destroy the people, cities, industries and churches of Spain, Ethiopia and China, and it all gives cause for alarm lest we wake to find that we have been asleep in our own country while the forces for the destruction and undermining of our very constitution have been actively at work.

The constitution of our country does not recognize any class distinction among its

citizens, and we all have equal opportunity to fill any position within the gift of our Government, or in the business, social or cultural life of our citizenship. The instance of birth, parentage, religion, ancestry has no bearing on the rights of citizenship. A man who is the son of a woodchopper today may fill any position anywhere on a tomorrow, and all that is required is a will to work, an understanding, and a respect for the rights of his fellow men, and an ability to keep his plowed row a straight one. I have been interested on several occasions in looking through the employee records of the men and women in our own organization, and it is most interesting to note the occupation of the parent. In some instances you find a Graduate Electrical Engineer whose father was a steel worker, brick mason, railway engineer, a conductor, a carpenter, a brakeman, etc., all of which merely serves to emphasize that the son no longer follows the trade of the father as in the days of yore and, therefore, the interest of the American Federation of labor extends further than merely to the position which its members now fill.

Where else in the entire world do we find such ideal conditions for the promotion of co-operation amongst all of our citizens as right here in the United States where there is no class distinction? In Houston we have all tried to build just such a fellowship, mutual respect and understanding, and there are members of the American Federation of Labor serving with distinction on our Port Commission, other public bodies, and on various committees of our Chamber of Commerce.

The past eight years have been very trying to business and everyone dependent upon business, and in the effort to relieve the "jam" much legislating was done, some of which was good, some bad, and some much worse. The greatest need today is for those charged with the management of a business and the co-workers in that business to sit down at the table together and to depend a little less on the effort to legislate understanding, as a substitute for mutual respect and negotiations.

The American Federation of Labor is deeply concerned with everything that adversely affects business as it is only through doing business with one another and keeping everyone employed that the wheels are kept revolving and the ability to pay wages and our debts is determined. The entry of the Government into many unnecessary branches of business; unfavorable trade balances with foreign countries, the constant building up of the public debt, as though there were no end to the ability of the American citizens to pay taxes; the break-down in community character in failing to resist the promotional efforts to accept grants from the Federal Treasury rather than to pay as they go, is all tending to mortgage the future of the American citizen and thereby the membership of the American Federation of Labor. It must be recognized and understood by every citizen that the Government has no money to give except that received in taxes from the citizenship, members of this organization as well

as those of no organization or of other kindred organizations.

All of the mistakes of Government, as well as all of the mistakes and failures in business, have such a vital effect on the average annual income and continuity of employment of all workers in any community, that I wonder if it would not be a constructive step for the American Federation of Labor to set up a Scientific Research Department designed to help resist the business activities of the Government and to prevent restrictive, unnecessary and hampering laws being shouldered on to business and labor, all in the interests of the future welfare of its membership.

The city of Houston has been known as one of the most favored spots in the United States largely because of its favored position with respect to oil and other natural resources; there are, however, a great many other cities where business hardly knows how to cope with the many intangible as well as tangible obstacles in its path. To plan a business so as to expand, contract new construction, employ larger forces, one must be able to figure on long-term low interest loans which means bonds and preferred stocks, and unless the future can be determined with reasonable certainty, management would be guilty of wrong doing to sell to the public its bonds or preferred stocks and then be unable, due to new and increased taxes, inflation, restricting laws and regulations, to meet payments on the money so borrowed. This naturally holds back the wheels of progress and employment.

It seems so simple and yet it seems to take so long to overcome the real obstacle to progress in employment and safety in income to the average family. The real obstacle is the failure of employee and employer to sit around the table and solve their problem rather than for each to run to the Government for a law for this and a law for that. Why not brush the cobwebs of the past aside and let business and its partners and co-workers sit together and work out a basis of security and understanding based upon reason and confidence.

No business has a patent on a formula for "Success" nor is any business prevented under the economic laws from sliding to bankruptcy. The laws of success are fundamental and a violation is as a rule 100 per cent fatal.

Speaking off the record I am happy to be here today in the absence of the president of the Chamber of Commerce because I want to bear testimony that, after more than twenty years of constant contract relations with the I. B. E. W. Local 66 of the American Federation of Labor, my associate, Mr. Bertron, and myself have no regrets, only pleasant memories of the many years of relations of the Houston Lighting & Power Company and the officers and representatives of the I. B. E. W.

Dan Tracy who is now president of the I. B. E. W., was one of the framers of our first agreement and we have been much interested in his success. Mr. Ingram is the district vice-president at present, and he is able and a worthy successor in Dan's old

shoes. Your chairman, Mr. A. J. Bannon, is the officer with whom we now conduct business, and he is able and a hard worker for the A. F. of L.

While our relations have been principally with the I. B. E. W., nevertheless, we have come to know all of the officers of the various organizations and can say that you are to be congratulated on the fine personnel you have here in Houston.

In closing, let me again say that the Chamber bids you welcome and a pleasant stay.

Chairman Bannon: Thank you, Mr. Clark, for your kind words. We hope you and the Chamber of Commerce will always feel that way towards organized labor. Organized labor always tries to stay in step with industry. Sometimes we feel that industry is out of step with us. Thank you for being with us.

At this time I want to introduce to you a personality I hope you will not come in contact with while in the city, but if you do, with a parking ticket or what have you, I am sure you will find him very fine, Captain Cecil Priest, representing the Chief of Police of the city of Houston.

CAPTAIN CECIL PRIEST

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Governor Allred, officers and delegates: On behalf of the Chief of Police and the entire personnel of the Police Department of the city of Houston, I extend to you, each and every one of you, a most cordial invitation and welcome to our city. And it is indeed a great honor conferred upon our city to have such an outstanding group assembled here today. Every member of the Houston Police Department stands ready to assist you in every way possible. In the event any of you meet with any difficulties or misunderstandings in which any of our officers can assist you, please feel free to call upon them. Or, in the event you should—I am sure you are not familiar with our traffic laws—in the event you should get a ticket for parking in the wrong place or a ticket for a boulevard stop, if you will kindly hand that to Mr. Bannon or Mr. George Wilson, they will see that you are taken care of. The bars of Houston are down for you.

Chairman Bannon: Those, too, are welcome remarks and we will not forget them. The Mayor, in his address, mentioned the passing of Mr. Billie Wilson—he meant to say Secretary Billy Carroll. Billy Carroll passed away several years ago. We have as chairman of the Allied Printing Trades Council a member of the Board of the Houston Trades and Labor Council, and also one of the Port Commissioners, a man who has worked faithfully for organized labor during his long stay in Houston. He is one of the true old

work horses in the local movement, and I take pleasure to introduce to you, Mr. W. W. Strong, president of the Allied Printing Trades Council.

MR. W. W. STRONG

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Green, Governor Allred, delegates to the convention: I come before you this morning representing the Texas Allied Printing Trades Council to welcome you to our city and our state. All of you know what the Allied Printing Trades stand for, what the Allied Printing Trades Council is for. In Texas we have a rather unique organization known as the Texas Printing Trades Council. Our state covers so much territory that it is almost obligatory to have some central organization of this kind in order to further the interests of the members of the Allied Printing Trades.

I will not take up any more of your time. You have had plenty of speakers and you have some good talkers coming up. However, I want you to know that the Allied Printing Trades of the State of Texas welcomes you here and we hope you will have a very constructive and successful convention.

Chairman Bannon: Thank you, W. W. We are mighty glad to have you with us again, because of the fine work you have done in the printing trades. It has been outstanding.

And now I want to introduce to you the President of the Houston Metal Trades Council. This Department is not an old Department of the labor movement in Houston, but it has been militant and it has fine leadership. I take pleasure at this time in introducing Mr. R. C. Cole.

MR. R. C. COLE

(President, Houston Metal Trades Council.)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Governor Allred, officers, delegates and friends—It is indeed a pleasure to be present here with this grand convention. We want to extend our gratitude to the various committees who have assisted us in trying to make your stay in Houston one to be long remembered, and we hope when the last gavel has fallen and you have returned to your homes you can always look back to Houston and realize that you have had a share of that good old southern hospitality.

Chairman Bannon: Thanks, Brother Cole.

Our next speaker is an old timer in the labor movement of Houston. He has been with us a long time and has been active. He is a regular work horse and is Executive Secretary of the Houston Building Trades Council, as well as President of the Texas State Federation of Labor, A. S. McBride. As the militant President of the State Federation of Labor, he is to be congratulated for the progress the building trades have made in the

city of Houston and for the fine leadership of the State Federation of Labor during the past year. I take pleasure at this time in introducing to you Mr. Andy McBride.

MR. A. S. McBRIDE,
(President, Texas State Federation of Labor)

Mr. Chairman, Governor Allred, distinguished guests and speakers, President Green, members of the Executive Council and delegates to this 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—At this time I want, in behalf of the Texas State Federation of Labor, to extend a word of greeting and welcome to you in behalf of the state organization. We are more than proud to have you in our great state and our fair city. I had the honor at the Denver convention of extending the official invitation to the delegates to that convention to bring this convention to Houston. I say that with a great deal of feeling. I was successful in persuading the members of the Executive Council and the delegates to that convention to come to Houston with this convention.

I want to say on behalf of the state organization that we know but one labor movement and that is the American Federation of Labor. And another belief I want to reaffirm, the allegiance of the state body to this great organization.

We appreciate the honor and pleasure of having you with us. We hope that your stay will be very pleasant. We are going to strive to make it one of the most pleasant in the history of this organization.

I know you have listened to a lot of eloquent speakers here this morning. I will not make a speech, but say a word of welcome and hope that this convention will be one of the outstanding in the history of this organization. And now, President Green, on behalf of the state organization and the local organization, I want to present to you this gavel made of Texas wood by Texas workmen. I saw you break a gavel at Denver. I don't believe you will break this one.

President Green: Thank you very much.

Mr. McBride: I want to have the honor of introducing the president of the local Building Trades Council, the liveliest little man in Houston, Brother Tom Reed.

MR. THOMAS B. REED,
(President, Houston Building Trades Council)

Mr. Chairman, President Green, Governor Allred, delegates and friends: I notice in this program here, "An address by Thomas B. Reed." I want to make that welcome instead of address. The Governor spoke of the beauties of the state. He forgot to say anything about its size. It is more than four times as large as the six New England States combined. He also forgot to tell you that you are as far away from El Paso when you are in Houston as you are from St. Louis,

so if they tell you to step over to El Paso, you will know how far you will have to go. Neither did he speak of the little ranches we have down here where the residence stands back 65 miles from the front gate. In Chicago I made the statement that it was 60 miles from the front gate to the residence. Later I looked the matter up and corrected the distance.

Now in behalf of the Building and Construction Trades Council of Houston, we welcome you to our city and hope you will have a successful convention. I don't know whether the delegates can picture a residence that stands back 60 miles from the front gate.

You have heard some interesting addresses from men that we think are outstanding in our civic life in the city and in the state. Also from some representatives of the local labor movement. They told you that the labor movement of Houston and vicinity has made great progress. These are the men who steered the labor movement to what we think is a point of advantage, not only in the State of Texas, but in the South. We have with us a number of distinguished visitors I wish we had the time to listen to, because I am sure they have interesting messages they would like to convey to you delegates; but time will not permit us to hear them, and, inasmuch as President Green's address will be broadcast, we have cut our program short.

I want to make a few observations, however, as to our relations with the Police Department. The Police Department of the City of Houston is directly under the Mayor and the chief head, Captain Cecil Priest, has addressed you. The labor movement of Houston has gone through some very trying times, just like other industrial centers throughout the nation. We attribute a great deal of the peace and success of our movement to the fine cooperation we have received from the city Police Department. They have cooperated with us during times when cooperation was highly appreciated and badly needed. And we do not regret having friends in the Police Department.

I also wish to say a word or two for the Chamber of Commerce. I know many localities throughout the nation where the Chambers of Commerce have worked directly against organized labor. I want to impress upon you again that the Houston Chamber of Commerce has not taken that attitude in this city. On several important occasions we have called on the Chamber of Commerce for cooperation in various ways, and I don't know of one time when that Chamber of Commerce of Houston has failed us. That is something I think should be of interest to many of you.

We had an open forum and had some nation-wide and very noted speakers. They were surprised at the relations the labor movement maintained with the Chamber of Commerce, and pointed out some drastic cases up in the Tennessee-Alabama section where the Chambers of Commerce would relieve corporations of taxes and make the workers work them out. I think the reason for this relationship is on account of the activity of the labor movement in the civic affairs and in taking

part in our politics. I am sure that every constitution cautions the members not to get into politics; but in the city of Houston, through the leadership of the men you have heard speak, we have occasionally taken a small part, which paid back to us big dividends. We have about five minutes before President Green takes the air. I am going to ask the orchestra to play a little music in order that we may relax. I thank you.

Chairman Bannon: Delegates, at this time I want to just introduce to you a friend of organized labor whom we are very proud to see just happen in here. He could talk to you for a week, but we have only three or four minutes and I am just going to introduce him to you and he is going to say, "Hello" —Mr. Albert Thomas, Congressman from Texas.

Congressman Thomas: It is nice to see this fine group here, and we welcome you to Houston. We know that as a result of this convention many good things will come. I will have the privilege and the honor of speaking to this crowd later on during the week.

Chairman Bannon: At this time I want to present to the delegates and visitors present, President William Green.

PRESIDENT WILLIAM GREEN

Mr. Chairman, your Excellency, Governor Alfred, your Honor, Mayor Fonville, representatives of the Chamber of Commerce, business interests of the city, representatives of the churches, organized labor of Houston, Texas, and of the great State of Texas, fraternal delegates to this convention from Great Britain, distinguished friends, officers and delegates in attendance at this great convention of the American Federation of Labor, my radio audience: This great 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor assembled this morning under the most favorable and auspicious circumstances in this splendid city of the Southland, Houston, Texas. We were all deeply touched by the warmth of the welcome extended to us by the representatives of this commonwealth, of the city, and of the organized labor movement of this section of the South. We will be privileged to enjoy the hospitality of the people of Houston for the next two weeks, and in the name of and on behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this congress of labor, I extend to all who spoke this morning your sincere thanks and I express to

them our deep appreciation of the warmth and the cordiality of the welcome extended us.

This is the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. That means that this great economic organization has been functioning for fifty-eight continuous years. It has grown and developed out of the study, education and experience the representatives of labor have been able to give this great organized labor movement.

I am proud to say that we assemble today in this city of the Southland, a strong, courageous, militant organization of workers, representing more than 5,000,000 working men and women. We are strong numerically, and in my judgment, we occupy a larger place in the hearts and minds of the people of the nation than we ever did before in the history of our movement. We come to Houston with a larger paid-up membership than was ever reported on the books of the American Federation of Labor heretofore. That represents progress. That reflects as no words can the standing, influence, growth and expansion of the American Federation of Labor.

But you assemble here in a two-fold capacity: As the representatives of organized labor seeking earnestly to pursue the pathway of peace, cooperation and understanding, conscious of our responsibilities, not only to those we represent but to the great nation as well. In addition we come as warriors from the battlefield, the place where in our way and in our own communities we carry on the struggle in behalf of the American Federation of Labor. We are constantly at grips with those opposing forces who seek to limit, if not destroy, the activities of the American Federation of Labor. We have always known the existence of our common foes, those who refuse to see eye to eye with the American Federation of Labor. But it is almost tragic when we think that not only must we come to grips with the common foe, but we must carry on against those who lead a dual movement within the ranks of labor, a movement formed for the purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor. You know better than I can tell you of the raids made upon organizations firmly established in the communities of the land. Why should our unions be raided? Why should our organizations be the subject of attacks, not from an

open foe but from those who have always professed friendship?

Well, my friends, this convention will make a partial answer to that question, and after we have done so we will go back to our homes and to our communities, peace-minded, but happy warriors determined that the American Federation of Labor shall remain as an institution, a part of the institutional life of our great nation.

I want to bring to this audience this morning some facts which I think are pertinent, and then allow you intelligent, educated, understanding men and women to draw your own conclusions. I have in my hand a printed pamphlet which was submitted by the leader of the dual movement called the Committee for Industrial Organization to the Congress of the United States. It was presented to the Congress and to the people of our nation at the time when I was called upon to begin my service as President of the American Federation of Labor. Let me quote from it:

"Imported revolution is knocking at the door of the United Mine Workers of America and of the American people. The seizure of this union is being attempted as the first step in the realization of a thoroughly organized program of the agencies and forces behind the Communist Internationale at Moscow for the conquest of the American continent. The overthrow and destruction of this government with the establishment of an absolute arbitrary dictatorship and the elimination of all forms of popular voice in governmental affairs is being attempted on a more gigantic scale with more resolute purpose and with more crafty design than at any time in the history of this nation."

Those words I have read are included in this statement prepared by the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the dual movement established in America for the purpose of destroying the American Federation of Labor. Now in this statement in this pamphlet there are set forth nine different complete objectives of this Communist conspiracy formed by this revolutionary movement. Time forbids me reading all, but I will read two, and they will be significant. You will understand the significance of those statements immediately when they are read. The seventh is:

"Seizure of the American Federation of Labor, with the ouster of its officials and

through such seizure gaining control of all its affiliated unions and trade unions."

That is a specific objective.

"8. Conversion of all craft trade unions into single units of workers within an industry known as industrial unions."

That was the objective, we were told, of the Communists. You understand that, don't you? Here is another:

"Wherever possible, in conducting their activities in America the Communists have attempted to bore from within organizations already existing and to utilize them for their ultimate ends and purposes. They have been particularly active in trying to bore from within the United Mine Workers of America, for the reason that it is the largest single organization in the country, includes a large number of races and nationalities, among its members, and is the nearest today, in their opinion, to a one big union, which is their ideal conception of a labor union and their objective for all labor unions."

Isn't it strange, my friends, that this man who prophesied that the Communists were going to seek to destroy our craft unions and establish industrial unions instead, to establish here in America a one big union, is now engaged in leading a movement that has for its purpose that very objective? He is now attempting to do what he prophesied the Communists were going to do and is leading a movement designed to wipe out the structure of the American Federation of Labor established and built over a long period of time. Now here is another one:

"Through these organizations the revolutionary leaders in America are making a nation-wide attempt to obtain control of the American Federation of Labor, reorganize the craft unions on the basis of one big union within an industry and weld them into a revolutionary agency in America."

What is the CIO trying to do now? That very thing, realize that very objective as set forth in this document, penned and prepared by the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Now I want to bring to you the contrast. I hold within my hand a press report, published in the New York Times, dated September 12, 1938.

"In a speech today before 50,000 Mexican workers assembled in Mexico City in the Bull Ring, John L. Lewis, chairman of the Com-

mittee for Industrial Organization, said that the United States was in danger of a Fascist movement. Mr. Lewis' address was in connection with the International Congress Against War and Fascism which is in session here. The Bull Ring was jammed with denim-clad workers. Red flags, including those of the Communist party of Mexico and the Lenin section of the CMT (Confederation of Mexican Workers) were waving when Mr. Lewis rose to speak. He was obviously impressed.

"I salute," he said, 'this great meeting of Mexican people and Latin-Americans, Europeans and Asiatic delegates in the name of the CIO and its 4,000,000 members.'"

This meeting was held in the Bull Ring in Mexico City. It was a fitting and appropriate place for the delivery of such an address. I have always understood that a bull ring was built for the purpose of allowing the bull to show his prowess, and I have further understood that when the bull entered the ring red flags were waved for the purpose of making him more ferocious. So here we have the setting: Here is the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, a few years ago, just a short time ago, presenting this document here to Congress, and now in a bull ring in Mexico addressing those who are waving the red flag he denounced in said document.

I note in the report of the address that Fascism was attacked. But I cannot find anywhere in the report of the address where a single denunciatory word was directed against Communism and Nazism. Well, my friends, the American Federation of Labor was invited to attend that meeting in Mexico. We were asked to be represented there. The American Federation of Labor refused to go there or to send a representative there.

Secondly, the American Federation of Labor is not only opposed to Fascism, but it is also equally opposed to Communism and Nazism. We are against every ism except Americanism, and the American people, I am sure, will, if they do not now, ultimately appreciate the fact that the American Federation of Labor is the nation's guarantee against the invasion of our social, economic or political life by Fascism, Nazism or Communism here in America.

I have repeatedly said that in the development of our economic and industrial philosophy we apply in the broadest terms both forms of organization, the industrial form where circumstances and conditions

permit, the craft form where the skilled workers need protection in order to develop a wage standard commensurate with the requirements of American citizenship. But in the development of our organization structure we are not going to permit any organization, let it be the Communists against whom we were warned, or the Committee for Industrial Organization to destroy our craft unions established out of years and years of struggle and sacrifice here in America.

Now may I develop briefly our economic philosophy? We believe in collective bargaining, in organization of the workers, and we want to establish here in America a condition where men may exercise their right to organize and bargain collectively, free from intimidation and coercion. We extend an invitation to employers of the country to accept that well-developed, modern philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. We appeal to them to stop making warfare through their organized agencies upon organized labor and upon organized labor's industrial and economic philosophy. We believe in private ownership, the right of management to own and control and manage their property. We believe they should earn a fair return upon their investment, but at the same time we demand that they accord to labor the right that we guarantee to them or are willing to concede to them—the right of labor to organize, to bargain collectively, to speak through their chosen representatives and to be paid a wage as high as industry can afford and that will keep the workers of the country in decency and in comfort.

We are not opposed to the National Labor Relations Law. The American Federation of Labor participated in the formation of that Act. We feel it would be unnecessary here, however, if the employers of the nation had refrained from making warfare upon organized labor, had they accepted the realities of the situation in this country as the employing interests of Great Britain accepted the realities of the situation there and dealt with us freely, frankly, openly, conceding to us our rights, and we conceding to them their rights. If they had done that there would never have been any need for the Wagner Labor Relations Act.

What we object to is the administration of the law. It is badly administered. It is not administered in accordance with the spirit and the letter of the law. What we wish

and what we demand is that a judicial-minded body, keenly conscious of its responsibilities, impartial in its attitude, shall administer this law and apply it without fear or favor to all groups of organized workers.

But our complaint is this, that the National Labor Relations Board, in the administration of the Act, has become the ally of the CIO, and we won't stand for that. No government agency possesses the right to substitute its own peculiar economic philosophy for the plain provisions of an Act, nor can it, nor should it be permitted to be influenced in the administration of the law by its members' own peculiar ideas.

We want to be free American laboring men, we demand that we be free—free to work out our own problems. We resent governmental control and governmental dictation. We want to organize, free from governmental control and governmental administration, and it is because we believe the Board is exceeding its authority, covering a field never intended to be covered by the Act, that we protest against the administration of the Act. This convention here will make the answer. You will formulate our policy, the policy we shall pursue in our efforts to secure relief. You will lay down the rules that we must follow, and when the policy has been formulated and announced the world will know that we are going to the Congress of the United States and asking it, not only asking but demanding that the Wagner Labor Relations Act be so amended as to prevent a biased Board from administering the Act in their own way and against the spirit and the letter of the law.

Now I am through. There are other subjects I shall talk to you about during this convention. I have referred to some of the outstanding, pressing problems that we must consider, the form of organization, our future policy and all that, but I know that during the two weeks we will be here we will deliberate calmly, we will form our judgments in accordance with the facts, and we shall go back to our homes carrying with us the most pleasant memories of a delightful visit spent here.

I thank you.

Now, I formally and officially declare the

58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor legally and properly convened and open for the transaction of business. We will await the submission of the Credential Committee's report until the afternoon session, but in the meantime the chair will announce the appointment of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, if there are no objections.

The chair will call upon Secretary Morrison to submit to you the names of the members of the Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Rules and Order of Business

A. J. Kugler, Mrs. D. A. Houck, J. H. Lyons, George Wilson, E. Lewis Evans, John B. Robinson, John C. MacDonald, Max Goldman, E. W. Kearns, H. W. Sullivan, N. P. Alifas, George W. Jones, Thomas J. Burke, Frank Field, D. F. Allen, George A. Mulkey, H. E. Greenwald, John P. Redmond, M. Carozzo.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

Convention Assistants.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF CONVENTION — Mr. James O. Hubbard, President Houston Typographical Union No. 87.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS—Mr. L. D. Morrison. Member Houston City-County Employees Local Union No. 1347.

MESSENGER — Mr. Fred Byam, Member Houston Electrical Workers Local Union No. 66.

ASSISTANT MESSENGER—Mr. Paul Ornburn.

President Green: If there is no objection the appointments of the officers of the convention as announced will be accepted and approved.

Hearing none, it is so ordered.

President Green: Now we will call upon Reverend Airey, of Houston, to deliver the benediction.

BENEDICTION

(Rev. J. W. E. Airey)

Under God's gracious love, mercy, protection and direction, we commit you, your convention and your loved ones. The Lord bless you and keep you. May the light of His countenance be upon you and give you peace, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

At 12:00 o'clock, noon, the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock, P. M.

RESOLUTIONS

Under the provisions of the A. F. of L. Constitution, Article III, Section 6, all resolutions must be received 30 days prior to the opening of the convention, **EXCEPTING** resolutions adopted after the expiration of the 30 day period, by a convention of a national or international union or of a state federation of labor. Such resolutions shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention.

Any resolutions or proposals received after the expiration of the time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance thereof is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Resolutions of state federations of labor must first have received the approval of the previous convention of the state federation of labor involved.

Resolutions of city central labor unions must first have received the approval of such central labor union at a regularly constituted meeting of the organization.

Resolutions received from directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions are to be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council in turn to report to the convention as to the disposition made of these resolutions.

The following resolutions were received within the prescribed time limits and conform to constitutional requirements:

Legislative Department, A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 1—By Delegate John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, One of the principal duties of the American Federation of Labor is to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States and to prevent the enactment by the Congress of legislation inimical to the interests of labor; and

WHEREAS, The complexity of present day legislation requires the greatest care and study by those entrusted to the duty of having legislation enacted or defeated in the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The lives of the people of this Nation are greatly controlled by legislation at the present time and the enactment of a bill by Congress is of the greatest importance to every citizen of this Nation; and

WHEREAS, The legislative department of the American Federation of Labor is responsible for the introduction of bills in the Congress of interest to Labor and the presentation to the Committees of Congress of the views of the American Federation of Labor on matters of interest to Labor; and

WHEREAS, A large majority of the Members of Congress look for guidance on matters of labor legislation to the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The present Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor should be enlarged to meet the ever increasing volume of business it is called upon to perform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its incoming President and Executive Council to take immediate steps to improve and enlarge the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor to the extent that it may—

1. Be able to cope with the increasing amount of business it is called upon to perform.

2. To present to Congress and explain the Legislative program of the American Federation of Labor thirty days prior to the convening of Congress.

3. To appear at all hearings being held by Committees of Congress on matters of interest to Labor and present the views of the American Federation of Labor on such legislation.

4. To keep a complete and accurate record of the votes of the Members of Congress on all bills and amendments thereto of interest to Labor.

5. To keep State Federation of Labor and City Central Labor Unions informed on the attitude of their Senators and Representa-

tives on bills of interest to Labor that are before Congress.

6. To counsel with and cooperate with the legislative representatives of the Departments of the American Federation of Labor and the National and International unions stationed in Washington, D. C.

7. To counsel with and cooperate with the legislative representatives of the Departments of the American Federation of Labor and the National and International unions stationed in Washington, D. C.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

McCall Publications

Resolution No. 2—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal, the International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Magazine Photo-Engraving Corporation of Stamford, Connecticut, is an adjunct and subsidiary of the McCall Corporation, being owned and controlled by the same interests and officers; and

WHEREAS, The Magazine Photo-Engraving Corporation was established primarily to produce the engravings used in printing the magazines published by the McCall Corporation, which include

McCALL MAGAZINE
McCALL NEEDLEWORK
McCALL QUARTERLY
McCALL COUNTER BOOK
McCALL FASHION SHEET
McCALL AD. SHEET
RED BOOK MAGAZINE
BLUE BOOK MAGAZINE; and

WHEREAS, The Magazine Photo-Engraving Corporation has persistently refused to deal with any legitimate or recognized Union of the Labor Movement and during the last year fostered and entered into an agreement with an organization of its employees, which organization cannot be regarded as other than a Company Union; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the publications of the McCall Corporation

McCALL MAGAZINE
McCALL NEEDLEWORK
McCALL QUARTERLY
McCALL COUNTER BOOK
McCALL FASHION SHEET
McCALL AD. SHEET
RED BOOK MAGAZINE
BLUE BOOK MAGAZINE

be declared unfair by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all State and City Central Bodies be notified of the unfair attitude of the McCall Corporation and the action taken by this 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in declaring these publications unfair, and that these State and City Central Bodies be requested to cooperate in discouraging the purchase of any of the aforementioned publications and magazines, and the further request that a letter to this effect be forwarded to the McCall

Corporation at 230 Park Avenue, New York City, by each of these organizations, also by individual members, subscribers and others interested in the cause of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Thomas J. Mooney

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, James McConnell, Henry F. Sternau, Edward Heisler, International Molders' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, a member of the International Molders' Union of North America for thirty-six years, has been imprisoned by the State of California for more than twenty of his best years on a life imprisonment sentence on the foulest frame-up conspiracy ever recorded in the whole history of American jurisprudence; and

WHEREAS, This monstrous frame-up conspiracy against Thomas J. Mooney was conceived, inspired, directed, executed and paid for by the hiring henchmen Agents Provocateur of the California non-union open shop employers, particularly the public utilities corporations of San Francisco, who had direct control of the district attorney's office and the police department; and

WHEREAS, The real motive behind this outrageous conspiracy is class fear and class hatred of Thomas J. Mooney because of his aggressive, militant activity in the California trade union movement and his undying loyalty and devotion to the entire working class; and

WHEREAS, The original trial judge, Franklin A. Griffin, Captain of Detectives, Duncan Matheson, in charge of the gathering of all the evidence, all of the living members of the jury that found him guilty, and the present district attorney have demanded his pardon; and

WHEREAS, Two commissions appointed by Presidents Wilson and Hoover investigated this case and branded the frame-up as "shocking to one's sense of justice"; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of other public officials, countless thousands of worthwhile men and women, organizations and many scores of the great daily newspapers and magazines throughout the world have branded this frame-up as a blot on civilization, the shame of America, and a disgraceful smear upon the escutcheon of the State of California and an international scandal; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney was, by a directed verdict, upon the motion of the district attorney, and over his protest, acquitted May 24, 1933, on an indictment identical to the one on which he was convicted more than twenty years ago; and with the verdict of not guilty still ringing in his ears, he was placed in irons and speeded back to San Quentin Prison for the rest of his natural life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates assembled in the Twenty-eighth convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, at Chicago, Ill., August 13, 1934 to August 25, 1934, that we reiterate and declare once again our full and complete belief in the

absolute innocence of our brother member, Thomas J. Mooney, and denounce with righteous wrathful indignation and scornful contempt the original framers of this foul conspiracy and every other public official who, subsequent thereto by his decision, aiding, abetting deeds or words of encouragement toward the continuation of this monstrous frame-up; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Molders' delegates to all conventions of the American Federation of Labor present this resolution for adoption.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Request PWA Officials to Require Enforcement of WPA Wage Schedules for Locality as a Condition to Allocation of Funds

Resolution No. 4.—By Trades and Labor Council, Lansing, Michigan.

WHEREAS, On many Federal projects partially financed by the P.W.A. in this State the prevailing wage rates are not being paid; and

WHEREAS, Many of the local sponsors of these projects are adopting a minimum wage scale less than the schedule of wages paid on W.P.A. projects; and

WHEREAS, This condition places employers of Union Labor in an unfavorable position in competing with the wage cutting, chiseling employer, resulting in lower wages in localities where these projects are under construction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Board to request the Public Works Administration to refuse to allocate funds for projects where the minimum wage submitted by the local sponsor is less than W.P.A. wage schedules for that locality.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Discriminations Against Negroes

Resolution No. 5.—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Negro people are the victims of varied forms of discrimination which result in limiting their right in the purchase and use of property; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination serves to deny their right to certain types of employment, thereby creating the unfair and un-American practice known as "white man's jobs," regardless of merit and ability, which makes for the economic impoverishment of the Negro people; and

WHEREAS, Hotels, restaurants and theatres, colleges and universities, hospitals and recreational facilities, together with railway carriers and other means of transportation and places of general public convenience, licensed by city, state or federal agencies, refuse the Negro people accommodation on account of race or color, or humiliate and

exploit and rob them by segregation or Jim-crow practices that are extremely despicable and offensive to Negroes of a similar plane of culture and education of the white people that have access to such conveniences; and

WHEREAS, The denial of these elemental and necessary privileges of accommodation to the Negro people, involves their basic civil rights, guaranteed by the federal constitution; and

WHEREAS, Negro blood, brain and brawn have helped to make these United States of America what they are today; and yet the Negro people are disfranchised by various unconstitutional devices, and held in peonage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record for the abolition of all forms of discrimination on account of race or color, and call upon the Executive Council, State and City bodies, as well as federal locals, national and international unions and the various departments, to express their definite moral opposition to this sinister and destructive practice of race discrimination, and to support the fight for legislation which purports to secure for the Negro people their civil and political rights.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Ethiopia

Resolution No. 6.—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Ethiopia, one of the most ancient kingdoms of Christendom, has been cruelly betrayed and "sold down the river" by her alleged allies, and, especially, England, with a smirk and genteel hypocrisy, resulting in the murderous usurpation of the sovereignty of a free and peace-loving people by the barbarous legions under the pompous dictator, Mussolini of Fascist Italy, in contravention of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the various declarations of the League of Nations, the Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt's Administration and all principles of international law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record as condemning the ruthless policy of aggression by Fascist Italy against an orderly nation, expelling and exiling its great Ruler, Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah, the heir of King Solomon, and demand the restoration of Ethiopia to the people of Ethiopia, and urge the United States, the League of Nations and civilized society never to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Scottsboro Boys

Resolution No. 7.—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Court trials and investigations have demonstrated that the nine (9)

Scottsboro Boys were the victims of an infamous frame-up, having been tortured almost a decade in jail; and

WHEREAS, Rescued from Alabama judicial and mob terror by the United States Supreme Court, at different strategic times, the stricken conscience of Alabama, under the pressure of an aroused public opinion, was forced to set free four (4) of the Scottsboro Boys charged with the very same crime the five (5) boys are charged with that are still held in prison awaiting their doom; and

WHEREAS, It is clear and obvious to friend and foe of the boys that if it was fair and just to give four of the Scottsboro Boys their freedom, when the State of Alabama contended that the nine (9) boys were guilty of the same crime, then it is just and fair to release from the Alabama prison dungeons the remaining five boys, some of whom have suffered from the brutal assaults of prejudiced prison guards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, call upon the state of Alabama, in the name of justice and humanity and fair-play, to let the other five Scottsboro Boys go, and cleanse the hands of Alabama from the blood of the innocent Scottsboro Boys.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Discrimination Against Negroes in Primary Elections in Southern States

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Lily White Primaries in Southern states are unconstitutional since, by denying Negro citizens the right to vote, they are a violation of the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution; and

WHEREAS, Lily White Primaries elect representatives to city, state and federal offices that make laws and hand down decisions that affect all of the people of these Southern states, and yet Negro citizens, a part of the population, are not permitted to vote in these primaries, whose results are equivalent to election, merely because of race or color, which is a flagrant form of taxation without representation, which was the cornerstone of the American revolution which resulted in the independence of the thirteen colonies from the tyranny of King George of Great Britain; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record as condemning the Lily White Primaries as un-American, unjust and unfair, and against the principle of trade union organization as represented by the American Federation of Labor, since Lily White Primaries divide the workers upon a basis of race and color and call upon the Southern states to rid themselves of the stigma and disgrace of the Lily White Primaries, and permit all citizens to vote in all primaries regardless of race or color.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Constitutional Provisions of Trade Unions Barring Negro Membership

Resolution No. 9—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The color bar and various subtle forms of race discrimination, some open and others disguised, operate to curtail the right of Negro workers to various jobs, without regard to skill, training and experience; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination by trade unions tends to divide the workers upon a basis of race and color, thereby playing into the hands of the employer who fundamentally cares no more for a white worker than he does for a black worker; and

WHEREAS, Whenever a trade union excludes a worker merely because of race or color, such exclusion weakens the entire labor movement, and lessens its power to fight for decent wage rates, humane hours of work and improved working conditions that will assure living standards commensurate with health, comfort and decency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 58th Annual Convention, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record calling upon all national and international unions and departments, to eliminate the color bar and all forms of discrimination which serve to exclude workers from membership on account of race or color; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call upon the conventions of national and international unions whose constitutions have color clauses and that practice discrimination against Negro workers, to create a committee to report on the question of the color bar and various forms of race discrimination to their next convention, for discussion and abolition.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Anti-Lynching Bill

Resolution No. 10—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, In the last half century, some 5000 or more persons have been the victims of lynching in the United States of America, some of whom have been white and women; and

WHEREAS, Lynching harks back to the brutal methods of the barbarian and savage, and constitutes a blot, a stigma and a shame and disgrace upon a so-called civilized country, and earns the condemnation and scorn of all civilized peoples; and

WHEREAS, Convention after convention, together with the Executive Council and President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, has made definite and sharp declarations against this national evil and inhuman practice, and that there is a growing enlightened sentiment in the South against this horror; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Con-

vention of the American Federation of Labor express its unqualified condemnation of lynching and mob terror, and denounces the Southern filibuster in the United States Senate against the Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, as opposed to and in contravention of all democratic procedure and practice, preventing, as it were, through physical force and a blocking process, the will of the people from being heard and registered, and calls upon the Congress to enact a law to wipe out lynching.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Protesting Displacement of Colored Railroad Maids

Resolution No. 11—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Colored Maids have been taken off the Union Pacific trains and are gradually being taken off all of the railroads, and are being replaced by white Stewardess Nurses in utter disregard of their seniority, some of the Colored Maids having put 25 and 30 years in the service; and

WHEREAS, The Colored Maids performed practically all of the duties now being performed by the white Stewardess Nurses, besides giving the additional service of manicure and hairdressing; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, condemn this violation of the principle of Seniority for which the trade union movement has fought so long and hard, by the Union Pacific Railroad and other railway systems, as unfair to a group of maids, regardless of color or race, who have given the best of their life to a railroad company, only to be thrown upon the scrap heap, into the discard in order to experiment with some fad of service, while these maids walk the streets, with no prospect of ever getting employment again, and yet deprived of the old age service pension benefit; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters do not thus protest against the Stewardess Nurses being placed on the trains because they are white, but because their being placed there has broken down a well established trade union principle of Seniority. The Brotherhood delegates would protest against Negro Stewardess Nurses displacing colored or white maids who have given satisfactory service for a century or more, and may we add that these maids were union maids of the Brotherhood and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green be authorized by the convention to address a letter of protest to the President of the Union Pacific Railroad and other railway systems, against this outrageous abuse of the Seniority rule which organized labor so dearly prizes, the abrogation of which has resulted in the elimination of the Colored Maids and the substitution of white Stewardess Nurses.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates Leo E.

George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Railway Mail Association; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Chas. I. Stengel, Cecil E. Custer, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Government workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation curtailment of working hours without loss of pay, and thus not only benefiting them but also more firmly established the principle of shorter hours for industrial workers and creating greater work opportunities; and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers; and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing Unions of Government workers in this Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Appreciation of Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union;

Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; George L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Chas. I. Stengel, Cecil E. Custer, Bernice B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Postmaster General James A. Farley and other policy forming officials of the postal service have repeatedly declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokesmanship through their duly elected representatives; and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the post office department and is a marked improvement from previous personnel relations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor extend its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to all government establishments in which they do not exist.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Survey of Industries Looking to Reducing Work Hours Proportionately with Increase in Productivity

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The constant pressure of competitive business in America has developed new machinery and methods which have enormously increased the production of each employee; and

WHEREAS, These new methods and machinery have not brought about a proportionate decrease in price, or improvement in quality, but instead have served to create a huge increase in the number of the unemployed and to endanger the economic, social and political life of the community; and

WHEREAS, While more than ten million Americans are vainly seeking work while merchants and manufacturers have surpluses which they cannot sell because the families of the unemployed lack purchasing power; and

WHEREAS, There are millions of workers who are working forty-eight or fifty-four or sixty hours a week while other millions can find no employment for even one hour a week; and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has established the definite principle, so long supported by organized labor, that the general welfare demands the limitation of hours of work and the establishment of minimum wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Annual Convention of the Massachusetts State Federation of

Labor formally endorse the general principle that hours of work should be reduced to the same proportion that production has been increased over a period of years unless that increase in productivity has been passed along by proportionate decreases in price; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention urge that a survey of each industry be conducted by a competent and adequately staffed commission in cooperation with the Department of Labor and the Works Progress Administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, and the Works Progress Administrator; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to submit a resolution to this effect to the 1938 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Shorter Workday.

Urging Co-operation of International Unions with Federal Committee on Apprenticeship in the Establishment of National Trade Apprenticeship Standards

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently fought for a system of education and training which will assist the workers in developing their skills and general knowledge under standards and safeguards which will prevent the overcrowding of the trades; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its 36th and 57th Conventions, gave its unqualified support to the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, U. S. Department of Labor, because its program provides for equal representation by labor and management on all national, state, and local apprenticeship committees; and because it has established standards and procedures to assure apprentices of adequate training, a progressive scale of wages and protection against trade overcrowding; and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has provided the Federal Committee with additional funds with which to expand its field activities; and

WHEREAS, Apprenticeship legislation has been enacted in Arkansas, Louisiana, Virginia, and Massachusetts providing for the development of apprenticeship labor standards by their Departments of Labor in cooperation with trade apprenticeship committees on which labor and management have equal representation; and

WHEREAS, The United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada and the national employers association in steamfitting; the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America and the national employers association in that trade; and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters and the national employers association in plumbing have jointly established national apprenticeship standards for apprentices in these three trades; and

WHEREAS, All these accomplishments are

in accord with recommendations made by previous American Federation of Labor Conventions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That State Federations of Labor are urged to press vigorously for State Apprenticeship Legislation within the State Departments of Labor, supported by an appropriation adequate to provide competent administrative personnel; and be it

RESOLVED, That all International Unions, where apprenticeship is applicable, be urged to cooperate with the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship in the establishment of national trade apprenticeship standards with the objective of providing all future skilled workers with proper training in all processes of their trades, supplemented by instruction in related technical and general subjects; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the United States Congress and Governors of all the States.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Employment Conditions of Federal Prison Custodians

Resolution No. 16.—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Government Employees working for the United States Penal Institutions, are not enjoying conditions which other employees of the Government are allowed; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in Houston in 1938, request the incoming Executive Board and the Legislative Committee in Washington, D. C., assist in establishing the following program for employees of Government Penal Institutions.

I.—Improvements to Prison Service as a whole

- A. 8 hour day—44 hour week.
- B. Civil Service Court of Appeals.
- C. Retirement optional at twenty years; compulsory at twenty-five years of service because the nature of the work is highly hazardous and causes a mental strain.
- D. Physical training, workmanship, and gas training to be on government time.
- E. Mechanical force in field service under classification act and their salaries according to American Federation of Labor Standards.
- F. Proficiency ratings graded same as army officers and not left to any one man's judgment.
- G. That an employee in the prison service be not allowed to work over 12 hours continuously without 8 hours of rest.
- H. Substitute officers, while on furlough, without pay be permitted to leave McNeil Island during the entire furloughed period.
- I. Pressure be brought to bear upon the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., to revoke merger of mechanical group with custodial group as designated in Bulletin No. 377 which

took effect April 1, 1938. Also mechanical group be given back their old status previous to merger regarding working conditions, hours and days.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Stove Mounters' Application for Transfer of Enamel Workers Local Unions

Resolution No. 17.—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, There are several thousand Enamel Workers under Federal Charters in the American Federation of Labor and we believe that they rightfully belong to the Stove Mounters' International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have such enamel workers transferred to the Stove Mounters' International Union where they rightfully belong.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Stove Mounters' Application for Extension of Jurisdiction

Resolution No. 18.—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, We believe that the jurisdiction stated in our constitution is incomplete; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the jurisdiction of the Stove Mounters' International Union shall consist of and include all workmen engaged in Mounting, Assembling, Fabricating and processing of stoves, and all cooking and heating and refrigeration appliances such as Mounting of Steel Ranges, Malleable, and Electric Ranges, Portable Flush electric heaters, Gasoline Stoves, Wire Racks and Broiler Baskets, Oil Burner Marine Ranges, Camp Stoves, Stokers, Refrigerators and Coolers, and parts pertaining thereto, Drillers and Riveters, Machine and Bench Hands, White Metal Workers, Repairmen, Cutters and Punchers Breakers, Press Hands, Pattern Fitters and Filers, Manifold Fitters and Testers, Gaters, and all Porcelain Enamellers, and such workmen that are engaged in the work in the various departments outside the foundry direct.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Stove Mounters' Application for Change of Title

Resolution No. 19.—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Stove Mounters' International Union has asked for a change of title at a previous convention and the change not granted due to the wording, processors; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled grant a change in our title to read as follows:

Allied Stove Mounters and Porcelain Enamel Processors International Union of North America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Unification

Resolution No. 20—By Delegate Ed. J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, Believing the slogan, "In Union there is strength," is indisputable, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record as favoring a less antagonistic attitude between the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. and we further believe that organized labor as a whole and all parties concerned will benefit by more harmonious cooperation and less antagonism.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Resumption of A. F. of L.-C.I.O. Negotiations

Resolution No. 21—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, There have been conferences between representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. (Committee for Industrial Organization) which have as yet failed to bring about an agreement and establish unity; and

WHEREAS, As time goes on, the split in the labor movement is endangering the gains recently made by labor; and

WHEREAS, In some sections of the country this split has developed into open warfare between affiliates of the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The C.I.O., at their recent conference held in Atlantic City, expressed a real desire to re-establish unity and heal the breach: now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 29th convention goes on record demanding that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor take steps to immediately resume negotiations with the C.I.O., that it recognize the policy of industrial unionism for the basic mass production industries, and that it agrees to take into the A. F. of L. all the C.I.O. unions, and then establish a committee of unions not directly involved in jurisdictional disputes to straighten out all jurisdictional differences that exist between the unions of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O.; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. fails to take such action, our delegates to the A. F. of L. Convention are hereby instructed to fight for this Resolution and to use all means at their disposal to ensure its passage; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this International Convention goes on record favoring the principles of industrial unionism for the basic mass production industries.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Provision for Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bargaining between employers and employees and is fostering the principle of selective representation; and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long way from the United States to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes; and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council, the government incurring no expense through such procedure; and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 specifically gives the federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, John P. Redmond, James A. Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois, which is comprised of locals affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters in Illinois, and the assistance of the International Association of Fire Fighters, a law was passed by the Illinois Legislature in June, 1937, which is known as the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Law; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of this Minimum Wage Law was to establish a minimum wage of \$150 per month for firemen in cities, villages and incorporated towns of a population of 10,000 to 25,000 in the State of Illinois; and a minimum wage of \$175 per month for firemen in cities of between 25,000 and 150,000 population; and

WHEREAS, After said Minimum Wage Law had been passed and become law, the constitutionality of the law was challenged by court action on the part of certain cities in the State of Illinois, as a result of which court action was taken, and the constitutionality of the law was upheld by the Illinois State Supreme Court, in December, 1937; and

WHEREAS, Following this decision by the

Illinois Supreme Court, a rehearing of the case was asked by certain municipalities, which are members of the Illinois Municipal League; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of Illinois granted such re-hearing and on June 22, 1938, such Supreme Court reversed its former decision, and handed down a decision holding the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Law to be unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, In this last described action, the Illinois Supreme Court did not rule upon the question properly before it,—namely, the police power of the State of Illinois and the power of the Legislature to legislate upon the wages and hours of public servants, but seems to have ruled upon a question which was not and could not properly be before the Court,—namely, the ability of municipalities to pay certain salaries or wages; and

WHEREAS, This last decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in this matter, by inference, clouds the constitutionality of all acts of the Illinois Legislature relative to wages and working conditions, thus doing untold harm to the cause of labor in the state of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The delegates to the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois in convention, and the delegates to the International Association of Fire Fighters convention in Atlanta have endorsed the request of the members of the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois that the American Federation of Labor be solicited to render all possible assistance, legal and moral, to the end that a further hearing be held by the Illinois Supreme Court in the matter of the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its fifty-eighth convention, in the City of Houston, Texas, does hereby endorse the program of the International and its affiliated state body, the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois, in their efforts to secure a re-hearing by the Supreme Court of Illinois, in the matter of the decision of said Supreme Court on June 22, 1938, which held the Illinois Firemen's Wage Act to be unconstitutional; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled, at the fifty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor, do instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every reasonable means to secure a re-hearing in the matter of the aforementioned decision of the Illinois State Supreme Court.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Labor's Non-Partisan League

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Two preceding General Conventions of our International have recorded themselves as favoring participation of labor in political action; and

WHEREAS, Labor's Non-Partisan League has established itself as the political center through which labor can express itself; and

WHEREAS, Labor's Non-Partisan League has been instrumental in these sections of the country and particularly in Washington to secure the passage of legislation favorable to labor, has given active aid and support to the Roosevelt New Deal Government which resulted in the adoption of laws favorable to labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has gone on record withdrawing from Labor's Non-Partisan League, a move which definitely plays into the hands of the reactionaries and endangers the gains made by Labor in the recent period; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 29th General Convention records itself as definitely in favor of affiliating with Labor's Non-Partisan League and requesting the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to immediately rescind its action in withdrawing from Labor's Non-Partisan League and arrange a conference with the League for the purpose of working out a joint program of political action; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event the Executive Council fails to take such action, that the delegates of our International Union be instructed to introduce this Resolution before the General Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Local Unions be encouraged to affiliate with Labor's Non-Partisan League wherever such organizations exist.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Discrimination Against Workers on Account of Race, Color or Creed

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, In the face of increasing threats of reaction and fascism, the policy of disunity caused by discrimination on account of race, color, creed or political affiliation weakens the forces of labor and labor's bargaining power; and

WHEREAS, Such discrimination in hotels, parks, playgrounds, restaurants, public places and the like as practiced against persons on account of race, color or creed, throughout the United States, is in violation of the principle and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution and the Civil Rights Laws of most States, and does not make for unity; and

WHEREAS, Such discrimination is an un-American practice, that in a large measure is carried out by workers against other workers, workers as agents of employers, workers who may be members of the Hotel and

Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, playing into the hands of reaction; and

WHEREAS, On page three of the International Constitution in the first paragraph of the Preamble it is pointed out: "Recognizing the fact that organizing is necessary for the amelioration and final emancipation of labor, therefore, we have organized the 'Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America,'" a principle which can't be carried out without unity of all workers regardless of race, color, creed or political affiliation, as bulwark against the open-shoppers, reaction and the enemies of all labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-ninth Biennial Convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America go on record for the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution and the Civil Rights Laws of the State; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record condemning the practice of discrimination against persons on account of race, creed or color in hotels, parks, playgrounds, restaurants, and public places; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this International Union immediately set up machinery to educate the members of our International Union against such practice; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record condemning any member of the International Union guilty of being a party to discrimination either as direct agent, or witness, in behalf of employers and owners who do so discriminate—in violation of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution and Civil Rights Laws of the States—against persons and workers on account of race, color, or creed, and that any one found guilty will be subject to fine by the International Union and publicized in the International magazine; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent for adoption to the American Federation of Labor Convention and the Committee of Industrial Organization and released to the nation's press and published in the International magazine.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of Illinois upheld the validity of the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act in a decision handed down on December 22, 1937; and

WHEREAS, In response to a petition from certain municipalities, Members of the Illinois Municipal League, this Court granted a rehearing of the case after which, on June

22, 1938, the Court reversed itself and handed down a decision holding the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act to be unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, In this last described action the Illinois Supreme Court did not rule upon the question properly before it, namely: The police power of the State of Illinois and the power of the legislature to legislate upon the wages and hours of public servants, but seems to have ruled upon a question which was not and could not properly be before the Court, namely: The ability of Municipalities to pay certain salaries or wages; and

WHEREAS, This last decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in this matter, by inference, clouds the constitutionality of all acts of the Illinois legislature relative to wages and working conditions, thus doing untold harm to the cause of labor in the State of Illinois; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Associated Firefighters of Illinois, in Convention assembled at Maywood, Illinois, on this the second day of August, 1938, do hereby earnestly solicit the assistance and co-operation of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the International Association of Fire Fighters and the American Federation of Labor to the end that a further hearing may be had before the Illinois Supreme Court in the matter of the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Encroachment of WPA on Competitive Private Construction Business

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a general realization on the part of carpenters as well as on the part of business men of the United States that recovery from the depression in which we now find ourselves will be realized only by the re-establishment of private business in its proper place in our national economic structure; and

WHEREAS, The Works Progress Administration is encroaching more and more on established industry by means of instigation and development of projects which properly belong under and should be conducted by the contract system; and

WHEREAS, There are indications that the Works Progress Administration is becoming more and more of a permanent nature rather than of an emergency character; and

WHEREAS, The expansion of Works Progress Administration into organized construction fields results in a demoralized industry making it incapable of re-employing men at full time jobs and incapable of paying taxes to support the Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Council of Carpenters of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America protest against the further expansion of the Works Progress Administration in competitive construction fields which is detrimental to the organized industry and urges the liquidation of the Works Progress Administration as far as possible in those fields through the adjustment and extension of normal existing agencies; be it further

RESOLVED That this Resolution be referred to the Illinois State Federation of Labor with request for their endorsement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Urging State Laws to Regulate Night Work of Women in Enameling Industry

Resolution No. 28.—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, There are no laws on the statute books of the various States governing the working hours of women working between the hours of midnight and 7 a. m.; and

WHEREAS, Number of Enamel Plants are working their female help between these hours, and we further believe, that this is injurious to their health; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this convention go on record promoting legislation in their various States and State Federation of Labor to do all in their power to abolish this vicious condition; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Union do everything in their power to promote the passage of such legislation through the State Federation of Labor that do not at the present time have such laws.

We are calling this to the attention of the delegates and officers that every force of energy that can be brought to bear to bring about such legislation as we propose above.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Correction of Annual and Sick Leave Laws

Resolution No. 29.—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Swarts, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, Na-

tional Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The Acts of March 14, 1938 (Public No. 471 and 472, 74th Congress), establishing for Government employees 26 days annual leave and 15 days sick leave annually with pay, contemplated, in the opinion of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who sponsored this legislation, that the absences referred to meant days upon which employees would otherwise work and receive pay; and

WHEREAS, This interpretation of the law was in effect for all per diem 40 hour, five day week employees, and many others, until January 1, 1938; and

WHEREAS, The executive orders issued by the President on March 21, 1938, which were retroactive to January 1, 1938, provided that in case five day week employees were on leave and a non-work day occurred within such period of leave, the non-work day would be charged against the annual leave due such employees; and that in case any employees were off on sick leave, included within which period occurred a non-work day and a Sunday, such employees would have the non-work day and the Sunday charged against the sick leave due them; and

WHEREAS, The decision of May 4, 1938, No. A-94536, of the Comptroller General of the United States, held that these executive orders were in conformity with the law; and

WHEREAS, The Attorney General of the United States has advised the President that he has no authority under the law, as enacted, to exclude non-work days and Sundays, as the case may be, from being charged against annual and sick leave due employees under the conditions specified in the President's orders of March 21, 1938; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Houston, Texas, express its disappointment and disapproval of the manner in which the leave laws of March 14, 1936, have been interpreted in the instances dated, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor render every assistance possible to the affiliated organizations interested, to secure legislation which will entitle employees to 26 days annual and 15 days sick leave, exclusive of Sundays, legal holidays, non-work days, and other time for which employees would not otherwise receive pay.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Extension and Improvement of U. S. Civil Service System

Resolution No. 30.—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John

C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, We believe an equitable merit system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, to be the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees; there fore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its fifty-eighth annual convention reaffirm its unqualified endorsement of the extension of the merit system to all employees of the United States Government except those in positions which the President may determine to be policy-determining in fact; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in their efforts to secure, through legislation and Executive Orders, such extension of the classified civil service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, George G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice B.

Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements; the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher government employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its cooperation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, George G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey,

Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent Law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration made in previous conventions and instruct its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organizations to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its fifty-eighth annual convention assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

U. S. Employees Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the Workmen's compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission; and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Fire-fighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees; and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law; and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones; and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission shall be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the tenure of office of commissioners be for a period of fifteen years, with restrictions governing removals similar to those applying to the posi-

tion of comptroller general of the United States, provided that initial terms under such tenure act be stated at five, ten, and fifteen years, respectively; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Luecke Seniority Bill

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries and particularly the railroad Brotherhoods; and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of similar seniority principles among postal workers and other federal employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in accord with this endorsement support be given the Luecke Seniority Bill pending before Congress which will establish a general seniority standard.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Legislation to Provide for Pay Increases on Longevity Service

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under the present system, a clerk who has reached the highest automatic grade has little chance of receiving any further advancement; and

WHEREAS, That very fact tends to destroy any further efforts on the part of the employee to become more efficient in his work since no material reward can be forthcoming; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, approve a Longevity Pay Bill, which provides an increase of \$100 at the end of 10 years' service and \$100 increase every five years thereafter; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Efficiency Rating System, Post Office Employees

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The new efficiency rating system has demonstrated in its operation that it is inherently dangerous to the welfare of the post office employees, in that it has caused the withholding of automatic promotions, and threatened many employees with reduction in salary grade; and

WHEREAS, It is a potential danger to organization activities, in that it may be used to intimidate active organization workers; and

WHEREAS, This system could easily be used as a weapon against the employees in two ways, as a wage cut and a speed-up; and

WHEREAS, Although this system contains certain improvements its dangers as seen in actual operation, far outweigh its benefits; and

WHEREAS, The National Executive Board of the N. F. P. O. C. has already seen fit to suggest certain revisions in the said system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record in favor of the following amendments to the efficiency rating system:

1. That the term "cooperation," in view of its vagueness and indefiniteness of definition and application, be eliminated as a factor.

2. That section 37 of the said system, relating to the minimum percentages necessary to maintain grade and for automatic promotion, be stricken out and a new section be substituted therefor, requiring a minimum of 50 per cent to maintain grade and a minimum of 60 per cent to advance into the next automatic grade.

3. That section 41 be amended to read: "Any employee should also be considered for removal whose total rating is 30 per cent or less at the annual rating period."

And, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event all efforts to persuade the Department to revise the rating system along the lines proposed above fail, that the National Officers of the N. F. P. O. C. be directed to draft and introduce in the next session of Congress, appropriate legislation carrying out the intent of this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Urging Legislation to Establish Recognition of Seniority Among Postal Employees

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Proper recognition of seniority among postal employees promotes the morale of the service; and

WHEREAS, Sentiment among the post office employees throughout the country is strongly in favor of the establishment of seniority by law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record endorsing a Bill which provides for the recognition of seniority of service in promotions and assignments of clerks in first and second class post offices; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Substitute Workers in Postal Service

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under present conditions a substitute in the Postal Service has to work an indefinite period before being appointed to a regular position; and

WHEREAS, During this period he must work under very irregular conditions, his tour of duty sometimes is a span of 14 to 17 hours; and

WHEREAS, The uncertainty of how many hours and how much money he will make imposes an additional hardship upon him; and

WHEREAS, He must qualify on postal examinations the same as a regular and performs the same type of work as a regular without receiving any increase in compensation, regardless of the length of time he is a substitute; and

WHEREAS, The substitutes in the postal service are perhaps the only group of employees in the classified Civil Service who do not receive sick leave and vacations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the wish of the delegates to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this condition of employment be remedied by the passage in the National Congress of the following bill:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That substitute post office clerks, substitute city delivery carriers, substitute railway postal clerks, and substitute laborers in the postal service, after one year of 1,912 hours from date of appointment as a substitute, shall be advanced to the entrance grade and automatically advanced \$100 each year of 1,912 hours to the top grade, or until appointment as a regular employee, credit on the basis of one year for each unit of 1,912 hours of actual service performed as a substitute, and shall be appointed to the grade to which such employee would have progressed had his original appointment been to grade 1, and, in the advancement of substitutes to the grades provided, credit shall be given for past Civil Service. With respect to the advancement to the grade of senior substitute, time elapsed prior to the enactment of this act shall be counted, but no back pay shall be allowed in connection with such advancement for any service prior to the enactment of this act.

Section 2. All substitutes mentioned above shall be granted 15 days' annual leave with pay and ten days' sick leave with pay for each year of 1,912 hours from date of appointment as a substitute, a day's pay constituting eight hours at the prevailing rate.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this bill be submitted to the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor urging that every effort be made to secure the introduction and passage of this Bill at the next meeting of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Conditions of Employment of Substitute Clerks of U. S. Post Office

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The length of time spent in

substitute service by a clerk entering the postal service is many years longer than in the past and is constantly increasing; and

WHEREAS, Substitute clerks are required to perform the same duties as regular clerks; and

WHEREAS, These substitutes do not have the advantages of Sunday and holidays off with compensatory time, and the other advantages such as vacation and sick leave; and

WHEREAS, Their pay remains the same throughout their substitute period; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, go on record favoring the enactment of legislation based on the following proposed substitute bill:

1. That substitute Post Office clerks, after one year of 1,912 hours from date of appointment as a substitute shall be advanced to the entrance grade (\$1,700) and automatically advanced \$100 each year of 1,912 hours to the top grade (\$2,100) or until appointed a regular clerk.

2. All substitute clerks shall be granted 15 days annual leave with pay and 10 days sick leave with pay for each year of 1,912 hours.

3. All substitute post office clerks shall be considered employees of the post office immediately upon the enactment of the bill; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Overtime Pay for Post Office Clerks for
Study Time Required to Memorize
Post Office Names**

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Post office clerks in order to handle the mails efficiently, accurately and rapidly, are required to memorize difficult schemes of distribution involving thousands of post office names, on which they must attain maximum efficiency; and

WHEREAS, All this scheme study must be performed by post office clerks on their own time, which constitutes overtime without pay; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, go on record favoring legislation to provide a time allowance be given for scheme study; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Appointments to Annapolis Naval Academy
from Among Sons of Employees of the
Panama Canal and Panama Railroad**

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate John P.

Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In 1934, the Congress of the United States approved an amendment to then pending legislation providing for an appointment by the Governor of the Panama Canal to the Military Academy at West Point from among the sons of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, There will be introduced in the next session of Congress a similar bill providing for appointments by the Governor to the Naval Academy at Annapolis; and

WHEREAS, It is highly desirable that young United States citizens from the Canal Zone be allowed this representation in the two academies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist and further legislation that will be before the next session of Congress, which will provide for appointments to the Naval Academy by the Governor of the Panama Canal from among sons of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

**Saturday Half Holiday for Panama Canal
and Panama Railroad Employees**

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, On March 3, 1931, an act was passed which provided as follows:

"That on and after the effective date of this act, four hours, exclusive of the time for luncheon, shall constitute a day's work on Saturday throughout the year, with pay or earnings for the day the same as on other days when full time is worked."

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad on the Isthmus were specifically excluded from the provisions of this act of 1931, together with employees of the Department of the Interior, and the Postal Service; and

WHEREAS, Approximately two-thirds of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad employees have never enjoyed this Saturday half holiday; and

WHEREAS, In the interim, both the postal employees in the United States and the employees of the Department of the Interior have been brought under the provisions of this act by legislation or executive order, leaving the Panama Canal as the only agency originally excluded from the benefits of the act, which have not been brought within its provisions to date; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees included in the Act of March 3, 1931, by executive order.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Shorter Work Week for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1935 (Thomas Amendment) provides a forty-hour week with no reduction in salary for certain employees of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Railroad, not being considered employees of the United States Government, have not been allowed the advantages of the forty-hour week; and

WHEREAS, Less than half of the Panama Canal employees receive the forty-hour week; less than one-third of the total number of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, Realizing the limitation placed on the application of the shorter work week, legislation has been proposed providing for the shorter work week to all government employees alike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor make every effort to have the shorter work week, not to exceed forty hours per week and with no reduction in salary applied to all the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Wage Differential for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing law provides for employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad a differential up to 25 per cent over rates paid for similar work in the United States; and

WHEREAS, All the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad except policemen, firemen, school teachers, and postal employees receive this differential in pay; and

WHEREAS, There seems to be no satisfactory reason why these employees should not receive equal consideration for their labor with the other employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assist in every way possible in obtaining the full differential for all the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, On August 15, 1938, employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad approximated 13,000 and of this number 3,000 were citizens of the United States and 9,000 were alien subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to three aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,000 aliens in the Canal and Railroad organizations, occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions, which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries with whom we might conceivably be at war to injure or destroy the canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, A bill to provide for the employment of American citizens in skilled positions on the Panama Canal has been pending in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, as follows:

"Be it Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"That within five years from the effective date of this act all positions of artisan, baggagemaster, baker, blacksmith, blueprinter, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, calker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (air compressor), operator (crane), operator (motorboat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, power shovel, concrete pavers, and dragline operators, printer, riveter, salesman, secretary (clubhouse), signalman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, watertender, and wheelwright, on the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be filled by American citizens, on the gold roll, compensated in accordance with wage policies in effect on the effective date of this act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have the above mentioned alien bill introduced and endeavor to have it passed during the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Employment of American Citizens by the U. S. Army and Navy and Contractors for Work on the Isthmus of Panama

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has expended huge sums of money to provide adequate means of defending the Panama Canal from attack by land or sea; and

WHEREAS, Millions of dollars will be expended from time to time in the extending and improvement of these defense works and the operation and maintenance thereof; and

WHEREAS, All money appropriated for this purpose should be expended in benefiting through employment and otherwise, citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is no legislation providing for the employment of citizens of the United States only, in skilled and semi-skilled positions in the construction and maintenance of these enormous and elaborate defense works and reservations; and

WHEREAS, We believe that legislation should be passed prescribing that the following positions be filled by American citizens by the Army and Navy in all maintenance, operation, construction and contract work on the Panama Canal: artisan, baggagemaster, baker, blacksmiths, bluperintendent, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, calker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (crane), operator (telephone), policeman, operator (motorboat), operator (pump), power shovel, concrete pavers, and dragline operators, printer, riveter, salesman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Legislative Committee to introduce and aid a bill during the next session of Congress providing that no person other than citizens of the United States shall be employed in the positions outlined above by the United States Army or the United States Navy or contractors, directly or otherwise, in any of its or their departments or branches in connection with the work on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Twenty-Five Year Optional Retirement and Widows Annuity for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and chil-

dren are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Congress during the last session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of sixty-two; and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement and extending certain benefits to widows; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provision of the Civil Service retirement acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code June 19, 1934; and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, twenty-five years of service, and with full annuity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to support during the next session of Congress any measure supported by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union providing for an earlier retirement age with full annuity and extension of these benefits to widows.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Urging Provision in Retirement Act for Widows of Federal Employees

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present retirement law makes no provisions for the care of the widow of the annuitant; and

WHEREAS, We feel that such provisions are necessary and we realize that the salaries of Federal employees are not sufficient to provide a comfortable living and at the same time enable the worker to save a sum that will insure comfort to his widow in case of death; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, go on record as favoring legislation that shall provide for the widow a sum not less than one-half the amount payable to the annuitant during his or her life under the provisions of the existing retirement law, now in force or hereafter enacted. That such annuity be paid to the widow for the remainder of her unmarried life; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement Law

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We believe that length of service rather than age should determine when an employee retires on pension; and

WHEREAS, The machine age in which we live has created an unemployment problem of the gravest economic and social importance; and

WHEREAS, A 30-year optional retirement law would be one step in the right direction to relieve the above mentioned problem and to give postal employees a more just retirement law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, favor optional retirement after 30 years' service compulsory retirement at 60 years of age, regardless of rank or title, and that retirement contributions of employees be raised to take care of the employees' share of the additional cost, but not to exceed 5%, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Urging Court of Appeals for Government Employees

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is an urgent need for a law granting employees the right of appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving removal from the service, reduction in salary or other severe disciplinary action; and

WHEREAS, Injustices may frequently be inflicted upon postal employees in the absence of such protective measures; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, go on record as favoring the immediate enactment of a Court of Appeals Law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Navy Yard Employees Substituting in Supervisory Positions Should Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in government Navy Yards, Arsenals and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions; and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving proper salary for the responsibility taken; and

WHEREAS, In all fairness an employee as-

signed to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Social Security Protection for Seamen

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Every State in this Union now has an Act on its statute books for unemployment compensation and old-age pension; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Social Security Act protects practically all workers in the United States except seamen; and

WHEREAS, The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America will submit a suitable bill to the next Congress under the provisions of which all seamen will be protected under the Social Security Act; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record urging passage of such a bill, and instructing the Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to work for the same.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Amendment to Social Security Act to Reimburse Undertakers

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Under the present Social Security Act Laws, claims at death cannot be paid where the deceased died interstate or without near relatives, unless letters of Administration are taken out, which is expensive; and

WHEREAS, In most States morticians can present bills for burial to banks and receive payments, without letters of Administration or any red tape; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 29th General Convention of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance & Bartenders' International League of America call the attention of the American Federation of Labor to this injustice in the Social Security Act and ask the A. F. of L. convention to instruct their legislative agents to draft an amendment to the Social Security Act, that would permit Morticians to present and be paid from the Social Security Funds which had accrued to the deceased the amount due applied on the funeral expenses; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates from our International Union to the American Federation of Labor convention be and are hereby instructed to draft the necessary resolution to be

presented to the A. F. of L. Convention that will procure the results as exemplified in the preceding paragraph.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Civil Service as Affecting Masters, Mates and Pilots

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A large number of members of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America served for the United States Shipping Board during the World War and were exposed to hazards of the war lanes fully as much as those serving in the military departments in similar service; and

WHEREAS, The Merchant Marine in time of war is always the first line of defense to the navy; and

WHEREAS, These men have been commended by the President of the United States, the Secretary of Navy, the Secretary of War and other high officials in the government for the patriotic duty they performed during the World War; and

WHEREAS, Through the "march of time" many of these men have now passed the age limit for entering civil service; and

WHEREAS, It is getting more difficult to these men to obtain employment in private industry on account of age; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring changes in the civil service statutes of the state and federal governments to provide for the admission of men who served with the United States Shipping Board during the World War to equal rights and rating with veterans of military establishments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to work to advance the intent of this Resolution.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Marine Hospital at Port of Los Angeles

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The late Congressman Charles Colden had introduced a bill in Congress to have appropriations made for establishing a marine hospital in the Port of Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The Seventy-fifth Congress of the United States made no final disposition of this bill; and

WHEREAS, All seafaring organizations are vitally interested in having such marine hospital established; and

WHEREAS, The hospitalization for seafaring men at the present time is inadequate on the Pacific Coast; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of such hospital in the vicinity of Los Angeles harbor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Houston, October, 1938, instruct the Executive Council and Legis-

lative Committee to resubmit a bill having for its purpose the establishment of a marine hospital in the vicinity of Los Angeles, second largest port in the United States.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Amendment of Motor Boat Act

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For many years the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America endeavored to have amended the Motorboat Act of June 9, 1910, in order to protect adequately life and property; and

WHEREAS, House Resolution 8839, Seventy-fifth Congress, which was introduced for that purpose, was not finally acted upon; and

WHEREAS, The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America again will sponsor a bill at the next session of Congress to amend this Act for safety at sea for "preventing collisions of vessels, adequate manning and regular equipment of motor boats" in navigable waters of the United States, and for regular inspection and adequate manning of certain steam and motor boats which are not used exclusively for pleasure and those which are not engaged exclusively in the fisheries in inland waters of the United States, and for other purposes, and which will include all vessels above fifteen tons propelled by machinery used for commercial purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in support of such bill and instruct the incoming Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to advance the intent of such a bill.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

In Aid of Whaling Industry

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In 1936 a law was enacted in Congress forbidding catching of the gray whale and, on the 5th day of August, 1937, this country with nine others signed treaties restricting the area as to where whales may be caught, namely, 35 degrees north latitude and 40 degrees south latitude and east of 150 longitude; and

WHEREAS, Many years ago whaling was quite an industry, and this country practically led the world and sent out ships all over the world to catch whale for the bone, which was a very useful product at that time but which has since been supplanted by various other materials and many new discoveries made in later years to replace that product obtained from the whales; and

WHEREAS, Those countries not parties to the agreement restricting the catching of gray whales, and especially Japan, is now taking all the opportunity of catching those whales; and

WHEREAS, Practically all companies which formerly operated under the "Stars and Stripes" are now in the hands of receivers on account of these restrictions, and many workers who made their livelihood in the industry have been put out of employment; and

WHEREAS, If proper representation had been made to the federal legislators before

passing these restrictions, which sabotaged the American whaling industry, this law would never have gone into effect; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Houston in 1938 go on record for the repeal of the law passed in 1936 and also for the cancellation of agreements with other countries regarding catching of whales, to the end of restoring the American whaling industry to its former position; and that it instruct the incoming Executive Council and Legislative Committee to further the full intent and purpose of the Resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Daniel C. Roper, Secretary of Commerce; and H. Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Requesting Amendment of Federal Alcohol Administration Act to Permit Firms in the Alcoholic Beverage Industry to Advertise in Publications Sponsored by Employees in the Catering Trade

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Section 5 (c) (2) of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act makes it unlawful for any producer, importer, wholesaler of alcoholic beverages to offer, or give any bonus, premium or compensation to any officer, buyer or persons directly or indirectly in the liquor trade; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Alcoholic Administration has interpreted that members of the catering industry are employees of tradesmen engaged in the liquor traffic; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Alcoholic Administration have refused permission to wholesalers, importers, distillers, to advertise in any publication or book issued by an organization whose members are working as catering industry employees, thus causing a hardship to some organization who issues publications and naturally expect advertisements from purveyors of alcoholic beverages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 29th General Convention of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, in convention assembled, condemn this interpretation of Section 5 (c) (2) (copy of which is attached to this resolution as unfair); and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of our International Union to the American Federation of Labor convention be and are hereby instructed to, by resolution, call the attention of the A. F. of L. to this very unfair interpretation of Section 5 (c) (2) and the A. F. of L. be asked to draft an amendment to this act that will permit employers, wholesalers, importers and distillers to advertise, if they so desire, in publications sponsored by employees in the catering trade.

CHARLES E. SANDS,
Delegate, Local 75.

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT
Federal Alcohol Administration Division
Washington**

April 11, 1938

Mr. C. E. Sands, Vice President,
Bartenders' Club, Inc.,
913 Tenth Street,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Sands:

"Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of April 8th, in which you request the Administration to give its approval to the purchase of tickets to your forthcoming annual dance and the payment for advertisements in the dance program on the part of members of the liquor industry. It is noted that the funds realized through the sale of such tickets and advertising would be used to furnish your new club rooms and to care for your sick and aged members. It is further noted that members of your organization do not purchase liquor, but are employees in establishments where liquor is served.

"Section 5 (c) (2) of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act, a copy of which is enclosed, makes it unlawful, under the conditions and for the purposes stated, for any producer, importer or wholesaler of alcoholic beverages to offer or give any bonus, premium or compensation to any officer, employee or representative of a trade buyer. It is understood that the members of your organization are employees of trade buyers, and since the funds contributed to your club by industry members through their purchase of tickets or advertising space would react to the benefit of your members, through making it possible to furnish their new club rooms and by assisting them in caring for their dependent associates, it is the Administration's opinion that such payments might involve liability under the provisions of the Act above mentioned. The fact that your members are not purchasing agents is not sufficient to remove such payments from the coverage of the Act, since employees, particularly those engaged in dispensing products, are in position to influence purchase of such products.

"While the Administration could not give a definite opinion on this matter unless it made a thorough investigation of the contributions and their effect after the dance had taken place, it is, of course, not in position to give its advance approval to any payments of this nature.

"Very truly yours,
(Signed) JOHN L. HUNTINGTON,
Deputy Administrator in Charge,
Enforcement Division.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Tax on Oleomargarine

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Lev Loring, Tennessee State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine is conceded by chemists and food experts to be a wholesome and nutritious food product; and

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine conforms to all the requirements of the federal and state pure food laws and is sold purely on its own merit as an article of food; and

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine is used primarily by labor, its families and low income consumers because of its price economy and adaptability as a table cooking fat in the home; and

WHEREAS, The Oleomargarine industry used nearly three hundred million pounds of domestic farm products in the manufacture of Oleomargarine during the past fiscal year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Tennessee Federation in Conference assembled, That it is opposed to the taxation of this wholesome, nutritious and pure food product by federal and state governments, because such taxation harms both the low income consumers and the domestic farm producers of oils and fats; and because there is no social or economic necessity or sound reason for subjecting any food products that conform to the federal and state pure food laws to additional special and restrictive taxes or license fees or other harmful imposition; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Resolutions Committee of the American Federation of Labor for consideration by the American Federation of Labor at its 1938 National Convention to be held at Houston, Texas.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Tax on Oleomargarine

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine is conceded by chemists and food experts to be a wholesome and nutritious food product; and

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine conforms to all the requirements of the Federal and State Pure Food laws and is sold purely on its own merit as an article of food; and

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine is used primarily by labor, its families and low income consumers because of its price economy and adaptability as a table and cooking fat in the home; and

WHEREAS, The Oleomargarine industry used nearly three hundred million pounds of domestic farm products in the manufacture of Oleomargarine during the past fiscal year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Conference assembled that it is opposed to the taxation of this wholesome, nutritious and pure food product, because such taxation harms both the low income consumers of Oleomargarine and the domestic farm producers of oils and fats used in the manufacture of Oleomargarine; and because there is no social or economic necessity or sound reason for subjecting any food products that conform to the Federal and State Pure Food laws to additional special and restrictive taxes or license fees or other harmful imposition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be presented to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Federal Aid for Schools

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its 1936 and 1937 conventions approved the general principle of federal aid for schools; and

WHEREAS, At the last Annual Convention the American Federation of Labor expressed its approval of equalization of educational opportunity for all by means of federal grants, but considered it necessary to await the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education before determining the precise way in which grants shall be made; and

WHEREAS, The President's Advisory Committee on Education has recommended a specific program for federal aid to schools the principles of which are incorporated in the Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher substitute bill; such principles including:

Part 1. General federal aid: For the purpose of lessening inequalities of educational opportunity, \$40,000,000 in 1939-40, increasing to \$140,000,000 in 1944-45, apportioned to the states on the basis of financial need as measured by the number of children five to nineteen years old and financial ability to support schools.

Part 2. Aid for improving the facilities for teacher training: \$2,000,000 for 1939-40, increasing to \$6,000,000 in 1941-42 and thereafter through 1945, apportioned to the states on the same basis as general aid.

Part 3. Aid for the construction of school buildings, especially those in connection with desirable reorganization of local school districts: \$20,000,000 in 1939-40, \$30,000,000 in 1940-41, and thereafter through 1945, apportioned to the states on the same basis as general aid.

Part 4. Aid for improvement in the facilities of state departments of education: \$1,000,000 in 1939-40, \$1,500,000 in 1940-41, and \$2,000,000 each year thereafter through 1945, apportioned on the basis of \$5,000 to each state and the remainder on the same basis as general aid.

Title II. Grants to the states for adult education: For the purpose of stimulating and enabling the states to make adequate provision for civic, part-time, vocational, and general adult educational services, grants are authorized to the states on the basis of adult population twenty years of age and over in the amount of \$5,000,000 in 1939-40, \$10,000,000 in 1940-41, and \$15,000,000 each year thereafter through 1945.

Title III. Grants to the states for rural library service: For the purpose of stimulating and enabling the states to provide adequate library services for rural inhabitants of the states, grants are authorized to the states on the basis of rural population in the amount of \$2,000,000 in 1939-40, \$4,000,000 in 1940-41, and \$6,000,000 for each year thereafter through 1945.

Title IV. Grants for cooperative research, planning, and demonstrations: For the purpose of making necessary surveys and plans in connection with the best utilization of grants to states and for other cooperative educational research, planning, and demonstration projects, grants are authorized in the amounts of \$1,250,000 in 1938-39, \$2,000,000 in 1939-40, and \$3,000,000 for each year thereafter through 1945. Of these amounts, 40 per cent will be available to the United States Office of Education and 60 percent will be allotted to the states and bona fide research agencies.

Title V. Education of children of federal wards, employees residing on federal reservations and at foreign stations: The funds for this purpose are for purely federal responsibilities and definite amounts are not fixed. The best estimations available indicate \$3,000,000 annually; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Houston, Texas, October, 1938, reaffirm its approval of federal aid for schools with special emphasis on sound vocational training; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve and support the substitute Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher bill subject to such revision as may be deemed necessary by the Executive Council and by the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Public School Educational Policies

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers, an international union of the American Federation of Labor, has set up through its Committee on National Policies, a program of determining in a practical way "How the schools may better serve America"; and

WHEREAS, The approach to this important problem is not to be sought through ivory-tower philosophy of theorists but through discussion groups of parents of children and other persons interested in education, so that parents in the home and teachers in the classroom may more effectively cooperate in determining practical school procedures in developing the whole life of the child; and

WHEREAS, The lack of interest, on the part of labor, in the structure and operation of local school systems has resulted, in many instances, in exploitation of children in the name of education and has made possible the use of school funds for political purposes; and

WHEREAS, The Policies Committee of the American Federation of Teachers has declared:

"All over the country a strong attack is developing on the American system of free public education. This attack is not based as was the similar onslaught in 1931 purely on the specious cry of economy. It is rather based on the conviction that a democratic system of education is developing a democratic people,

able to think, to vote, to act in its own interests. Such an educated, alert, populace might be disastrous to certain vested interests in the Nation. There is a strong movement therefore, on foot to limit, narrow, and redirect American education. The attack is taking and will take different forms at different levels of the educational system. In the elementary schools there is the cry for fewer frills, reduce education to the three R's. In the high schools, under the specious cry that education does not fit people for a job, there is a movement to replace general education with a narrow kind of vocational training. The American Federation of Teachers is, of course, strongly in favor of a real vocational education but feels that it should not be substituted for but should be in addition to that kind of education which helps the student to understand himself and his world. In the universities an attempt is made to revive an outworn intellectualistic approach to toy again with outworn metaphysical concepts and to insist that the proper place of the professor is in the ivory tower.

"In face of such a threat the school system is very vulnerable. In too many places it fails to respond to present social needs. It is too often a nexus of outworn subjects, methods and points of view, a gigantic cultural lag.

"There can be only one answer in such a crisis. The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. The cure for the ills of our educational system is more democracy in education. We must make education more and more responsive to the needs of the people. We must implicate the people and excite their interest in the problems of democratic education. In accordance with the resolution passed by the 21st Convention of the American Federation of Teachers the Executive Council at its December meeting set up a national educational policy committee: (1) To clarify the principles upon which trade union members of the teaching profession should have a program of education, (2) To prepare specific principles of curriculum building and a general outline for curricular revision with a view to making our schools meet more realistically the needs and problems of a democracy, (3) To lead and to guide locals in a nation-wide campaign to protect and expand democratic education.

"The National Educational Policy Committee of the American Federation of Teachers therefore sends out a call to all locals urging them to launch in their community a great popular campaign to extend and enrich democratic education and to widen educational opportunity. Your committee feels that educational and curricular policy should not be regarded as the private preserve of a few experts; that educational change should be the concern of the whole people"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge all affiliated bodies to cooperate with officers or committees of local teachers unions in their program of determining how the schools may be of greater service to the nation and how to provide for more adequate training for citizenship in a democracy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all local labor bodies

through their committees on education assist locals of the American Federation of Teachers in promoting a school system which is representative of the needs of the American people, effective in preserving true democratic government, and free from political control and exploitation.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Vocational Education

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Since considerable agitation exists throughout the country for more vocational education based upon: (a) A belief that the supply of skilled workers has been reduced through

- (1) Changes in the numbers recruited through immigration; and
- (2) The reduced number of apprentices during the depression years; and
- (b) a popular belief that unemployment can be solved by producing skilled workers; and

WHEREAS, Since this agitation is finding expression in some localities in ill-advised plans for vocation education; and

WHEREAS, In some localities plans are not only ill-advised but apparently are being formulated behind the scenes by large industrial interests whose concern it is to have upon the labor market a large supply of skilled workers, perhaps docile; and

WHEREAS, A school system to be truly democratic should include vocational education for all types of young people whether they plan to go into the professions or into the skilled trades; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge its affiliated bodies to study their local programs of vocational education and to attempt to mold the local program in keeping with the best scientific practice and the ideals of education, including:

(1) A scientific survey of occupations should precede the selection of the vocational subjects to be taught and should be carried on continuously to prevent the training of persons in obsolete jobs.

(2) The vocational training program should be built up slowly through experimentation and scientific study, with employers, workers, teachers, and others in the community cooperating. It should always be flexible and subject to change.

(3) The vocational training should be placed close to the terminal point of the young person's general education, should not be a substitute for it, nor should it be longer than is necessary to gain the desired skills. This warning is necessary because young persons are not acceptable to industry and business in many instances until 17 or 18 years of age and because it is recalled that the bulk of the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs require but a few weeks' or a few months' training.

(4) Guidance (vocational as well as educational, including classes in occupations) based upon the best known practice should precede

the transfer to vocational courses and should continue through to placement.

(5) The vocational courses must be accredited so far as their academic subjects are concerned in order that the students may transfer back to the general and technical courses which permit of entrance to college, without loss of academic credits.

(6) Teachers of academic subjects included in the vocational courses should meet the requirements established for teachers in the general academic courses. For those teaching the vocational subjects, rules and regulations should be established on a regular, civil service promotional basis, although it is recognized that it is necessary that different training and experience requirements be established.

(7) Vocational education must include not only vocational subjects and their related materials such as science and mathematics, but also further and adequate studies in the English language, social science, and other cultural subjects.

(8) The expansion of vocational education must be guarded by clear thinking and honest and open discussion by all involved.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Proposing Government Appropriation for Support of Food Educational Schools

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Man's health depends mainly on his food. The modern profit system is the main cause for the adulteration and devitalizing of many kinds of foods and food products. Thus, society is employing a larger number ever known in history, who make a livelihood combating the many diseases, most of which have been caused by adulterated and devitalized foods; and

WHEREAS, In spite of all efforts of modern doctorism, stomach ailments are on an ever increase, and disease is eating at the heart of a once healthy nation; and, unless something is done about the cause instead of the effect of this social error, disease will forever be on the increase; and

WHEREAS, Wrong cooking, wrong eating, adulteration and devitalization of foods are the main causes of setting the wrong table for the people of this nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-ninth Convention, here assembled, go on record as endorsing the following resolution: That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be, and are hereby requested, to request the Congress of the United States of America to appropriate ten million (\$10,000,000) dollars, or more, to be used by the Public School Boards of our cities and towns, for the purpose of conducting Professional Food Trade Schools and Classes in conjunction with existing cooks' organizations, with the aim and object: "For the better production and cooking of foods for the people of this

nation, as a means of destroying disease germs at their source, and thus promote the wealth and happiness of our people by means of perfect health."

Referred to Committee on Education.

U. S. Labor Movement, Historical Motion Picture

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate William P. Frost, Michigan State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that public education in regard to the history, nature and development of the Labor Movement in America, its aims and ideals and the part it has played in raising the American standard of living, is indispensable to its program for continued contribution and achievement; and

WHEREAS, The moving picture, being easily understood, possessing a demonstrated appeal to the public in general and such vast possibilities of dramatization and accurate portrayal, is ideally fitted to serve as a medium for such public education; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in Convention assembled, instruct its national governing body to undertake immediately to promote for release to the general public a moving picture which will accurately and dramatically depict the history and development of the Labor Movement in the United States, its aims and ideals, the part it has played in raising the American standard of living, its present problems and its program for continued contribution toward a more abundant life for the American workingman.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Request for A. F. of L. Organizer for Western Canada

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, John P. Redmond, James A. Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has no paid organizer west of Fort William in Ontario, Canada; and

WHEREAS, Many local organizations not affiliated with the American Labor movement have been organized in this territory; and

WHEREAS, The members in these various organizations are not imbued with the sound principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, in convention assembled did approve of a request being made to the American Federation of Labor that a paid organizer be appointed for the district west of Fort William, Ontario, to Vancouver, B. C., in Canada, and that this request be presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the fifty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby endorse and request for the appointment of said paid organizer, for the aforementioned district.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Urging Demand for Union Label Watermark of Papermakers

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, All members of organized labor, and all those professing friendship for, or membership in organized labor, should be consistent in demanding that all their printing bear the Allied Printing Trades Council Union label, and that such printing be made a 100% union job by insisting that such printing be on paper showing the union watermark of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers; and

WHEREAS, Such consistent demand for, and use of union watermark paper will mean increasing employment for members of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all delegates and members of local unions, as well as the State Federations use their best endeavors to secure the use of union watermark paper by all local unions, friends of Labor, politicians and political parties; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Annual Convention of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor assembled in Worcester, authorize its officers to give this resolution the greatest effect possible by calling same to the attention of all political parties, politicians, and request similar action by the American Federation of Labor with respect to national political parties, and that same be given to the press.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Sheep Shearers Union Label

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate A. A. Evans, Sheep Shearers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The membership of the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America following their usual vocation in the States of Arizona and California during the months of February, March and April, 1938, were forced out on strike in their attempt to promote the welfare of the Labor movement by requesting of their employers the privilege of placing the International Sheep Shearers' Union Label on bags containing wool; and

WHEREAS, They were blocked in their efforts due entirely to the activities of the Associated Farmers, Inc., Bankers Associations, Loan and Finance Companies, Wool Merchants and other employer associations too numerous to mention; and

WHEREAS, The above Associations had only one object in view in their activities to prevent the International Sheep Shearers' Union Label from being placed on wool bags, that being to prevent the advancement of the Union Label Department of the American Federation of Labor and prevent organizing the unorganized workers; and

WHEREAS, It is an obligation that every Labor Organization owes to another to give support to the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers and Delegates assembled at the fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, October, 1938, go on record as endorsing the International Sheep Shearers' Union future program Labelling all wool bags containing wool; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officials of the American Federation of Labor will, before February 1, 1939, take the necessary action to notify all affiliated Labor Organizations handling wool to give all possible support in making this resolution effective.

Referred to Committee on Labels.

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Longshoremen

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has infringed upon said jurisdiction by issuing dual charters, viz. 933-S. Railroad Marine Workers, 1503 and 1550 composed of Licensed Officers on coastwise and ocean-going steamships. Those charters were issued in the Port of New York, but our membership have been disturbed not only in the Port of New York but in the ports of Philadelphia, Pa., Baltimore, Md., Norfolk, Va., and Boston, Mass., also Local No. 1510 of Baltimore, Md., composed of Licensed Officers on inland craft; and

WHEREAS, The said International Longshoremen's Association, with the approval of its President, Joseph P. Ryan, has invaded contracts where the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America held closed shop conditions and by duress and coercion of both employer and employees, has revoked these contracts and demoralized labor conditions; and

WHEREAS, These raids of membership and flouting of the jurisdiction prerogatives of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, have been properly brought before the Tampa and the Denver Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and each convention has ordered President Green to get the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America together to adjust said violations; and

WHEREAS, Both President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have reaffirmed the jurisdictional rights of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America; and

WHEREAS, Various conferences between the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, held with President Green in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C., have been fruitless because the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association refuse steadfastly to revoke dual charters; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has failed to revoke charter No. 1550 composed of coastwise and ocean going Licensed Officers, although ordered to do so by President Green; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association by subterfuge, coercion, duress and misrepresentation has evaded all authority of the American Federation of Labor and flouted same openly, defiantly and deliberately; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America respectfully petition the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Houston, Texas, that the charter or charters of the international Longshoremen's Association granted to said International Longshoremen's Association, be and hereby is suspended from any active participation in the American Federation of Labor affairs until such time as the International Longshoremen's Association shall obey the constitution, President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That before the International Longshoremen's Association can be reinstated in the American Federation of Labor and their charter received, the President of the International Longshoremen's Association be requested to pledge his organization to a policy of non-interference not only on the jurisdiction of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, but also any other legitimate affiliate of the American Federation of Labor which has been victimized by these raiding policies without regard to the decisions and ethics of legitimate American Federation of Labor policies.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Stove Mounters vs. Sheet Metal Workers

Resolution No. 72—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, For many years many furnace plants in the West Coast District have been unorganized; and

WHEREAS, Many employees of said furnace plants signed petitions from time to time to affiliate with the Sheet Metal Workers International Association and were refused admission into that organization; and

WHEREAS, Six of these plants were organized under the banner of the Stove Mounters International Union, and are now faced with a problem that the Sheet Metal Workers Union has gone on record that they will not install any furnace mounted by our organization, which would bear our label and that which does not bear their label, after October 1, 1938; and

WHEREAS, For seven weeks the Sheet Metal Workers International Association kept our membership from signing an agreement with the Fraser Furnace Company of Stockton, Calif., thus causing the payment of strike benefits at the rate of \$330.00 per week, and only stepped aside when pressure was brought to bear from the San Joaquin Labor Council, and the State Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor declare that the union label of the Stove Mounters' Interna-

tional Union is a bona fide union label to be recognized as such by all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor: and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use the best endeavors to have the Sheet Metal Workers refrain from invading the jurisdiction of the Stove Mounters International Union.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Stove Mounters vs. Foundry Employees

Resolution No. 73—By Delegate Ed. J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees have raided the membership of locals affiliated with the Stove Mounters International Union, especially in the West Coast District; and

WHEREAS, Members who have deserted our ranks to join with the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees are using banners with the inscription C. I. O. while still claiming to be members of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees; and

WHEREAS, Said raids on the membership of the Stove Mounters' various locals have created an intolerable condition and has been condemned by President Green of the American Federation of Labor and the State Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor suspend the Charter of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Building Service Employees vs. Hotel and Restaurant Employees

Resolution No. 74—By Delegates George Scalise, Wm. McFetridge, Thomas Burke, Charles Hardy, Mathew Taylor, Building Service Employees' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of our American Federation of Labor, at its meeting held at Miami, Florida, last February, by a divided vote, made the following recommendation, affecting the jurisdiction of our Building Service Employees' International Union:

"1. In all hotels or apartment hotels, those employed come under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees organization, except as follows:

- (a) Elevator operators and starters who are regularly employed as such.
- (b) Window washers and exterminators employed by private contractors.

"2. In apartment hotels where no restaurant, bar or culinary establishment is operated, those employed come under the jurisdiction of the Building Service Employees organization"; and

WHEREAS, if such recommendation were

adopted, it would transfer from the membership of our Building Service Employees International Union such workers as janitors, janitresses, porters, housemen, scrub women, maids and others employed in hotels engaged in the maintenance and servicing of the building, and place them under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance; and

WHEREAS, The charter issued to our Building Service Employees International Union by the American Federation of Labor in 1921 granted us the following jurisdiction:

"This International Union shall be composed of and have jurisdiction over all local unions of workers or those eligible for membership who are employees in the maintenance and operation of all buildings, institutions, schools, theatres and grounds"; and

WHEREAS, A hotel is certainly a "building" if it is not an institution; and

WHEREAS, The charter of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance makes no provision for membership of janitors, janitresses, porters, housemen, scrub women or maids, any more than it does for engineers, electricians, firemen, painters or carpenters who are eligible for membership in their own craft unions; and

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance has never organized or attempted to organize building service and maintenance employees in hotels, but has confined itself to organizing the employees in the catering or culinary field, such as the waiter, the cook, the kitchen help and the bartender; and

WHEREAS, If the recommendation of the Executive Council formulated at its meeting of February, 1938, at Miami, Florida, should be adopted, it would cause confusion and would be inimical to the best interests of workers engaged in the servicing and maintenance of hotel buildings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-eighth Annual Convention assembled in Houston, Texas, that the Building Service Employees International Union, has and shall continue to have sole jurisdiction over all employees in all buildings, including hotels, who are engaged in the maintenance and servicing of such buildings, except such employees as come under the jurisdiction of other international unions, and that the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America, has and shall continue to have jurisdiction in hotels over employees engaged in the culinary and allied fields, which include the kitchen and restaurant, and such employees as the cook, beverage dispenser, waiter, waitress, and miscellaneous kitchen and restaurant workers.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Brewery Workers' Union Label

Resolution No. 75—By Delegates John F. McNamara, John Clinton, James L. Kelley,

Roy E. Seitz, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

WHEREAS, The Brewery, Soft Drink and Cereal Workers International Union has consistently refused to obey the mandates and findings of the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled; and

WHEREAS, They have refused to recognize the jurisdictional rights of international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor by persisting to receive into membership in their organization workmen over whom jurisdiction has been awarded by the American Federation of Labor to other labor organizations and such craftsmen are forced to accept wages at a lower scale than that prevailing in the community and established by the craft to whom they rightfully belong; and

WHEREAS, Members of the American Federation of Labor are asked to assist these international unions having a label upon the goods manufactured by such international unions, to create a demand for such labeled goods and as it is unfair to ask members of international unions who have suffered materially by the activities of the officers and members of the Brewery, Soft Drink and Cereal Workers International Union in their failure to recognize jurisdiction of affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor to support the demand for labeled goods manufactured by the Brewery, Soft Drink and Cereal Workers International Union; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention declare that the union label of the Brewery, Soft Drink and Cereal Workers International Union is no longer recognized by the American Federation of Labor and that all International and National Unions, State Federations of Labor and City Central Labor Unions be so notified.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

World Peace

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt on October 5, 1937, clearly enunciated a policy of quarantining all aggressor nations, a policy of collective peace action; and

WHEREAS, The civilized world has witnessed a repetition of aggressive action on the part of the Fascist Nations of the world, namely Germany, Japan and Italy, which seek to impose their Fascist policies upon democratic countries; and

WHEREAS, Such acts of aggression have led to wars against smaller nations, subjecting the peoples of such nations to inhuman and brutal treatment, witness Ethiopia, Spain and Austria; and

WHEREAS, The menace to our peace and security and prosperity cannot be avoided by the policy which does not distinguish between

right and wrong, a policy which is contrary to the spirit of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact for the renunciation of war and a policy which encourages the aggressor; and

WHEREAS, The world's peace machinery established for the maintenance of peace is being viewed by treaty-breakers with increasing contempt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 29th General Convention goes on record favoring the peace policy as enunciated by President Roosevelt for collective action of all democratic and peace-loving nations of the world and quarantining the aggressor to prevent further bloodshed and war and urges the State Department to begin to apply this policy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the entire labor movement of this country to support this policy and instruct our delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to present a resolution there containing the same principles.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

O'Connell Peace Bill HR 527

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, World peace is a national interest of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The foundation for a world peace policy was formulated under the leadership of the United States in the Kellogg Peace Pact, to which all governments of the world pledged themselves to abstain from war as an instrument of national policy; and

WHEREAS, This pledge to maintain world peace has been ruthlessly violated by the Fascist States of the world—Germany, Italy, Japan—bringing in the wake of their war aggressions the menace of world war, with its threatened destruction of civilization itself; and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt, in his Chicago address, October 5th, 1937, clearly formulated in his slogan, "Quarantine the war-makers," the method whereby the principles embodied in the Kellogg Peace Pact could be rendered effective; and

WHEREAS, There is before Congress a legislative proposal, embodying the principle of "Quarantining the war-makers," in the O'Connell Peace Act (H.R. 527), which would establish the identity of those who violate the Kellogg Peace Pact, would cut off from these violators of the world peace access to the American economy, and would offer moral and economic cooperation to all governments who maintain their pledged word, particularly the victims of war aggression; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 29th Convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' League of America, in biennial session assembled, Au-

gust 15-20, 1938, fully endorses and supports the peace policy of President Roosevelt as enunciated in his Chicago address; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention favors the enactment into law of the O'Connell Peace Act (H.R. 527) and calls upon Congress in its next session to so enact into law this Act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention calls upon President Roosevelt and the Congress of the United States to embark upon those representations to other world democracies necessary to bring about concerted and collective action to make effective the policy of "Quarantining the war-makers" as the cornerstone of maintaining world peace.

Referred to Committee on International Labor Relations.

Single Wage Rate for Each Classification of Labor of Civilian Employees in Navy Yards

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The schedule of wages established by the Navy Department for civilian employees in Navy Yards provides for three rates of wage under each classification of employees; and

WHEREAS, The existence of these three rates has made possible the re-hiring of Navy Yard employees at a lower rate than they had formerly received; and

WHEREAS, Through the laying off and re-hiring of Navy Yard employees, the equivalent to a reduction of wages is created;

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to give every possible assistance to the officers of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. and the officers of the International Unions affiliated with the Department in their effort to have second and third class rates eliminated, and the establishment in their place of a single wage rate for each classification of labor employed in Navy Yards.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Unemployment Insurance for U. S. Navy Yard Per Diem Employees

Resolution No. 79—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The principle of unemployment insurance has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and has been given effect by congressional enactment; and

WHEREAS, Civilian employees on a per diem basis employed in Navy Yards and similar establishments are without unemployment protection; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be, and are, hereby instructed in cooperation with the officers of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. to prepare and have introduced into Congress, legislation establishing unemployment insurance for Navy Yard civilian employees, and those employed in similar establishments.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Amendment of Wagner National Labor Relations Act

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The convention of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. and of the American Federation of Labor declared in favor of an amendment to the Wagner Act creating the National Labor Relations Board, and for a change in the personnel of the Board and many of its Regional Representatives; and

WHEREAS, An amendment to the Wagner Act approved by the Metal Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor was introduced in the last session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, Efforts to have consideration given to this amendment were without result;

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have introduced the necessary amendment to the Wagner Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council be instructed to take whatever steps seem most advisable and practical to have an investigation made which will present to Congress or other Federal authorities, the reasons why certain members of the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board should be relieved from any further official capacity in the Board, or in any branch of its administration.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Provide for Consideration of Necessary Amendments to the Wages-Hours Act

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor prepared a Bill providing for the establishing of a national minimum wage rate and a national maximum hour work week which was introduced into the last session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, Congress enacted a Wages-Hours Bill—the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938—which provided for a nation-wide minimum wage rate and nation-wide maximum hours; and

WHEREAS, The measure finally enacted by Congress contained provisions which were not included in the Bill presented by the American Federation of Labor, and which could be made use of to the detriment of labor; and

WHEREAS, These provisions were incorporated in the measure while it was in the hands of the Conference Committee appointed by both branches of Congress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to consult with the officers of the four Departments within the American Federation of Labor, so that necessary amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act may be prepared and introduced at the earliest moment possible in the coming session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Enactment of Bill Providing That American Citizens Shall Be Employed for Skilled Work on Panama Canal.

Resolution No. 82—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran and Edward L. Nolan, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, On August 15, 1937, employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad approximated 13,000, and of this number 3,000 were citizens of the United States and 9,000 were aliens—subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to three aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,000 aliens in the Canal and Railroad organizations, occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries with whom we might conceivably be at war to injure or destroy the Canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, A bill to provide for the employment of American citizens in skilled positions on the Panama Canal has already been introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, as follows:

Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"That within five years from the effective date of this Act all positions of artisan, baggage master, baker, blacksmith, blue printer, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, caulker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (air compressor), operator (crane), operator (motor boat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, printer, riveter, salesman, secretary (club house), signman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright in the employ of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Pana-

ma, shall be filled by American citizens, on the gold roll, compensated in accordance with wage policies in effect on the effective date of this act," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union request the American Federation of Labor have the above mentioned alien bill introduced and endeavor to have it passed during the next session of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Appointment of A. F. of L. Committee to Make Nation-Wide Study of Effects of Public Work Programs on Unemployment Conditions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran and Edward L. Nolan, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The unemployment problem is still the foremost question confronting this nation; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that the Federal Government has spent many billions of dollars on made-work programs under the administration of several different types of agencies there are still not less than ten million unemployed persons in this country; and

WHEREAS, It is now obvious to all that this problem can no longer be viewed as a temporary or emergency problem but must be dealt with as a national economic problem which must be overcome if we hope to maintain our form of government and the morale of its citizenship; and

WHEREAS, It has been clearly established through experience gained during the operation of the present made-work programs that no program will successfully correct the existing condition unless all of the factors involved are coordinated under one agency which is free from any and all political influence in any form; and

WHEREAS, The present program under WPA designed to provide work for persons in need of relief does keep people alive and relieves to a large degree suffering and hardship, it also lends itself readily to conditions which aggravate and increase the seriousness of our unemployment problem by its failure to maintain adequate regulation; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment condition is the paramount national question and is of such magnitude that it warrants the closest kind of study on the part of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be authorized and instructed to appoint a national committee on Unemployment and Public Works Program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee be instructed to make a careful study and survey of the effects public work programs have had on the unemployment conditions throughout the nation and to prepare a full

and complete report of their findings and recommendations prior to the next session of Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council be authorized to establish an adequate agency through which an effective campaign sponsoring legislation for the correction of existing unemployment conditions can be carried on and through which a careful analysis of the entire question can be made for presentation to our Federal Government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Employment of American Citizens By the U. S. Army and Navy and Contractors for Work on the Isthmus of Panama.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran and Edward L. Nolan, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The U. S. Government has expended huge sums of money to provide adequate means of defending the Panama Canal from attack by land or sea; and

WHEREAS, Millions of dollars will be expended from time to time in the extending and improvement of these defense works and the operations and maintenance thereof; and

WHEREAS, All money appropriated for this purpose should be expended in benefiting through employment and otherwise, citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is no legislation providing for the employment of citizens of the United States only, in skilled and semi-skilled positions in the construction and maintenance of these enormous and elaborate defense works and reservations; and

WHEREAS, We believe that legislation should be passed prescribing that the following positions be filled by American citizens by the Army and Navy in all maintenance, operation, construction and contract work on the Panama Canal: Artisan, baggage master, baker, blacksmith, blue printer, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, caulker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (crane), operator (motor boat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, printer, riveter, salesman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America request the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to introduce and aid a bill during the next session of Congress providing that no person other than citizens of the United States shall be employed in the positions outlined above by the United States Army or the United States Navy or contractors, directly or otherwise, in any of its or their departments or branches in con-

nection with the work on the Isthmus of Panama.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Legislative Program of American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Government Employees at its Convention held in the City of Chicago, Illinois, September 12, to 15, 1938, adopted the following legislative program:

1. A minimum wage of \$1,500 per annum for all full-time employees with statutory automatic increases in salary.

2. A five-day week of 35 hours with no decrease in pay to be applied throughout the Government Service.

3. Extension of the merit system to include all branches of the civil government now excluded by law.

4. Extension of the Classification Act to the field services desiring the same.

5. Optional retirement after 30 years of service. Amendment of Section 7 of the Retirement Act to permit an employee who has rendered 15 or more years of service and becomes involuntarily separated to receive the benefits otherwise provided in the Act. Unqualified disability retirement after 60 years of age. Optional contributions not to exceed 10 percent of salary to purchase additional annuities above the specified rate.

6. Compensation for overtime either in the form of salary or leave, with the provision that an employee shall be required to work overtime only upon authorization of the Chief of a major unit of an agency, such authorization being given direct or through the immediate supervisor of the employee. Unlimited accumulation of leave credit as a result of overtime with the provision that it shall be available until used.

7. Application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

8. Payment of not less than the prevailing wage to craft employees in agencies not affected by wage boards or other machinery for fixing adequate wages.

9. Consideration of length of service, experience, and general fitness in promotional examinations as contemplated by the Executive Orders of June 24, 1938, so as to prevent promotion procedure from becoming mechanical and to assess the true value of each factor entering into the selection of employees for promotion.

10. Creation of a Board of Appeals, independent of the agency in which the employee is employed which shall be so organized as to protect fully the rights of employees.

11. Optional Quarters, Subsistence and Laundry, with provision for applying the cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services.

12. Shorter hours and more reasonable pay

for employees in Veterans' Administration Facilities.

13. Better pay and better working conditions for custodial employees, including charwomen and charmen.

14. More reasonable hours and better working conditions in all Federal Penal Institutions.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in the City of Houston, Texas, endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Disapproving "Patman Bill" for Taxation of Chain Stores.

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in Congress a bill (H. R. 9464), 75th Congress, Third Session, otherwise known as the "Patman Bill," providing for a steeply pyramiding series of license taxes on chain stores graduated from \$50 per store for chains of 15 or less stores to \$1,000 per store for chains with 500 or more stores and further providing that such tax shall be multiplied by the number of states in which such chains operate; and

WHEREAS, The intention of re-introducing this bill has been announced; and

WHEREAS, The object of this proposed punitive tax is not the raising of revenue but the openly stated destruction of one form of retail distribution for the benefit of other forms; and

WHEREAS, The destruction of chain store operation which would result from this proposed law would dislocate upwards of one million wage earners, many, and an increasing number of whom, are members of organized labor, and have an immediate effect on living costs; be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does go on record as condemning and disapproving the Patman Bill and all forms of taxation, which prostitute the taxing power of the government to a weapon for the destruction of worthy enterprises by business rivals.

By order of the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing A. F. of L. Committee for Study of Equitable Distribution of Taxes.

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A constantly mounting bur-

den of taxation makes this subject one of the greatest concern to the American people; and

WHEREAS, The adjustment and even increase of taxation may be required for the purpose of continuing and perfecting the various social and economic objectives of wage earners not only as workers but as consumers; and

WHEREAS, There is a manifest effort upon the part of different branches of industry and business to shift this burden from themselves to others and particularly to the necessities of life, so that agitation for certain forms of taxation is not bona fide effort for the raising of revenue upon an equitable basis but punitive and discriminatory and confiscatory in form and intent; and

WHEREAS, Inequitable, discriminatory and punitive taxes frequently have detrimental effect not only upon cost of living, but upon wages, hours, working conditions and employment; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorizes and instructs the Executive Council to establish a committee for the purpose of study and appropriate action concerning the crucial problem of equitable distribution of the tax burden with especial reference to taxes of discriminatory and punitive character.

By order of the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Opposing Reconstruction Finance Corporation Loans to Concerns Enforcing Unfair Labor Policies.

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has loaned public moneys to concerns who deny to their workers the right to bargain collectively, and which concerns also advertise that by their paying their workers wages which are 40 per cent less than the wages paid to organized workers, members of national unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, such governmentally financed concerns are able to sell the product of their grossly exploited workers at wholesale prices which are some 25 per cent less than the prices necessarily paid for the comparable products of our organized workers; and

WHEREAS, While every honorable effort has been made to prove to the officials of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation that this policy of financing, chiseling exploiters of labor, is detrimental to the best interests of America, as well as the American people; and

WHEREAS, Seemingly there is no governmental agency sufficiently interested in protecting the wage, hour and working condition standards built up by the national and international unions to whom those most vitally affected might appeal; and

WHEREAS, There is a vital need that, in the interests of millions of American workers, some way must be found to set aside this present system of loaning public government moneys to chiseling exploiters of labor who publicly seek to lower the none-too-high standards which now prevail; and

WHEREAS, There is only one person responsible for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation policy of financing exploiters of labor and the policy of our present government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention direct our officers to request President Roosevelt to replace the present officials of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation with others who will not loan government funds to chiseling exploiters of labor, and failing to secure the removal or the replacement of these officials, that our officers be directed to seek legislation which will prevent chiseling exploiters of labor who deny their workers the right of collective bargaining and refuse to pay their workers the minimum wages which prevail in such industry, from securing loans of public moneys; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate of this department to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to present this resolution after adoption by the Union Label Trades Department Convention, to the American Federation of Labor Convention at Houston.

By order of the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Application of Upholsterers' International Union for Extension of Jurisdiction to Include Workers Employed in Upholstered Furniture, Bedding, Mattress and Casket Factories.

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, at the present time there exists a deplorably chaotic condition in the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding and Casket manufacturing industries because of the fact that various International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are issuing Charters to the workers in these industries without regard to the jurisdictional limitations of these International Unions; and

WHEREAS, as a result of this situation there is widespread confusion, duplication of effort, and a constantly growing antagonistic feeling which is added to by the activities of the C. I. O. Tens of thousands of unorganized workers in these industries find themselves in a dilemma when appealed to, to unionize, as under the circumstances they are unable to determine which organization they should join, and

WHEREAS, it is desirable not only for the interests of the workers involved, but for the American Federation of Labor as well that

this situation be remedied so that the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding and Casket industries may be organized on a 100 percent basis efficiently and quickly as is possible, and

WHEREAS, the Upholsterers' International Union legitimately engaged in the organizing of the workers in the industries referred to has unquestionably been the most conspicuously successful in so doing, and

WHEREAS, in the large factories and shops where Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding and Caskets are manufactured there are also made other articles of furniture and merchandise, and

WHEREAS, it is impossible to organize the Upholsterers' Frame Workers, Bedding, Mattress and Casket workers in these factories and shops without also organizing the workers engaged in the production of other articles that are manufactured in these factories and shops, and

WHEREAS, the various classifications of workers in these plants are opposed to any attempt to divide them into several unions, but responded heartily when informed that they will be organized as one unit with all the fellow workers in their particular place of employment, irrespective of the work that they may be engaged in, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the organization of those Upholstered Furniture, Mattress, Bedding and Casket manufacturing shops and factories which, likewise, at the same time, employ other workers, and those Frame manufacturing factories which manufacture Frames which are used in the Upholstered Furniture, Bedding, and Casket industries throughout the United States and Canada, be recognized by the American Federation of Labor as belonging exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union and be it further

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor extend to the Upholsterers' International Union full backing and every possible aid and assistance in the organizing campaign to unionize the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding and Casket industries, which it now wages.

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report.

Application of Upholsterers' International Union for Transfer of A. F. of L. Directly Affiliated Local Unions of Mattress, Bedding, Casket, Awning Workers.

Resolution No. 90—By Delegates Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, there exists at the present time a number of Federal Labor Unions operating under Charter, issued by the American Federation of Labor composed of workers engaged in the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding, Casket, Awning and other allied crafts, and

WHEREAS, the Upholsterers' International Union, affiliated with the American Federa-

tion of Labor, has jurisdiction over the organization of these industries, be it

RESOLVED, that it be recognized that these existing Federal Labor Unions do properly belong with the Upholsterers' International Union, and be it further

RESOLVED, that these existing Federal Labor Unions be at once notified by the American Federation of Labor to transfer to the Upholsterers' International Union, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor issue no more Charters to Federal Labor Unions in the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding, Awning, Casket and allied crafts of the industry, but upon receipt of applications for Charters from such groups of workers that they be at once turned over to the Upholsterers International Union.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Issuance of International Charter to Cement Plant Employees.

Resolution No. 91—Introduced by Delegates Joseph A. McInerney, President, and Herbert Rivers, Secretary-Treasurer, of Building and Construction Trades Department.

In accordance with the action of the Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, we submit the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor went on record at the 1934 American Federation of Labor Convention held in the City of San Francisco to launch an organizing program to organize mass production workers in plants, factories and other places of employment; and

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor in carrying out this organizing program did organize certain cement plants in Federal Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, Trade organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have also organized certain cement plants and have obtained trade agreements; and

WHEREAS, these Federal Labor Unions have formed a Council and through such Council are now seeking to obtain a National or International charter from the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the issuance of a National or International charter to the Cement Plant Employees would infringe and trespass upon the existing jurisdiction of the respective trade organizations who are now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the products of the cement plants are handled and used exclusively by mechanics and laborers that are part of already existing militant trade organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the employees of the manufacturing cement plants would be highly protected and benefited by being directly affili-

ated with the respective trade organizations that handle the products of the said cement plants:

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the International Organizations affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department in convention assembled protest to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to the American Federation of Labor to the granting and issuing of a National or International charter to the Cement Plant Employees; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the employees of the cement plant already organized in Federal Labor Unions transfer their affiliation to the respective trades and labor organizations already having jurisdiction over their work; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor transfer and assign to the respective International Unions the employees in the cement plants belonging to each craft and calling; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department be directed to present this resolution to the American Federation of Labor at its Fifty-eighth Annual Convention for their consideration and action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Re-appointment of Donald Wakefield Smith as Member of the National Labor Relations Board.

Resolution No. 92—By the Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L., and the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., Joseph A. McInerney, President, Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.; John P. Frey, President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, President William Green protested the re-appointment of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board; and

WHEREAS, Donald Wakefield Smith has been re-appointed subject to confirmation by the Senate of the United States when Congress convenes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to acquaint the Senate of the United States with the valid reasons why it is inadvisable that Donald Wakefield Smith's nomination should be confirmed; and be it furthermore

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution and the convention's action thereon be given to each United States Senator immediately after the convention has adjourned, and that copies be sent to all Central Labor Bodies, State Federations of Labor, and to the headquarters of all affiliated National and International Unions.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

First Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees, Afternoon Session Oct. 3, 1938

Bailey, A. L.; Baker, A. P.; Barnes, Barrett, Bennett, Bower, Brown, R. F.; Byars, Cadena, Donner, Dietz, Disbrow, Dix, Dixon, Daugherty, Draper, Dyer, Edwards, Ewell, Finch, Finnegan, Foley, Fox, Franklin, Ike, Frost, Gresty, Hall, Hesketh, Hollopeter, Howard, Hunt, Jackson, Floyd, Jones, L. A.; Ketner, Koutnik, Loring, Lucas, McDevitt, McKinney, Mabree, Metzger, Miller, Moffett, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Reid, Ross, Russell, Reagan, Schneider, Sexton, Sparks, Stackhouse, Summers, Simpson, Taylor, A. J.; Taylor, James A.; Taylor, Percy; Van Patten, Webb, Wegener, Williams, Wm. J.; Wiltsey.

President Green: Chairman Altmeyer of the Federal Social Security Board accepted our invitation to attend and address the convention this afternoon. He will be prepared to speak to the delegates within a very short time. I will appoint as a committee to escort Chairman Altmeyer to the platform, Daniel W. Tracy, President, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Joseph V. Moreschi, of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers; and Henry Ohl, Jr., President, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

(Chairman Altmeyer was escorted to the platform by the committee named.)

President Green: Arthur J. Altmeyer, the Chairman of the Federal Social Security Board, traveled all the way from Washington to meet with us and to deliver an address. I know I express your feelings when I say that we deeply appreciate his response to our cordial invitation. We have a peculiar interest in the work which Chairman Altmeyer and his associates are doing in the administration of the Social Security Act. I feel there is a perfect degree of cooperation between the Chairman of the Social Security Board and the officers of the American Federation of Labor. I, like you, hold Mr. Altmeyer in high regard and in high esteem. He is doing a splendid job. He has an interesting message for us this afternoon, and it affords me very, very great pleasure to present to you Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman of the Social Security Board, who will now address you.

MR. ARTHUR J. ALTMAYER Chairman, Federal Social Security Board

In the year since I met with you in Denver,

a great deal of water has gone under the social security bridge.

In fact, because I have been fortunate enough to be with you at each of your conventions since the Social Security Board was organized, I find myself measuring our progress under the act in steps from one October to another, or from one A. F. of L. convention to another.

In Tampa I remember I talked to you mainly about old age insurance and how that system was expected to work when we got under way the following January. This is the one all-Federal program set up in the act, and was therefore the first in operation on a nationwide scale. But the others—the Federal-State programs for unemployment insurance and aid to the needy—were also coming along rapidly back there in 1936, as State after State passed the necessary laws.

Last year at Denver the unemployment insurance program was to the fore. By the time we met, all the States had unemployment insurance laws, and were building up their unemployment compensation funds. But more important still, by last fall we were already looking toward the beginning of benefit payments in 22 States with the coming New Year.

Now in October, 1938, these things that we looked forward to in 1936 and in 1937, are accomplished facts:

We have over 40 million old-age insurance accounts on our books; and we are paying lump-sum claims at the rate of 10 to 15 thousand a month to insured workers who have reached 65 and to the families of those who have died.

We now have 29 States paying out-of-work benefits. Twenty more will begin such payments within the next few months; and by next July, the unemployment insurance system will have reached the stage of full operation throughout the entire country.

We also have a Federal-State system of aid to the needy aged in every State and territory of the United States.

What I am going to say to you is necessarily in the form of a report on the accomplishments since the last time I met with you. But in making this inventory, in taking stock of the progress made on all three fronts during the past year, I am sure all of us are keenly aware of the human element in this business of social security.

What does it all add up to, in terms of the men and women and children sharing in the protection so offered? What does it mean, in dollars and cents of purchasing power in otherwise empty or nearly empty pockets? Those questions are the yardsticks by which we must measure our advances, by which we must gauge the distance still to go.

I shall use facts and figures today and shall cite page and paragraph. But this does not mean that any of us can for one moment lose sight of the united drive behind this struggle for security, or of the human values involved. I know, and you know, that the Social Security Act came into being only because the American people joined in revolt against the mounting insecurities with which their lives were beset.

They were determined that American workers should no longer be left helpless and destitute by economic forces too overwhelming for any man to combat alone. Life in the United States is *better* today; it holds far more promise for the future; and this is so only because these millions have banded together for their mutual protection to insure at least *some* income for those of their fellow workers who may need it. This much security we are determined to have. And this much security, we all believe, is a mere matter of simple justice—and not a benefaction.

Old-Age Insurance

I want to turn first to old-age insurance. I have already said this was the first of the social security programs in operation on a nation-wide scale. That is true, but the old-age insurance system will not be in full operation until monthly benefit payments begin in 1942.

Meantime, however, we are well on our way toward that point of full operation. And with more than 40 million accounts set up for workers in employments covered by the plan, wage records are being continuously posted to workers' individual accounts. The Board is now able to supply to any worker who asks for it a statement of his wage credits for 1937 as reported by his employer or employers for that year—credits which will be used to calculate the amount of his old-age insurance benefits when his claim comes due.

There, by the way, is an indirect answer to a question that has come to us from literally thousands and thousands of workers. They want to know how they can tell whether their employers have turned in the social security taxes taken out of their pay. The Social Security Board does not collect the taxes. As you know, all that is in the hands of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and we have nothing to do with the tax records. But we *do* receive the employers' wage reports, after they have been checked up by the Treasury to make sure the taxes paid correspond to the taxes due on the wages reported. After we receive these wage reports, we credit the amount of each worker's wages, as reported by his employer, to the worker's social security account. And now since July, we are able, as I said, to tell any worker the amount of his 1937 wage credits. For that first year of operation—January through December, 1937—nearly 73 million employee wage items, representing total wages of about 28 billion dollars, were turned in on more than 3 million employers' reports. As the worker's taxes are 1 percent of his wages, he can figure out for himself how much tax his employer has paid for him from the statement of his wage credits which the Board will furnish.

Let me add, by the way, that for the worker's convenience, we have provided a printed request card which he can fill in and mail to the Social Security Board office in Baltimore. In return, we send him a statement of his wage credits for 1937, and if he does not think our figure is correct, we ask him to let us know. Then we check up and see where the discrepancy lies.

But let's get back to old-age insurance benefits and beneficiaries. Lump-sum or single cash benefits are due, as you know, to insured workers who reach 65 before they can qualify

for monthly retirement benefits. That includes, of course, those who attain that age after 1936 and before 1942. Unlike monthly benefits, workers don't have to retire to qualify for these payments. By the end of August, nearly 90,000 such claims had been paid. Similar payments are due the families or estates of insured workers who die. By the end of August we had paid nearly 110,000 of these death claims. That makes a total of about 200,000 lump-sum claims, which now average about \$56 each. These payments, especially the death claims, will of course grow continually larger as time goes on and the worker's credits on his old-age insurance account pile up.

In this connection we have encountered some interesting facts. For instance, it occurred to one of our Labor Information field staff that some union members' families might not be getting the death benefits due them because they did not know about their rights. So our Labor Information Division wrote to the national organizations that have insurance plans of their own—many of you here will remember receiving such a letter—suggesting a cooperative arrangement for notifying possible beneficiaries. It was also suggested that unions send us a list of the deaths in their membership during 1937, so that our Bureau of Old-Age Insurance might check up and see how many of the possible claims had been filed.

All the lists so checked showed that only a third to a half of the possible claims had been filed, confirming our belief that many families had not known they were entitled to benefits. Accordingly we have now provided, for the convenience of the unions, a brief notice calling attention to the fact that the union member's family may have a claim for a death payment under the old-age insurance program. This may be enclosed by the union officer who acknowledges a notification of death among his membership.

Unemployment Compensation

While old-age insurance has thus been operating on a scale that is geared both to Nation-wide coverage and to individual benefit claims, *unemployment* compensation has also reached the benefit paying stage. As I have already said, more than half the States are now paying out-of-work benefits. More than 3 million unemployed workers have received benefit checks since January. These checks now average about \$11 a week for men and women who are entirely out of work. An average payment of about 5 dollars a week is going to those who are partially unemployed.

In other words, a total of some \$300,000,000 in benefits has gone into the pockets of unemployed workers in 28 States from January through September of this year. This represents a substantial accomplishment for the first nine months of this program, particularly in view of the fact that in some of these States benefit payments went into effect considerably later than January.

But it is also true that there has been some delay in paying benefits in some States. However, these delays are in large part due to the fact that there are bound to be administrative difficulties in inaugurating any program affecting millions of persons. As it happened, these inevitable difficulties were tremendously increased by unpredictable pressures. Benefits

first became payable in 22 States in January of this year, at a time when there was widespread unemployment due not only to the usual seasonal fluctuations, but also to the recession which began to be felt last October. The result of this widespread unemployment was, of course, that the unemployment compensation offices were immediately swamped with applications for benefits. The state agencies had had only a few months to set up State-wide administrative organizations. Within that short time they had had, not only to adopt administrative procedures, but also to select and train an entirely new body of personnel. The great wonder is—not that there was and still is, some delay in the payment of claims—but that the State agencies have been able to do as good a job as the records show they have actually done.

As you undoubtedly know, unemployed workers must register with the public employment office for suitable work at the same time they put in their benefit claims. A *two-fold* service, is, therefore, required—to see that out-of-work benefits are paid promptly, and at the same time to undertake the finding of jobs. I am happy to be able to say that job-finding facilities through the public employment offices have been greatly strengthened and expanded by the advent of unemployment compensation. The Social Security Act provides that the payment of unemployment compensation shall be made solely through public employment offices or such agencies as the Board may approve. Recognizing the desirability of unemployed workers maintaining contact with the labor market through public employment offices, the Board has never approved any other agency.

From the beginning, the Board has recognized the necessity of close cooperation between the administration of unemployment compensation and the United States Employment Service, in order to avoid setting up a dual system of employment offices. The Board, therefore, suggested to the Secretary of Labor that a joint agreement be made. This agreement, as consummated, in effect enables the United States Employment Service and the Unemployment Compensation Bureau of the Board to act jointly and concurrently as a single agency, with respect to all matters affecting a state employment service. As a result, duplication of agencies and effort has been avoided; a Nation-wide employment service has been maintained; and furthermore, it has been greatly strengthened and expanded. In spite of the fact that the local employment offices have been overwhelmed by the unexpectedly large volume of claims, the advantages of this tie-up are already evident. Placements made by employment services in the States where benefits are now being paid have held up better than in the other States, where benefits are not yet payable.

Aid to the Needy

These two insurance provisions—old-age insurance and unemployment insurance—are the backbone of the Social Security Act. For wage earners, who constitute nearly a third of the population, they represent *permanently* and *increasingly* effective safeguards against two of the major economic risks with which they are confronted. They provide benefits geared to the worker's wages—and benefits that come to him as something earned, to which he has a right, irrespective of his need.

But other provisions are also necessary if we are to meet the *immediate* needs of men, women and children who cannot earn their own living.

For those who are old and cannot support themselves, for those who are blind, and for children who lack parental support, the Social Security Act therefore sets up a plan which provides cash payments monthly from Federal, State and local funds. These allowances, modest though they may be, provide for basic necessities and enable the recipients to live at home. Well over 1,700,000 needy old people are now receiving such payments at a rate which in August averaged \$19.17 for the entire country. In September, Virginia came into this program, completing the roster of State participation in this plan.

The record for aid to dependent children and aid to the blind is unfortunately not yet as complete as that for old age assistance. About four-fifths of the States are now taking part in each of these programs and are giving assistance to some 40,000 needy blind people and about 618,000 dependent children in 251,000 families. For aid to the blind the average payment in August was \$23.41, for aid to dependent children, \$31.74 per family. All told, over 2½ million men, women and children are being directly aided through these monthly cash allowances, which totaled nearly half a billion dollars last year.

Benefits and Buying Power

By September of this year the total amount of money paid out to beneficiaries of the Social Security Act, and thus turned into buying power for several million people, came to over \$1,200,000,000. This total includes about \$910,000,000 paid out for public assistance since February, 1936; \$7,500,000 in single cash and death claims paid since the old-age insurance program went into operation in January, 1937; and about \$300,000,000 in unemployment compensation benefits paid since January, 1938.

These payments have put purchasing power of well over one billion dollars into the hands of people, many of whom would otherwise have had little or nothing to spend. *Used*, as it must be, to buy the necessities of life, *that billion dollars* has flowed back into the main stream of business in every community throughout the country. And by so much, it has helped to cushion the depression which came along about a year ago, and which is now receding.

There can be no question of what this has meant—in terms of security, in terms of want and fear forestalled—to the individuals and families these payments have helped to keep going. Nor can there be any question that the entire economic life of the country shares in the stabilizing effects of this security. And this is true not only of the 5 programs the Social Security Board administers—the programs I am discussing here—but also for the other 5 programs embodied in the act, and directed by other Federal agencies. These welfare and health provisions have enabled every State in the Union to expand and strengthen its services for the welfare of children, for the protection of the public health, and for the vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped. Looking at the act in terms of people served and in terms of future needs forestalled—there can be no

question that we can chalk up a record of genuine and enduring progress.

Next Steps

So much for accomplishments to date. This summary has necessarily been brief, but the facts speak for themselves. And meantime, I am thinking, as I know you are, of the next steps. None of us thinks that the Social Security Act in its present form is final or complete. All of us hope for a broadening of the existing provisions, as well as for some additions.

You know, of course, of the interest President Roosevelt has shown in extending the program. In his radio address to the country on the third anniversary of the signing of the Social Security Act, he said: "To be truly national, a social security program must include all those who need its protection. Today many of our citizens are still excluded from old age insurance and unemployment compensation because of the nature of their employment. This must be set right; and it will be."

Previously, in a letter to the Chairman of the Board, he had said: "I am particularly anxious that the Board give attention to the development of a sound plan for liberalizing the old-age insurance system. In the development of such a plan I should like to have the Board give consideration to the feasibility of extending its coverage; commencing the payment of old-age insurance annuities at an earlier date than January 1, 1942; paying larger benefits than now provided in the act for those retiring during the earlier years of the system; providing benefits for aged wives and widows; and for young children of insured persons dying before reaching retirement age. It is my hope that the Board will be prepared to submit its recommendations before Congress reconvenes in January."

Accordingly, the Board has been at work upon these problems, and hopes soon to make a report. It is only fair to point out, however, that the problems are considerable.

Wider Coverage

The two largest groups not yet covered by unemployment compensation and old age insurance are farm and domestic workers. Seamen, also, are still outside, with several other groups whose conditions of employment are such that it seemed too difficult to include them when the law was first enacted.

So far as farm and domestic workers are concerned, the problems involved are much alike. There are about 6 million farmers in this country, and among them they constitute about 2½ million paid farm workers. To administer social insurance for these farm workers, each employing farmer must be located, and his tax and wage records furnished to the Bureau of Internal Revenue and the Social Security Board. Moreover, farm work is seasonal, and many workers follow the crops from place to place. Another difficulty is that nearly all of them are paid partly in cash and partly in board and meals. Domestic workers—about as numerous as farm workers, and with still more numerous employers, with much part-time work, and with wages in the form of board and lodging as well as cash—constitute another big tax collecting and bookkeeping job.

Certainly it could not have been undertaken without some previous experience; and even now the task requires much study and careful preparation.

As regards seamen, the Board has already recommended an amendment to bring them under the old age insurance system. A bill to create an unemployment insurance system for maritime workers was introduced at the last session of Congress. Since then the Board has been given further attention to preparing a satisfactory plan and is hopeful that one can be developed for consideration when Congress reconvenes.

Liberalizing Old Age Insurance

In addition to these questions of liberalizing old age insurance benefits and widening the coverage, the Board has been urged to consider other proposed changes.

Many workers, as we know from the letters we receive, are interested in changing the retirement age—in lowering it to permit retirement benefits 5 or 10 years earlier than the present 65-year provision. We are studying this question. It involves, of course, counting the increased cost which would result from paying benefits so much earlier and therefore so much longer in many cases.

One change with respect to the age limit, however, has already been approved by the Board, and sent to Congress in a proposed amendment. This would remove the requirement that a worker's wage credits stop at 65. Under this amendment, his credits would accumulate as long as he is at work on any job covered by the act. In other words, if his 65th birthday comes along before he has had time to qualify for an annuity, his wages after 65 could continue to count until he decided to retire—and he would thus be able to earn a monthly annuity instead of being limited to a single cash payment.

Simplifying Unemployment Insurance

Our experience and our studies in unemployment insurance have shown clearly the need of simplifying procedures, and we are now consulting representatives of labor and other interested groups in regard to recommendations for that purpose. By these recommendations we hope to do three things: First, to achieve greater economy in unemployment insurance administration; second, to develop methods for calculating and paying benefits, which will be more easily understood by workers and employers and which will expedite the payment of benefits; and third, to reduce, so far as possible, the detailed work required of employers in complying with the law.

Confronting us, however—administrators, workers, employers, and the general public—is a fundamental problem: how can we simplify unemployment benefit procedures, while we continue to pay benefits in some proportion to the worker's past wages and past employment and also maintain benefit payments at a desirable degree of adequacy?

Developments in Public Assistance

These next steps in old-age and unemployment insurance are matters of major interest to us all. But I know that you are also deeply

concerned with public assistance for the needy—the aged, the blind, and dependent children. There is no question that the present terms of the Act—which provide Federal grants to the States to meet one-third of the cost for aid to dependent children, and one-half for old-age assistance and aid to the blind—have operated to the disadvantage of adequate assistance for dependent children. The Social Security Board hopes that, as soon as it is financially feasible, this disparity in the Federal contribution on behalf of dependent children will be corrected.

Another serious problem in connection with public assistance is due to the great variation in the financial capacity of the States. The result has been a wide range from State to State in the monthly payments to recipients. In the States where payments fall below the general level, it is not because the citizens are less humane, but usually because the State's resources are limited. Though no entirely satisfactory method of maintaining uniformly adequate assistance has yet been worked out I can at least report that the problem is recognized by Federal as well as State officials and is receiving their active attention.

These, then, are some of the lines of our studies, our endeavors, and, I may say quite confidently, despite the difficulties, our prospects. As the President recently said, "We have come a long way, but we still have a long way to go. There is still today a frontier that remains unconquered—an America unreclaimed. This is the great, the Nation-wide frontier of insecurity, of human want and fear. This is the frontier of America—we have set ourselves to reclaim."

That is your goal as well as ours. And I cannot close without acknowledging, once more, as I have in past years, the interest and support which Labor has given to the social security programs, and to bespeak your continuing cooperation. Your representatives—G. M. Bugniet, John P. Frey, and Matthew Woll—are serving as members of the Advisory Council on Social Security, which was formed last year. But your interest is not limited to this Council, important as its work and labor's contribution to it are. It is also reflected in the ready participation of national unions, State federations, central bodies and local organizations, in educational programs designed to bring to the rank and file of labor a better understanding of the Social Security Act. And it is even more directly evidenced in the establishment of approximately 350 social security committees in central labor bodies throughout the United States, as well as of hundreds of local union committees. With the widespread organization of such committees, labor has at hand the means of making its cooperation with the Board increasingly helpful. And I am confident that it will continue to bring to the task of liberalizing and improving the act, the practical and constructive point of view which from the beginning has marked its approach to social security.

During the recent celebration of the third anniversary of the Social Security Act I said, and I am happy to have this opportunity to say again: "It was with the support of Labor that the Act was passed by Congress, and, as we are proud to record, it has been with Labor's cooperation that the law has been administered." That thought, with all that it implies, is what I want to leave with you.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Will Mr. Altmeier yield to a couple of questions?

President Green: He says that he will.

Delegate Weaver: I want to assure the speaker that the questions that I ask are not inspired by any captious disposition, but by one who has had a deep interest in the philosophy which this legislation seeks to exemplify.

The question I first want to ask Mr. Altmeier is this: When this statute emerged from the Alembic of the congressional mind, did it not provide for a reserve fund?

Mr. Altmeier: You mean under old age insurance?

Delegate Weaver: Yes.

Mr. Altmeier: That is right.

Delegate Weaver: And are not some 24,000,000 workers sending out of their earnings contributions to that reserve fund?

Mr. Altmeier: Yes, more than that.

Delegate Weaver: Do you say under the law it means setting aside that reserve fund for a specific purpose?

Mr. Altmeier: Yes.

Delegate Weaver: Is it true that Congress is utilizing a large portion of those funds at the present time for other purposes?

Mr. Altmeier: No sir; that is not correct. The old age reserve amount, as you know, has been the subject of much discussion. It is a very complicated matter. Let me say, first, that the way the system is constructed every single worker, no matter how young, no matter how high his wages, during the years he is under the system, will get more by way of protection than he could purchase from a private insurance company. Furthermore, if he should die before he reaches retirement age his family will get back all his contributions with interest.

Since the system is not all-inclusive, but covers only a part of the gainfully occupied population, it is constructed on what is called a self-sustaining basis. That is, it is contemplated that over the forty-five years when it is reaching its maturity the contributions made will cover all of the benefits to be paid, and the interest on the reserve must be taken into account in bringing about a balance. Now that means this—and this is true of any insurance system that is on a self-sustaining basis—it means you must start with very small contributions and go up to very high contributions, because the amount of benefits paid out

each year increases year by year until it reaches its maturity. These excess collections are appropriated by Congress to an old age reserve fund. With the fund so appropriated the account is invested in the funds so appropriated in United States Government obligations. Each year more Government obligations are maturing. That is, the sum of money that is being collected and transferred to that account.

It can either be said that of those maturing obligations a portion have been purchased and put to the credit of this account; or it can be said that the money in the account has been used for paying current expenses. Neither one is absolutely correct. The only way in which you could avoid investing that money in United States obligations would be, first, to take the cash and bury it; or, second, to invest it in non-Federal obligations. If the money were invested in non-Federal obligations, you would be investing in the obligations of states and municipalities, or in private investments. The old age account now has to its credit obligations of the Government that would otherwise be held by the bankers, insurance companies and Wall Street, and the Government will pay to that account what it would otherwise pay to outstanding obligations in the hands of private holders. The Government debt in the hands of private holders will be lower in the years to come than it would be otherwise. With the interest that would otherwise be paid on the Government debt in the hands of private holders, the Government can pay interest to this reserve account. The only other alternative, if we went on a pay-as-you-go plan, would be to start with a very small tax; but you would have to wind up with a very high tax in order to meet the total expenditures under the system. The only other alternative would be general taxes.

Delegate Weaver: My last question was inspired by a report issued from Washington during the past week that over \$600,000,000 had been taken from the security reserve fund for the payment of other Federal debts. Would you make any estimate of the amount that has been switched from the reserve fund to other Federal debts?

Mr. Altmeyer: There has been \$600,000,000 or \$750,000,000 in this reserve account. The effect has been that a privately outstanding sum in that amount is now to the credit of this reserve account.

Delegate Weaver: You say one alternative

would be to take this money and put it in a hole in some place. Would it not be as well to put this reserve fund in a hole some place as to put all the gold in a hole in Kentucky?

President Green: This is a very interesting discussion. It has been very helpful, and we appreciate the fine spirit which each of these interrogators showed to each other.

I want to thank, in your name, Chairman Altmeyer, for the inspiring and educational address which he delivered this afternoon. We appreciate it very highly. It will be included in the permanent proceedings of the convention, and I would suggest that delegates in attendance at this convention read it very carefully, because I assure you there is crowded into this address a wealth of information regarding social security. You ought to study it and read it so you will understand it fully.

Chairman Altmeyer, we thank you again for your address and for your presence.

Now, in conformity with the regular order of business, the Chair calls for the report of the Committee on Credentials. The report will be submitted by Delegate Her, Secretary of the Committee, and a member of the American Federation of Government Employees.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Houston, Texas,
October 3, 1938.

To President Green, Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Credentials, who in accordance with our laws, were appointed by their respective International Presidents at the request of President Green, herewith submit the following report:

We have examined the credentials of 455 delegates, representing 84 International and National Unions, 4 Departments, 32 State Branches, 102 Central Bodies, 50 Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions and 4 Fraternal Delegates, and recommend that the following be seated:

National and International Unions

Actors and Artists of America, Associated—Frank Gillmore, Ralph Whitehead, Leo Fischer, Florence Marston. 176 votes.

Air Line Pilots' Association—David L. Behncke, 10 votes.

Asbestos Workers, International Association

of Heat and Frost Insulators and—Joseph A. Mullany, 35 votes.

Bakery and Confectionery Workers' International Union of America—A. A. Myrup, Joseph Schmidt, Peter Beisel, J. Goldstone, 621 votes.

Barbers' International Union, Journeymen—William C. Birthright, Charles T. Crane, Anthony Merlino, Patrick H. Reagan, John B. Robinson, 465 votes.

Bill Posters and Billers of America, International Alliance of—Leo Abernathy, 16 votes.

Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers, International Brotherhood of—Roy Horn, John Pelkofer, 50 votes.

Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—J. A. Franklin, T. N. Davis, Wm. E. Walter, Harry Nacey, 280 votes.

Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of—John B. Haggerty, T. B. Prewitt, Anastasia Becker, 174 votes.

Boot and Shoe Workers' Union—John J. Mara, 308 votes.

Brewery, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United—Joseph Obergfell, Albert J. Kugler, Adam E. Zusi, 420 votes.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union of America—William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard L. Gray, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran, Edward L. Nolan, 650 votes.

Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United—Frank Kasten, William Tracy, 50 votes.

Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association—P. J. Morrin, W. J. McCain, J. H. Lyons, John J. Dempsey, L. Morgan, 413 votes.

Building Service Employees' International Union—George Scalse, Wm. McFetridge, Thomas Burke, Charles Hardy, Mathew Taylor, James J. Bambrick, 658 votes.

Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway—Felix H. Knight, Irvin Barney, Joseph Tremblay, J. O. Holmgren, 650 votes.

Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of—M. A. Hutcheson, Frank Duffy, F. H. Garretson, John O'Donnell, Vic Ridgeway, Harry Barbour, John R. Stevenson, Wm. J. Kelly, 3000 votes.

Cigarmakers' International Union of America—R. E. Van Horn, 70 votes.

Cleaning and Dye House Workers, International Association of—W. S. Gross, John Zittello, H. E. Greenwald, 159 votes.

Clerks, National Federation of Post Office—Leo E. George, William I. Horner, George G. Case, G. W. Strybos, John C. Sweeney, 380 votes.

Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway—H. R. Lyons, J. L. Dyer, E. Z. Harris, 910 votes.

Clerks' International Protective Association, Retail—W. G. Desepte, C. C. Coulter, 467 votes.

Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car—E. W. Kearns, 14 votes.

Draftsmen's Unions, International Federa-

tion of Technical Engineers, Architects and—C. L. Rosemund, 18 votes.

Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of—D. W. Tracy, G. M. Bugniet, Chas. M. Paulsen, Geo. A. Mulkey, E. J. Brown, R. T. Moody, G. R. Tschirn, 1,750 votes.

Elevator Constructors, International Union of—John C. MacDonald, F. B. Comfort, Harry Milton, 102 votes.

Engineers, International Union of Operating—John Possehl, Frank A. Fitzgerald, William P. Walsh, William E. Maloney, Joseph S. Fay, 420 votes.

Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo—Frank H. Glenn, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, 102 votes.

Fire Fighters, International Association of—Fred W. Baer, John P. Redmond, James A. Petris, 300 votes.

Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of—John F. McNamara, John Clinton, James L. Kelley, Roy E. Seitz, 254 votes.

Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of—Harold H. Hiley, 35 votes.

Garment Workers of America, United—T. A. Rickert, A. Adamski, George C. Slater, J. P. McCurdy, D. A. Houck, 400 votes.

Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada—James Maloney, William W. Campbell, Cecil Eklund, Edgar Hann, 200 votes.

Glass Cutters' League of America, Window—Joseph Edgar Mayeur, 12 votes.

Glass Workers' Union, American Flint—M. J. Gillooly, 179 votes.

Government Employees, American Federation of—Charles I. Stengle, Cecil E. Custer, Berniece B. Heffner, 212 votes.

Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The—Laurence Foley, 50 votes.

Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United—Max Zaritsky, Herman Finkelstein, Max Goldman, Abraham Mendelowitz, 225 votes.

Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International—Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph Marshall, Herbert Rivers, James Dove, J. B. Etchison, M. Carrozzo, Homer J. Odell, 1,477 votes.

Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America—Edward Flore, Robt. B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, 1,761 votes.

Lathers, International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal—William J. McSorley, George T. Moore, Chas. J. Case, 81 votes.

Laundry Workers' International Union—W. C. Brooks, Dave Otter, 194 votes.

Leather Workers' International Union, United—W. E. Bryan, 25 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Association of—Edward J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, Luther E. Swartz, Charles D. Duffy, William J. Gorman, 600 votes.

Letter Carriers, National Federation of Rural—Frank Meyer, 6 votes.

Lithographers' International Protective and

Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada—Andrew J. Kennedy, Robert Bruck, Fred W. Rose, 112 votes.

Longshoremen's Association, International—Joseph P. Ryan, Michael Dwyer, 624 votes.

Machinists, International Association of—H. W. Brown, Charles Poe, A. H. Greener, Don M. Burrows, W. F. Robinson, N. P. Alifas, 1,901 votes.

Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of—F. H. Fljzodal, E. E. Milliman, J. J. Farnan, Geo. H. Davis, Louis Vogland, 523 votes.

Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sawyers, Tile and Marble Setters Helpers and Terrazzo Helpers, International Association of—William McCarthy, David Danahy, 55 votes.

Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization—John J. Scully, 30 votes.

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated—Patrick E. Gorman, Dennis Lane, M. S. Maxwell, Earl W. Jimeron, James Lavery, 521 votes.

Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet—John J. Hyne, James J. Ryan, James W. Close, James T. Moriarty, 198 votes.

Mine Workers of America, International Union Progressive—Joe Ozanic, C. E. Percy, 350 votes.

Moulders' Union of North America, International—Harry Stevenson, Jas. McConnell, Henry Sternau, Ed. Heisler, 277 votes.

Musicians, American Federation of—Joseph N. Weber, C. L. Bagley, Chauncey A. Weaver, Edward Canavan, Frank B. Field, Vincent Castronovo, 1,000 votes.

Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of—L. P. Lindelof, Clarence E. Swick, John Oliver, Christian M. Madsen, James P. Meehan, Jos. F. Kelley, 994 votes.

Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of—Matthew J. Burns, Arthur Huggins, Frank P. Barry, 163 votes.

Pattern Makers' League of North America—George Q. Lynch, 68 votes.

Plasterers' International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative—M. J. Coleran, John H. Donlin, John E. Rooney, Mike Reilly, 191 votes.

Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of—John Coefield, Thomas E. Burke, Charles M. Rau, Chas. Anderson, William Fallon, 377 votes.

Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers' International Union, Metal—W. W. Britton, 70 votes.

Porters, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car—A. Philip Randolph, Milton P. Webster, 60 votes.

Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative—James M. Duffy, E. L. Wheatley, William Watkin, 120 votes.

Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate—Joseph Draley, 9 votes.

Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America, International—George L.

Berry, Joseph C. Orr, Daniel C. Murphy, Albert Hunter, F. A. Verhines, 372 votes.

Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, International Brotherhood of—John P. Burke, H. W. Sullivan, Jack McLaughlan, E. A. Mangan, 300 votes.

Railway Employees of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric—Edward McMorrow, Joseph J. Kehoe, Henry Nelson, William T. Egan, John J. Sherry, Frederick E. Griffin, 790 votes.

Railway Mail Association—Henry W. Strickland, C. M. Harvey, William J. McCain, 217 votes.

Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United Slate, Tile and Composition—George W. Jones, J. M. Gavlak, 40 votes.

Sheep Shearers' Union of North America—A. A. Evans, 8 votes.

Special Delivery Messengers, The National Association of—George L. Warfel, 11 votes.

Stage Employes and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical—George E. Browne, John P. Nick, Thomas Vincent Green, E. J. Brock, 278 votes.

State, County and Municipal Employes, American Federation of—Arnold S. Zander, James M. Clancy, C. B. Noxon, Frank C. Snyder, 200 votes.

Stereotypers and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International—Leon De Veeze, Chas. A. Sumner, 87 votes.

Stone Cutters' Association of North America, Journeymen—M. W. Mitchell, P. J. Cullen, 42 votes.

Stove Mounters' International Union—Edw. J. Winter, 36 votes.

Switchmen's Union of North America—Thomas C. Cashen, John Lundergan, 83 votes.

Teachers, American Federation of—Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Mary Foley Grossman, 221 votes.

Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of—Daniel J. Tohin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John O'Rourke, George Wilson, F. W. Brewster, 3,092 votes.

Telegraphers, Order of Railroad—W. H. Robinson, H. B. Perham, 350 votes.

Telegraphers' Union of North America, The Commercial—Frank B. Powers, 29 votes.

Tobacco Workers' International Union—E. Lewis Evans, J. E. Lentie, 143 votes.

Upholsterers' International Union of North America—Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, 110 votes.

Departments

Building and Construction Trades Department—Jos. A. McInerney, 1 vote.

Metal Trades Department—John P. Frey, 1 vote.

Railroad Employes' Department—Bert M. Jewell, 1 vote.

Union Label Trades Department—I. M. Ornburn, 1 vote.

State Branches

Alabama State Federation of Labor—Ida Lee Merchant, 1 vote.
 Arizona State Federation of Labor—C. L. Daugherty, 1 vote.
 California State Federation of Labor—Thomas Nickola, 1 vote.
 Connecticut State Federation of Labor—John J. Egan, 1 vote.
 Florida State Federation of Labor—Wendell C. Heaton, 1 vote.
 Georgia State Federation of Labor—D. F. Allen, 1 vote.
 Illinois State Federation of Labor—Reuben G. Soderstrom, 1 vote.
 Indiana State Federation of Labor—Carl H. Mullen, 1 vote.
 Louisiana State Federation of Labor—E. H. Williams, 1 vote.
 Maryland-District of Columbia State Federation of Labor—Frank J. Coleman, 1 vote.
 Massachusetts State Federation of Labor—Kenneth I. Taylor, 1 vote.
 Michigan State Federation of Labor—John Reid, 1 vote.
 Minnesota State Federation of Labor—Geo. W. Lawson, 1 vote.
 Mississippi State Federation of Labor—L. H. Jones, 1 vote.
 Missouri State Federation of Labor—John W. Bailey, 1 vote.
 Montana State Federation of Labor—James D. Graham, 1 vote.
 Nebraska State Federation of Labor—Roy M. Brewer, 1 vote.
 Nevada State Federation of Labor—James Farndale, 1 vote.
 New Hampshire State Federation of Labor—John L. Barry, 1 vote.
 New Jersey State Federation of Labor—Louis P. Marcianite, 1 vote.
 New York State Federation of Labor—George Meany, 1 vote.
 Ohio State Federation of Labor—Thomas J. Donnelly, 1 vote.
 Oregon State Federation of Labor—Ben I. Osborne, 1 vote.
 Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor—James L. McDevitt, 1 vote.
 Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen—Santiago Iglesias, 1 vote.
 South Carolina State Federation of Labor—John R. Brawley, 1 vote.
 Tennessee State Federation of Labor—Lev Loring, 1 vote.
 Texas State Federation of Labor—Andrew S. McBride, 1 vote.
 Virginia State Federation of Labor—Jos. Rossano, 1 vote.
 Washington State Federation of Labor—James A. Taylor, 1 vote.
 West Virginia State Federation of Labor—Tom Cairns, 1 vote.
 Wisconsin State Federation of Labor—Henry Ohl, Jr., 1 vote.

City Central Bodies

Amarillo, Texas, Central Labor Union—W. W. Finch, 1 vote.
 Ann Arbor, Mich., Trades Council—Redmond M. Burr, 1 vote.
 Arkansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—Charlie H. Gresty, 1 vote.
 Asbury Park, N. J., Monmouth and Ocean Counties Central Labor Union—Stanley C. O'Hoppe, 1 vote.
 Atlanta, Ga., Federation of Trades—Dewey L. Johnson, 1 vote.
 Baton Rouge, La., Central Labor Union—E. J. Bourg, 1 vote.
 Beaumont, Texas, Trades and Labor Assembly—J. W. Park, 1 vote.
 Birmingham, Ala., Trades Council—Mary Lillie Price, 1 vote.
 Bloomington, Ind., Federation of Labor—Dion Summers, 1 vote.
 Blue Island, Ill., Central Labor Union—Thomas J. O'Brien, 1 vote.
 Boise, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—Guy H. Hunt, 1 vote.
 Boston, Mass., Central Labor Union—Charles A. Burrs, 1 vote.
 Camden, N. J., Central Labor Union—Charles F. Holloper, 1 vote.
 Canton, Ohio, Federation of Labor—Henry E. Martin, 1 vote.
 Chattanooga, Tenn., Central Labor Union—Erskine Mabce, 1 vote.
 Chicago, Ill., Federation of Labor—Alfred C. Woyner, 1 vote.
 Chicago Heights, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—L. Goudie, 1 vote.
 Cincinnati, O., Central Labor Council—John J. Hurst, 1 vote.
 Cleveland, O., Federation of Labor—Thomas A. Lenchan, 1 vote.
 Council Bluffs, Ia., Central Labor Union—Gordon E. Beck, 1 vote.
 Covington, Ky., Trades and Labor Assembly of Kenton and Campbell Counties—Milton I. Doll, 1 vote.
 Denison, Texas, Labor Trades Council—Roy S. Hall, 1 vote.
 Des Moines, Ia., Trades and Labor Assembly—James W. Soutter, 1 vote.
 Detroit and Wayne County, Mich., Federation of Labor—J. N. Cummings, 1 vote.
 East St. Louis, Ill., Trades and Labor Union—A. L. Wegener, 1 vote.
 Elizabeth, N. J., Union County Trades Council—George F. Cushing, 1 vote.
 Elkhart County, Ind., Central Labor Union—S. S. Van Patten, 1 vote.
 El Paso, Texas, Central Labor Union—C. E. Westbrook, 1 vote.
 Fort Worth, Texas, Trades Assembly—A. L. Bailey, 1 vote.
 Galveston, Texas, Labor Council—B. A. Gritta, 1 vote.
 Goose Creek, Texas, Tri-Cities Central Labor and Trades Council—Percy Taylor, 1 vote.

Hamilton, O., Trades and Labor Council—Charles Farrell, 1 vote.
 Hamilton, Ont., Can., Trades and Labor Council—John F. Cauley, 1 vote.
 Harlingen, Texas, Central Labor Union—Jack Green, 1 vote.
 Haverhill, Mass., Central Labor Union—Edward M. Foley, 1 vote.
 Holyoke, Mass., Central Labor Union—Francis M. Curran, 1 vote.
 Houston, Texas, Labor Council—Hugh B. McGinn, 1 vote.
 Huntsville, Ala., Central Labor Union—L. O. Petree, 1 vote.
 Jackson, Miss., Central Labor Union—W. G. Byars, 1 vote.
 Joliet, Ill., Central Trades and Labor Council of Will County—Tony Augustino, 1 vote.
 Joplin, Mo., Central Labor Union—Floyd Webb, 1 vote.
 Kankakee, Ill., Federation of Labor—Bradley Marcotte, 1 vote.
 Kansas City, Kans., Central Labor Union—R. R. Graham, 1 vote.
 Kansas City, Mo., Industrial Council—Max Dyer, 1 vote.
 Kenosha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Bertram Day, 1 vote.
 Kensington, Ill., Calumet Joint Labor Council—James G. Kennedy, 1 vote.
 Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union—W. R. Mayo, 1 vote.
 Lake County, Ill., Central Labor Council—B. R. McMahon, 1 vote.
 Leominster, Mass., Central Labor Union—Arthur J. Taylor, 1 vote.
 Lima, O., Central Labor Union—Alfred T. Murphy, 1 vote.
 Long Beach, Calif., Central Labor Union—George C. Bentson, 1 vote.
 Los Angeles, Calif., Central Labor Council—J. W. Buzzell, 1 vote.
 Macomb, Miss., Central Labor Union—V. F. O'Flinn, 1 vote.
 Memphis, Tenn., Trades and Labor Council—R. F. Brown, 1 vote.
 Miami, Fla., Central Labor Union—Walter Hoyt, 1 vote.
 Middletown, O., Trades and Labor Council—W. J. O'Brien, 1 vote.
 Milwaukee, Wis., Federated Trades Council—J. F. Friederick, 1 vote.
 Moberly, Mo., Trades and Labor Assembly—Alden P. Baker, 1 vote.
 Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council—Wm. R. Ross, 1 vote.
 Monroe, La., Central Labor Union—F. W. Simpson, 1 vote.
 Muskogee, Okla., Central Labor Union—John Lucas, 1 vote.
 Nampa, Ida., Trades and Labor Council—Louis J. Koutnik, 1 vote.
 Newark, N. J., Essex Trade Council—Jacob Baer, 1 vote.
 New York, N. Y., Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity—James C. Quinn, 1 vote.

Norman, Okla., Central Labor Union—Jack Kennedy, 1 vote.
 Oklahoma City, Okla., Central Trades and Labor Assembly—Walter Nelson, 1 vote.
 Ottawa, Ont., Can., Allied Trade and Labor Association—P. M. Draper, 1 vote.
 Parkersburg, W. Va., Central Trades and Labor Council—J. D. Bowers, 1 vote.
 Peoria, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Jack Kinsella, 1 vote.
 Philadelphia, Pa., Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity—Frank Burch, 1 vote.
 Pittsburgh, Pa., Central Labor Union—John A. Stackhouse, 1 vote.
 Port Arthur, Texas, Trades and Labor Council—Randolph Varnado, 1 vote.
 Portland, Ore., Central Labor Council of Portland and Vicinity—Gust Anderson, 1 vote.
 Reading, Pa., Federated Trades Council—A. P. Bower, 1 vote.
 St. Joseph, Mo., Central Labor Council—Warren S. Welsh, 1 vote.
 St. Louis, Mo., Trades and Labor Union—Joseph P. Clark, 1 vote.
 St. Petersburg, Fla., Central Labor Union—Charles M. Perry, 1 vote.
 Salinas, Calif., Monterey County Central Labor Union—Lyman Dixon, 1 vote.
 Salt Lake City, Utah, Federation of Labor—William O. Dix, 1 vote.
 San Antonio, Texas, Trades Council—A. F. Cadena, 1 vote.
 San Francisco, Calif., Labor Council—Jno. A. O'Connell, 1 vote.
 San Pedro (San Pedro and Wilmington), Calif., Central Labor Council—H. L. Woxberg, 1 vote.
 Santa Monica, Calif., Central Labor Union—Paul E. Weaver, 1 vote.
 Savannah, Ga., Trades and Labor Assembly—Charles Waid, 1 vote.
 Seattle, Wash., Central Labor Council—Claude O'Reilly, 1 vote.
 Shreveport, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—J. A. Bradley, 1 vote.
 South Chicago, Ill., Trades and Labor Assembly—Frank E. Doyle, 1 vote.
 Springfield, Ill., Federation of Labor—R. E. Woodmansee, 1 vote.
 Springfield, Mo., Central Labor Union—E. I. Barrett, 1 vote.
 Springfield, O., Trades and Labor Assembly—George E. McKenna, 1 vote.
 Tacoma, Wash., Central Labor Council—W. T. Morris, 1 vote.
 Texas City, Texas, Central Labor Union—Fred Sandberg, Sr., 1 vote.
 Tucson, Ariz., Central Trades Council—John J. Durkin, 1 vote.
 Tulsa, Okla., Trades Council—Grafton I. Fox, 1 vote.
 Vallejo, Calif., Central Labor Council—John A. Edward, 1 vote.
 Waco, Texas, Central Labor Union—Harry Wilson Alexander, 1 vote.

Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union—John Locher, 1 vote.

Waukesha, Wis., Trades and Labor Council—Edward Hughlett, 1 vote.

Wichita Falls, Texas, Trades and Labor Council—S. S. Disbrow, 1 vote.

Wilmington, Del., Central Labor Union—James T. Houghton, 1 vote.

Winston-Salem, N. C., Central Labor Union—G. D. Sexton, 1 vote.

Wood River, Ill., Central Labor Union—Jos. R. Kelehan, 1 vote.

Local Unions

Aluminum and Tin Foil Workers' Union, United, No. 19388, Louisville, Ky.—W. R. Conder, 6 votes.

Boilermakers' Helpers' Union No. 20887, Galveston, Texas—W. M. Massey, 1 vote.

Brakemen Porters' Union No. 21718, Texarkana, Texas—Floyd Jackson, 1 vote.

Brush Workers' Union No. 20468, Troy, N. Y.—Howard Wiltsey, 2 votes.

Cannery Workers' Union No. 20147, (San Pedro, Wilmington and Terminal Island, California.)—James Waugh, 16 votes.

Cresote Workers' Union No. 19974, Brownville, Ala.—James Hendricks, 1 vote.

Embalmers' Union, Professional, No. 9049, San Francisco, Calif.—Wm. J. Williams, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18456, Kenosha, Wis.—Claude Watkins, 16 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18545, Sheboygan, Wis.—Charles Heymanns, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 18651, Canton, Ohio—Tom Finnegan, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia, Pa.—William Ketner, 19 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19119, East St. Louis, Ill.—J. C. Daniel, 2 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 19766, Houston, Texas—T. J. Ewell, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20183, Barberton, Ohio—Jack Cikity, 3 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20336, Crossville, Tenn.—Oren G. Metzger, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20388, Battle Creek, Mich.—Rex O. Ballard, 7 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20407, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Phillip Whitehead, 11 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 20579, Houston, Texas—Lonzo Silas, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20714, Houston, Texas—J. M. Howard, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 20783, Algonac, Mich.—Edwin Reagan, 4 votes.

Federal Labor Union No. 21181, Texas City, Texas—Dan W. Curtis, 1 vote.

Federal Labor Union No. 21371, McComb, Miss.—F. P. Posey, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 17769, Kansas City, Kans.—George Barnes, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 19272, Kansas City, Mo.—Raymond Smith, 1 vote.

Freight Handlers' Union No. 21192, Houston, Texas—Luther Chavis, 1 vote.

Fruit Cannery Workers' Union No. 20228, Olympia, Wash.—J. B. Jackson, 1 vote.

Fur Workers' Union No. 21479, Fur Workers' Union No. 21480, Fur Workers' Union No. 21481, Toronto, Ontario, Canada—Max Federman, 3 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18007, Chicago, Ill.—Patrick Gallagher, 9 votes.

Gas Workers' Union No. 18744, San Antonio, Texas—Gilmore Offer, 1 vote.

Grocery Employees' Union, United, No. 20541, Pittsburgh, Pa.—Donald E. Douty, 1 vote.

Gypsum Mill Workers' Union No. 21307, Quanah, Texas—L. Sparks, 1 vote.

News Writers' Union No. 19982, Jackson, Miss.—Fred W. Patton, 1 vote.

Office Employees' Union No. 20732, Chicago, Ill.—Charles F. Willis, 2 votes.

Quarry Workers' Union No. 21469, Bloomington, Ind.—Clyde Danner, 2 votes.

Salesmen's Union, Wholesale Licensed Alcoholic Beverage, No. 20376, New York, N. Y.—Sol Ciento, 5 votes.

Salt Workers' Union No. 18952, Grand Saline, Texas—Gene Carroll, 2 votes.

Silk Workers' Union No. 21675, Fayetteville, N. C.—James E. Miller, 1 vote.

Smelter Workers' Union No. 21538, Blackwell, Okla.—Will Fetrow, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18199, St. Paul, Minn.—L. E. Groner, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19903, Atlanta, Ga.—Benjamin M. Dobbs, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 19980, Oklahoma City, Okla.—Harriette Peterson, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20380, Miami, Fla.—M. E. Roberts, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20590, Galveston, Texas—C. H. Lindberg, 1 vote.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 20798, Los Angeles, Calif.—C. Y. Haggerty, 2 votes.

Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 21223, Houston, Texas—Rena Mae Chadick, 1 vote.

Sulphur Workers' Union No. 21195, Freeport, Texas—Edw. R. Moffett, 1 vote.

Terminal Baggage Mail Handlers and Station Employees' Union No. 19251, Washington, D. C.—Norris O. Lancaster, 1 vote.

Train Porters' Union No. 21599, San Antonio, Texas—Del McKinney, 1 vote.

Train Porters' Union No. 21630, Fort Worth, Texas—Richard Bennett, 1 vote.

Warehouse and Storehouse Employees and Janitors' Union, Station, No. 20290, Kansas City, Mo.—Ike Franklin, 1 vote.

Fraternal Delegates

British Trades Union Congress—Joseph Jones, J. W. Stephenson, 2 votes.

Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—W. G. Russell, 1 vote.

Women's International Union Label League —Mary Cramer.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO. E. GEORGE
Chairman

W. J. MORAN

HENRY C. ILLER
Secretary

Chairman George: I move that the preliminary report of the Credentials Committee be received and the delegates whose names are contained therein seated.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Moran, a member of the committee, and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Committee on Credentials will continue and bring in supplemental reports from time to time. Perhaps I should present the members of the Credentials Committee to the convention. They are Leo George, of the Postoffice Clerks, chairman of the committee; Brother William J. Moran, of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' International Union, and Brother Henry Iller, of the American Federation of Government Employees, the secretary of the committee.

Now the Chair will call upon Secretary Morrison to read the list of the convention committees:

Secretary Morrison read the following:

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Executive Council Report

Harry C. Bates, George Q. Lynch, H. M. Nelson, Wm. J. Kelly, J. J. Hynes, F. A. Fitzgerald, John M. Gillespie, Henry F. Schmal, Charles Sumner, Charles Rau, William Campbell, Frank Coleman, Irvin Barney, Arthur Huggins, Henry Ohl, Jr., Homer J. Odell, Harvey Brown, Jerome Davis.

Laws

Daniel J. Tobin, Joseph N. Weber, Dennis Lane, Charles Anderson, J. J. Farnan, John R. Stevenson, William Watkins, James L. Kelley, William Tracy, W. J. Gorman, Frank Glenn, George G. Case, J. O. Holmgren, Herbert Rivers, Jasper N. Davis, J. P. McCurdy, Wm. McCarthy, John J. Egan, James J. Bambrick.

Resolutions

Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, A. A. Myrup, J. A. Franklin, Thomas L. Hughes, John Posschl, P. J. Morrin, M. J. Gillooly, Frank Kasten, Clarence E. Swick, R. G. Soderstrom, John J. Stretch, John J. Mara, Fred Baer, Henry W. Strickland, M. A. Hutcheson, Michael J. Collieran, Daniel C. Murphy, W. C. Birthright.

Organization

Frank Duffy, W. H. Robinson, John P. Burke, Frank Gilmore, Patrick H. Reagan, Matthew Taylor, Edward Canavan, Andrew J. Kennedy, James Bove, Chris Lane, John

J. Scully, John B. Prewitt, Earl Jimerson, A. Philip Randolph, Joseph Schmidt, J. W. Buzzell, Joe Ozanic, G. R. Tschirn, Cecil Eklund.

Labels

Edward Flore, Joseph Obergfell, Chauncey A. Weaver, H. Barbour, Peter Beisel, Anthony Merlino, M. S. Maxwell, Herman Finkelstein, George C. Slater, W. G. Desepte, Matthew Burns, James A. Taylor, Joseph Orr, E. L. Wheatley, John Zitello, Anastasia Becker, Edgar Hann, R. E. Van Horn, Dave Otter.

Adjustment

T. A. Rickert, James Maloney, Roy Horn, John F. McNamara, J. B. Etchison, Charles L. Bagley, William Egan, Louis Vogland, E. J. Brock, Frank Brewster, D. W. Tracy, H. B. Perham, James McConnell, W. F. Robinson, George W. Lawson, Charles Hardy, Joseph F. Kelley, Harry Nacy, William Walsh.

Local and Federated Bodies

George E. Browne, Jos. Marshall, Thomas C. Cashen, A. Adamski, James C. Quinn, C. C. Coulter, R. E. Woodmansee, Albert Hunter, William I. Moran, Frank B. Powers, Vic. Ridgeway, Alfred Rota, Lawrence Foley, P. J. Cullen, J. E. Lentie, J. Goldstone, Nat Messing, E. J. Brown.

Education

E. E. Milliman, Ralph Whitehead, L. P. Lindelof, Thomas E. Burke, Max Zaritsky, L. E. Swartz, Wm. I. Horner, Kenneth I. Taylor, Vincent Castronovo, John J. Sherry, F. H. Garretson, John J. Dempsey, Wm. L. McFetridge, Leon De Vese, Cecil E. Custer, C. E. Percy, Irvin Kuenzli, Wm. J. McCain, H. R. Lyons.

State Organizations

G. M. Bugniazet, William E. Walter, F. A. Verhines, J. N. Cummings, Carl H. Mullen, Joseph A. Mullaney, John Clinton, Joseph E. Mayeur, Berniece B. Heffner, Joseph P. Ryan, Thomas Donnelly, Charles T. Crane, W. S. Gross, George Meany, Frank C. Snyder, J. L. Dyer, Gust Anderson, Roy Brewer, Louis Koenig.

Industrial Relations

John Coefield, Charles D. Duffy, Joseph S. Fay, Charles J. Case, Harry Milton, John C. Sweeney, John O'Rourke, Joseph I. Kehoe, Charles Poe, Charles N. Paulsen, James Close, Walter C. Brooks, E. Z. Harris, W. W. Britton, John Lundergan, Michael Dwyer, John P. Nick, Thomas Cairns, Leo Fischer.

Building Trades

Joseph A. McInerney, Wm. J. McSorley, Joseph V. Moreschi, F. B. Comfort, Wm. E. Maloney, W. J. McCain, James J. Ryan, William H. Fallon, Edward L. Nolan, M. W. Mitchell, John Oliver, R. T. Moody, J. M. Gavlak, John F. Rooney, John O'Donnell, David Danahy.

Shorter Workday

E. J. Gainer, Joseph Tremblay, James P. Meahan, Harry Stevenson, Robert B. Hesketh, George H. Davis, John Pelkofer, George Scalise, Adam E. Zusi, Louis P. Marcianite, Sal. B. Hoffmann, A. H. Greener, Milton P. Webster, James M. Clancy, George T. Moore, Jack McLaughlan, Edward McMorrow, Patrick Gorman, John M. Fewkes.

Legislation

I. M. Ornburn, Leo E. George, Emanuel Koveleski, B. M. Jewell, C. L. Rosemund, C. M. Harvey, James M. Duffy, Richard J. Gray, James T. Moriarty, John Donlin, Charles I. Stengle, Thos. V. Green, Joseph Draley, M. L. Finnan, Arnold S. Zander, Don M. Burrows, Christian Madsen, Henry Sternau, David Behncke.

International Labor Relations

Thomas E. Burke, Matthew Woll, D. J. Tobin, George L. Jerry, W. D. Mahon, J. J. Hynes, Wm. L. Hutcheson, Wm. J. Bowen, John Coefield, Edward J. Gainer, Albert Adamski, Joseph V. Moreschi, Joseph P. Ryan, E. E. Millman, J. A. Franklin, John P. Frey, Christian M. Madsen, Michael J. Colleran, Edward Flore, Henry F. Schmal, Dennis Lane, William J. McSorley, Edward Canavan, W. C. Birthright, John J. Hagerty, P. J. Morrin, William Green.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the name of President Green be added to the Committee on International Labor Relations.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: If there are no objections the committees just announced are accepted as the convention committees. Hearing none, it is so ordered.

I would like to ask Vice President John Gillespie, of the Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs, to cooperate with Chairman Bates, of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, and be prepared to serve with Brother Bates as Acting Chairman of the Committee.

The Chair now recognizes First Vice President Frank Duffy. He will submit to you a condensed report of the Executive Council, submitted to the convention. Vice President Duffy has been submitting this report in behalf of the Executive Council for a number of years, and I am glad he is here to present the report to you now.

First Vice President Duffy read the following:

**SUMMARY OF REPORT OF THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL**

The introduction to the Report of the Executive Council for the past year directs attention to the progress which the American Federation of Labor has made despite obstacles which had to be met in the form of a sudden return of depression with its attendant in-

creasing unemployment, and the undermining tactics of an attempted dual movement.

Report of Secretary-Treasurer

The report of the Secretary-Treasurer for the year ending August 31, 1938, shows a balance on hand of \$443,631.19, of which \$436,774.96 is in the Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions. The balance is in the General Fund.

In summarizing our finances for the year we find the total receipts from all sources were \$1,844,203.37, while our expenditures totalled \$1,987,139.59. It will be noted that during the twelve months ending August 31, 1938, the American Federation of Labor expended \$1,174,014.58 for organizing activities.

Membership

During the year just closed 628 charters were issued to affiliated bodies.

Our report shows a total membership for the Federation of 3,623,087 comprising 4 departments with 846 local department councils, 102 national and international unions with 32,631 local unions, 792 central bodies, 49 state federations, and 1517 directly affiliated local trade and federal labor unions.

An accounting is made of the Gompers Memorial Fund.

**Report of Trustees of A. F. of L.
Building**

A detailed accounting is made of the receipts and expenses of the A. F. of L. Building. This statement shows a balance on hand at the close of the fiscal year of \$20,448.13.

Extension of Organizing Campaign

During the past year we have greatly extended organizing activities among the unorganized workers of the country, especially those not coming within the jurisdictions of affiliated national and international unions. We are indeed gratified over the success which has attended our efforts and submit a detailed report of our activities within the several fields in which we have specialized in our organizing work. We point out the necessity for continuing this organizing work and our desire to further expand our activities to the full extent of our financial resources. To do this, however, it will be necessary for adequate funds to be provided. For this reason your Executive Council recommends the continuance of the assessment of 1 cent per member per month, as levied at the Denver, 1937, Convention.

Secession and Dualism

In the section under this title we report on the situation concerning the Committee for Industrial Organization. In accordance with the instructions of the Denver, 1937, Convention, your officers continued all possible efforts to effect a restoration of unity and solidarity within the organized labor movement of our Nation. Conferences were held and proposals were submitted looking toward an adjustment of this situation. Correspondence and telegrams which passed between the officers of the American Federation of Labor and those of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the proposals submitted and report of the Special Committee appointed to meet with C.I.O. representatives, are included in our Report.

Your Executive Council expresses its deep appreciation for the services rendered by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor who served upon the Negotiating Committee between the American Federation of Labor and the C.I.O. The onus for failure of peace negotiations in this matter rests entirely with the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Trade Union Benefits

Our report shows that the national and international organizations which reported to headquarters on the subject expended \$27,111,-225.46 in out-of-work, disability, pension, death, sick, and miscellaneous benefits. In addition to this we call attention to the fact that many affiliated local unions maintain their own benefit funds and no attempt is made to cover such funds.

Replies to a questionnaire sent to our national and international unions show that 589,-818 union members have vacations with pay.

A detailed table is presented showing the various benefit services of our national and international organizations.

Charters to National Unions

National charters were issued during the past year to laborers in the Railway Mail Service, special delivery messengers, and mine workers. Included in this section is a resolution which was adopted by your Executive Council in approving the issuance of a charter to the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Revocation of Charters

Acting in accordance with the instructions

of the 57th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, your Executive Council officially revoked the charters of nine international unions which were associated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

We report also an action which was taken with regard to dissociation from state federations of labor and city central bodies of all organizations affiliated with the C.I.O. Your Executive Council is determined to see that state federations of labor and city central bodies are composed only of American Federation of Labor unions. This action is necessary to preserve the integrity, authority, and solidarity of the American Federation of Labor.

Jurisdictional Matters

Under this title your Executive Council reports on the status of several jurisdictional controversies which we have had before us during the past year. We report also on general jurisdictional matters which have received consideration.

Conferences were held between the Longshoremens and Masters, Mates and Pilots and while substantial progress was made, no definite or final agreement has yet been reached.

In the controversy between the Printing Trades and Lithographers conferences were held in accordance with the directions of the Denver, 1937, Convention. No acceptable proposal was evolved and your Executive Council put into effect the action of the Denver Convention by communicating with all national and international unions, state federations of labor, and city central bodies, advising them that the use of a union label by the International Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association is disapproved and the union label of the Allied Printing Trades Council is recognized as the only bona fide union label to be used in connection with all forms and character of plate making and printing including offset plate making and offset printing.

Gasoline Service Station Attendants. As a result of an aggressive organizing campaign among gasoline service station attendants, 47 local unions of these workers were formed and chartered and the National Council of Gasoline Station Attendants was created.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America made application for jurisdiction over these workers on April 15, 1938. After careful consideration your Executive Council decided that because of the very close relationship exist-

ing between truck drivers, chauffeurs, teamsters and helpers who transport gasoline and other products used in gasoline filling stations, and the workers employed in these stations, the economic and industrial interests of the workers involved could be best served through membership in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. Your Executive Council, therefore, granted jurisdiction over gasoline service station employees to the above named International Union.

Unemployment

The business recession which started with September, 1937, added 3,500,000 to the ranks of the unemployed. In addition to this, we point out the fact that there was no increase in jobs to provide for the young persons who came of working age during this period. These boys and girls added about 475,000 more to the total number to be employed.

There is no subject of more direct concern to all workers than fluctuations in employment. In our report for the year your Executive Council traces the rise and decline of unemployment during the year. We point out that in September, 1937 unemployment had reached the lowest point since recovery started. By June of 1938 unemployment had increased by 3,932,000. We call attention to the fact that union members have fared much better than employees in industry generally during these months of declining employment. Throughout the late spring months—April through June—though employment generally declined, trade union employment increased. Employment of union members continued to increase through July and early August. We look for further gains this fall and next spring.

Shorter Work Week

While no figures are yet available for the current year, the records for 1937 show striking gains in shortening the hours of work since pre-depression years. Average hours of union building trades workers were shortened from 43 per week in 1929 to 39 in 1937. In the printing trades, in the same period, average union hours were reduced from 44.3 to 39.5. This means an average gain in leisure of 4 hours for building tradesmen and nearly 5 hours for printers. Union bakers reduced their hours by nearly 5 per week in the corresponding 8 years.

Your Executive Council again calls atten-

tion to the fact that the huge army of unemployed is sufficient testimony as to the need for shorter work hours.

Research and Information Service

Our regular research service to affiliated unions was expanded during the past year in order to more nearly meet the pressing needs of our unions. We point out the several special services of our research staff in providing facts for wage negotiations, information on social security, information on procedure to be followed in filing charges and petitions with the regional offices of the National Labor Relations Board, data on labor standards in specific industries, and so far as possible current information on major developments in the fields of workmen's compensation, child labor and other labor standards, etc.

Labor Press

In our report under this title your Executive Council bespeaks for the Labor Press and for labor publications generally, the full support and assistance of all the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

Building and Construction Trades Department

The report of the Building and Construction Trades Department is reassuring. It shows that the Department issued 57 charters to local building and construction trades councils, and that the finances of the Department are in a healthy condition with all local councils in good standing.

Metal Trades Department

The Metal Trades Department reports marked progress during the past year. There has been a material increase in membership and most satisfactory progress in placing the newly acquired membership under trade union agreements with the employers.

Railway Employees Department

A most comprehensive and instructive report is made of the activities of the Railway Employees Department for the past year.

Union Label Trades Department

The activities of the Union Label Trades Department for the past year are described in brief in the report submitted by your Executive Council. This is commended to your careful attention.

Free Federation of Workmen of Puerto Rico

Under this title there is presented for your consideration a report of the progress made by the workers of Puerto Rico during the past year.

National Labor Relations Board

The section of the report of your Executive Council under this title is commended to your most thoughtful and serious consideration. We have found it necessary to criticize the administration of the National Labor Relations Act though we find no fault with the principles and purposes which the Act embodies. These principles and purposes will always have our unyielding support.

A number of the key cases which have had a part in forcing us to follow a course of criticism of the administration of the National Labor Relations Acts are presented.

We found it necessary also to take issue with the philosophy and practice of two of the members of the National Labor Relations Board and to protest against their prejudicial attitude toward the American Federation of Labor and their undisguised attempts to foster the cause of the C.I.O. in rendering decisions on cases before them.

Revisions and amendments to the Act will be proposed having for their purposes, among other points, limitation of the power of the Board to invalidate union and employer contracts and to limit the power of the Board in determining the proper unit for the purpose of collective bargaining.

Social Security

Your Executive Council presents for your consideration a report on the administration of the Social Security Act. We are continuously in touch with developments under the social security program in order that the Act may at all times be of benefit to those whom it was intended to serve.

Special consideration is given in our report to old age assistance and unemployment compensation and we submit a comprehensive statement on these two phases of social security.

National Health Conference

Since it is quite evident the American Federation of Labor must develop a policy on the matter of providing more adequate medical care for all, your Executive Council submits

a report on the activities of the officers of the American Federation of Labor in this matter during the past year. This matter is presented for your careful consideration.

Housing

We present for your consideration a comprehensive report on the general subject of housing. We have included sections on the U. S. Housing Authority, the Federal Housing Administration, and housing developments under the Farm Security Administration.

Labor Standards Under Government Contracts

This is an especially important subject and our report on the administration of the Walsh-Healey Act under this title is commended to your thoughtful consideration. We are constantly in touch with the administration of this law.

National Legislation

One of the major functions of the American Federation of Labor is to secure the enactment of legislation to protect the rights and interests of wage earners. A very comprehensive report is submitted on legislation enacted during the past year as well as a number of proposed measures which were not enacted into law. In submitting this detailed report it is our thought that the provisions of proposals before Congress should be presented to members of organized labor as well as measures already enacted into law.

State Labor Legislation

Your attention is called to the fact that only 9 state legislatures met in regular session in 1938 as compared to 43 in 1937. For this reason the volume of state labor legislation for this year is not comparable with that reported last year. However, several measures of very great importance to wage earners are reported on in this section of your Executive Council's report. This report and recommendations are commended to your most thoughtful consideration.

Legal Counsel Engaged

As the need for adequate legal advice for the guidance of the officers of the American Federation of Labor became increasingly more apparent, your Executive Council deemed it necessary to retain the services of trained legal counsel. We therefore made the necessary arrangements and submit our report on this matter for your approval.

Credit Unions

Your Executive Council submits a very carefully compiled statement on this subject. The matter is important and we recommend a continuance of the study which has been carried on in the past. We present suggestions for the guidance of unions considering the institution and operation of credit unions.

Consumers Cooperation

Under this title we have reported the growth of interest in consumers cooperatives and present for your consideration an admonition that unions undertaking cooperative enterprises adhere closely to sound business principles and practices. Employees of cooperatives should be organized into trade unions.

Education

Your Executive Council has prepared and submits for your consideration a very comprehensive report on the subject of education. We have included a resume of the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education which was made public early this year. In the section of our report on vocational education we make proposals which we believe would prove of far reaching importance in the field of vocational education.

The National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps are reported on under the heading "Youth" in a subsection of our general report on Education.

We have also included in our report on Education sections covering the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training in the Department of Labor and the report of the Workers Education Bureau for the past year.

The subject of education is important to us all and we commend this section of our report to your very careful consideration.

Child Labor

Because of our very great concern for the abolition of child labor, your Executive Council has prepared and submits for your consideration a special section on the progress of the child labor amendment which is still not ratified by 20 states.

International Labor Organization

We submit an interesting and comprehensive report of the work of the International Labor Organization for the past year. In our report on this subject your Executive Council

deemed it proper to pay high tribute to the constructive work of the retiring head of the International Labor Organization.

International Labor Organization Treaties Ratified

Under this title we are pleased to report that on June 13, 1938, the Senate for the first time ratified a number of treaties adopted by the International Labor Organization. These treaties are designed to guarantee certain minimum labor standards in all nations holding membership in the I. L. O. and were adopted by the special Maritime Session of the International Labor Conference held in Geneva, Switzerland, in October, 1936.

International Federation of Trade Unions

The reaffiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions was approved by the Denver Convention. It seemed proper, therefore, to include in our report for this year a description of the structure and activities of the International Federation of Trade Unions so that all may be informed thereon. Our report on this subject is instructive and comprehensive and is commended to your careful consideration.

Pan-American Federation of Labor

Under this title your Executive Council proposes the reorganizing of the Pan-American Federation of Labor immediately. As a step toward this end we recommend the appointment of a Commission to proceed to the countries of Pan-America to ascertain where and which are the free labor movements in those countries with a view to including the free labor movements of those countries in a convention of the Pan-American countries. We commend this proposal to your thoughtful consideration.

Relations Between Nations

There is no subject more vital to us all than that of peace. With the cloud of fear hanging over Europe your Executive Council deemed it timely to demand that differences between nations be settled through the utilization of the agencies of peace.

We suggest that it would be most appropriate and fitting if the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor again register its opposition to autocratic and dictatorial forms of government.

This section of our report is especially commended to your most thoughtful consideration.

Japanese Invasion of China

The Denver, 1937, Convention gave serious consideration to the war which Japan was and is waging against China. Events of the year intervening have confirmed our decision of last year to boycott Japanese products and services until there is a termination of Japanese policies of conquest and aggression in China. We therefore recommend that the action of the Denver Convention in favor of the Japanese boycott be reaffirmed.

Conclusion

Your Executive Council concludes its report for the year just closed with a reaffirmation of our established policy to observe the wishes of the majority, the prompt and regular payment of dues for the support of principles to which we adhere, and to orderly and constitutional disposition of union business. These qualities make for continued and vigorous activity and growth.

President Green: The summary of the report of the Executive Council just read will be included in today's proceedings. We commend it to your careful consideration.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

HOUSTON, TEXAS, October 3, 1938.

*To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of
the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:*

INTRODUCTION

The past year has brought difficult problems and substantial progress to the American Federation of Labor. The sudden return of depression with a swift decline brought us again to serious unemployment with its attendant problems and hardships by the first of 1938. We have not only weathered the hardships of depression but the undermining tactics of an attempted dual movement, and emerge with better organized ranks, greater numerical strength, and greater prestige throughout the length and breadth of the land.

The American Federation of Labor represents the cumulative work of wage earners of more than fifty years of industrial civilization. By their policies, their energies and oft-times their blood they built up a living organization that has a vitality and tenacity little realized by the casual observer. It is these qualities that give the labor movement its enduring character. Even labor men do not always understand how deeply rooted is an organization like the American Federation of Labor. Its customs and practices are directly and consciously a part of the daily work and life of a large number of wage earners and indirectly affect standards of living of many more who may be quite unconscious of the obligation they owe.

The American Federation of Labor has emerged triumphant from a most serious campaign to disrupt our organization and form a dual labor movement that has been interrupting our progress. This campaign has been waged with the support of some governmental agencies and those individuals and organized groups hostile to the policies of the American Federation of Labor. The failure of the campaign for dual unionism in the political and the economic fields constitutes evidence as to solidarity and loyalty of our membership and the constructive policies of the American Federation of Labor. We welcome all developments which constitute endorsement of the Federation and its policies as heralding the culmination of this effort to disrupt our movement and as the step necessary to unite all workers to take advantage of present unusual opportunities for the advancement of Labor's welfare.

We submit our report of the year's work as a basis for planning for the coming year.

SECRETARY-TREASURER MORRISON'S REPORT

To the Officers and Delegates to the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

GREETINGS: I have the honor to submit the report of the receipts and expenses for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1937, and ending August 31, 1938.

At the close of the fiscal year there was a balance on hand of \$443,631.19. Of this total \$436,774.96 is in the defense fund for the local trade and federal labor unions and the balance, \$6,856.23, is in the general fund.

The total receipts from all sources, \$1,844,203.37, the total expenses, \$1,987,139.59, amount of expenses over receipts, \$142,936.22.

The following are the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1938:

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1937.....	\$ 586,567.41
Per Capita Tax.....	\$580,813.45
American Federationist	364,335.89
Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	236,784.24
Initiation fees	102,338.38
Reinstatement fees	4,485.12
Supplies	26,017.09
Interest	13,532.08
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	12,867.89
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts....	14,897.05
Transfer of Sleeping Car Porters fund.....	396.00
Profit on sale of \$98,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	10,492.50
Assessments	395,743.68
Contributions to Pacific Coast Fund.....	16,500.00
F. L. U. 18456, held in escrow.....	15,000.00
Transfer from A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	50,000.00
 Total receipts	 1,844,203.37
 Grand total	 \$2,430,770.78

EXPENSES

General	\$1,724,756.96
American Federationist	203,225.52
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions...	33,148.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	11,009.11
Return to F. L. U. 18456.....	15,000.00
 Total expenses	 1,987,139.59
 Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1938.....	 \$ 443,631.19

RECAPITULATION

In General Fund.....	\$ 6,856.23
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	436,774.96
 Balance on hand, August 31, 1938.....	 \$ 443,631.19

EXPENSES GROUPED

The following is the grouping under their respective heads of the detailed monthly expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1938:

Rent	\$	15,984.00
Refund, Charter and Outfit, Initiation Fees, and Supplies.....		694.27
Premiums:		
Bonds, local unions.....		11,009.11
Secretary Treasurer's Bond.....		187.50
Insurance		1,585.62
Social Security Tax:		
Old Age Benefits.....	\$6,557.44	
Unemployment Insurance	8,798.73	
Federal Excise	5,702.34	
		21,148.51
Expressage, freight and drayage.....		2,202.99
Legislative expenses, including salaries and traveling expenses of legislative committeemen		14,868.46
Postage stamps		19,026.48
Newspapers, Magazines and Books (Library).....		4,382.56
Printing Bound Proceedings of Denver convention.....		3,525.05
Supplies and Printing.....		44,442.23
Supplies for Resale.....		18,392.21
Miscellaneous expenses		8,393.97
Paper supply and envelopes (Mailing Department).....		5,440.80
Mailing Equipment		3,795.83
Office furniture and fixtures.....		3,565.13
Official stenographers, Denver convention.....		1,959.32
Telegrams and telephones.....		18,454.82
Expenses entertaining fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada.....		372.34
Expenses of fraternal delegates to British Trades Union Congress and Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.....		2,001.53
Denver Convention:		
Messenger, sergeant-at-arms, assistant secretary and roll-call clerk.....		680.00
Printing roll-call		126.99
Printing Daily Proceedings.....		5,008.90
Stenographers		6,215.36
Rental of office furniture.....		167.60
Printing and supplies.....		672.46
Telegrams, telephone, stamps, porters, sending out Daily Proceedings, public address system, and musicians' services		1,345.03
Auditing and Credential Committee.....		661.45
Salaries:		
President		12,000.00
Secretary Treasurer		10,000.00
Office employees		189,731.90
Executive Council meetings.....		25,679.04
Telegrams, typewriter rental, baggage, E. C. meetings.....		1,295.17
Stenographers attending E. C. meetings.....		3,185.30
President traveling		7,640.90
Secretary-Treasurer traveling		1,859.05
Defense Fund:		
Strike and lockout benefits.....		33,148.00
Affiliation Fee, International Federation of Trades Unions.....		5,181.03
Return of money held in escrow, F. L. U. 18456.....		15,000.00
Per capita tax for directly affiliated local unions:		
Metal Trades Department.....		533.97
Union Label Trades Department.....		49.75
Per capita tax for directly affiliated unions to Trades and Labor Congress of Canada		68.34
Organizers' salaries and organizing expenses.....	*	1,174,014.58
Printing and publishing American Federationist.....		203,225.52
Printing and publishing A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.....		16,257.85
Publicity		18,615.08
Delegates, guest, committee and officers badges, Denver convention.....		169.59
Expenses, special committees and conferences.....		6,099.71
Legal services		47,074.29
Total		\$1,987,139.59

ORGANIZING EXPENSES

* During the twelve (12) months ending August 31, 1938, the American Federation of Labor expended in organizing activities \$1,174,014.58. Of this amount, \$558,243.93 was spent in organizing and services for directly affiliated Trade and Federal Labor Unions; the balance, \$615,770.65, was incurred in the formation and assistance of newly formed local unions of National and International Unions and in activities in behalf of State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies.

Defense Fund for Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions

The following is a statement of the amounts received from and paid to our local trade and federal labor unions, giving average membership, number of weeks benefit and the amount received for the past twelve months, beginning September 1, 1937 and ending August 31, 1938. During the year \$300,000.00 was transferred from the Defense Fund to the General Fund as a charge against Federal Labor Unions for additional expense of servicing and special organizing campaign.

RECEIPTS

Receipts from Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions for the Defense Fund.... \$236,784.24

EXPENSES

Number	Name	Location	No. of weeks	Aver. Mem.	
18787	Federal Labor Union, Piqua, Ohio	Ohio	4	28 +	\$ 791.00
20779	Federal Labor Union, Girard, Pa.	Pa.	2	10 +	147.00
19104	Aluminum Workers, Alcoa, Tenn.	Tenn.	2	11	154.00
18738	Aluminum Workers, New Haven, Conn.	Conn.	3	72	1,512.00
19489	Aluminum Workers, Manitowoc, Wis.	Wis.	2	16	224.00
19649	Aluminum Workers, Two Rivers, Wis.	Wis.	3	104	2,184.00
19931	Corn Products Workers, Keokuk, Iowa.	Iowa	1	40	280.00
19974	Cresote Workers, Brownville, Ala.	Ala.	8	77 +	4,354.00
20927	Match Workers, St. Louis, Mo.	Mo.	6	2	84.00
20235	Gas Station Employees, Tacoma, Wash.	Wash.	6	2	84.00
20272	Chemical Workers, Baton Rouge, La.	La.	2	12	168.00
18826	Optical Workers, Pittsburgh, Pa.	Pa.	2	36	504.00
18462	Wall Paper Mill Helpers, Joliet, Ill.	Ill.	3	27	567.00
18579	Optical Workers, Rochester, N. Y.	N. Y.	6	9 +	385.00
20339	U. Gasoline Station Operators and Attendants, LaSalle, Ill.	Ill.	6	2	84.00
20438	Federal Labor Union, Friday Harbor, Wash.	Wash.	4	70	1,960.00

Amount disbursed for assistance to members of striking unions:

Number	Name	Location	
18787	Federal Labor Union, Piqua, Ohio	Ohio	200.00
21186	Federal Labor Union, LaCrosse, Wis.	Wis.	1,200.00
18486	Federal Labor Union, Hlon, N. Y.	N. Y.	300.00
21158	Brush Workers, Seymour, Ind.	Ind.	1,000.00
20468	Brush Workers, Troy, N. Y.	N. Y.	3,900.00
19649	Aluminum Workers, Two Rivers, Wis.	Wis.	
19489	Aluminum Workers, Manitowoc, Wis.	Wis.	2,166.00
19466	United Cement Workers, Martins Creek, Pa.	Pa.	
20738	United Cement Workers, Cementon, N. Y.	N. Y.	2,000.00
18545	Federal Labor Union, Sheboygan, Wis.	Wis.	100.00
20319	Plastic Workers, Cincinnati, Ohio	Ohio	400.00
20225	Sugar Refinery Workers, Philadelphia, Pa.	Pa.	500.00
20927	Match Workers, St. Louis, Mo.	Mo.	100.00
	Doll and Toy Workers of Long Island, New York, N. Y.	N. Y.	300.00
	Workers Education Bureau		7,500.00
Total expenses			33,148.00

RECAPITULATION

Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, Aug. 31, 1937	\$533,138.72
Transfer from Defense Fund to General Fund as a charge against Federal Labor Unions for additional expense of servicing and special organizing campaign	300,000.00
Balance Defense Fund	\$233,138.72
Receipts for twelve months ending August 31, 1938	236,784.24
Total	\$469,922.96
Strike benefits	\$13,482.00
Assistance to members of striking unions	12,166.00
Affiliation Fee (W.E.B.)	7,500.00
Total	33,148.00
Balance in defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions, Aug. 31, 1938	\$436,774.96

STATEMENT OF MONTHLY RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES OF SECRETARY-TREASURER; ALSO STATEMENT OF HOW BALANCE ON HAND IS DEPOSITED AND INVESTED.

INCOME		EXPENSES	
1937		Warrants Paid:	
		1937	
September 30.....	\$ 150,843.31	September 30.....	\$ 179,015.08
October 31.....	132,301.44	October 31.....	196,752.88
November 30.....	188,191.67	November 30.....	207,863.58
December 31.....	195,489.58	December 31.....	189,047.32
1938		1938	
January 31.....	158,449.71	January 31.....	172,108.01
February 28.....	143,272.92	February 28.....	154,406.38
March 31.....	140,099.49	March 31.....	140,589.57
April 30.....	133,799.02	April 30.....	154,607.56
May 31.....	140,412.05	May 31.....	150,814.53
June 30.....	144,470.12	June 30.....	149,004.66
July 31.....	119,507.79	July 31.....	120,043.19
August 31.....	197,366.27	August 31.....	172,886.83
Total income for 12 months.....	\$1,844,203.37	Total expenses 12 months.....	\$1,987,139.59
Balance in hands of Secretary-Treasurer August 31, 1937..	586,567.41		
Grand total	<u>\$2,430,770.78</u>		

RECAPITULATION

Total balance and income.....	\$2,430,770.78
Total expenses	<u>1,987,139.59</u>
Balance on hand, August 31, 1938.....	<u>\$ 443,631.19</u>
Secretary-Treasurer's balance, where deposited and invested:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3 1/4 %).....	\$225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3 1/4 %).....	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (4 1/4-3 1/4) (\$50,000.00) @ 98 18/32..	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2 7/8 %).....	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2 7/8 %).....	1,531.25
Total investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	<u>\$ 377,882.82</u>
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check).....	46,352.37
City Bank (Subject to check).....	2,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co. N. Y. (Subject to check).....	2,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co. (Stock).....	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock.....	396.00
Secretary-Treasurer's balance August 31, 1938.....	<u>\$ 443,631.19</u>

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 31, 1938.

CHARTERS ISSUED

During the twelve months ending August 31, 1938, there have been issued 628 charters to National, International, Central, Local Trade and Federal Labor Unions.

Of this number four were issued to the following National and International Unions:

National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers.
The National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.
International Spinners Union.
International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Central Bodies as follows:

Alaska	Kansas	Ohio
Ketchikan	Leavenworth	Summit County
California	Kentucky	Fostoria
Butte County	Owensboro	Oklahoma
Santa Cruz		Norman
Canada	Maryland	Oregon
St. Hyacinthe, Quebec	Hagerstown	The Dalles
Sherbrooke and Vicinity,	Massachusetts	La Grande
Quebec	Leominster	Baker
Connecticut	Minnesota	Hood River and Vicinity
New London	Albert Lea	
Florida	Crookston	Pennsylvania
Sarasota	Mississippi	Center County
Tallahassee	Biloxi	Titusville
		Du Bois
Hawaii	Montana	Indiana
Honolulu	Kalispell and Vicinity	South Dakota
Illinois	Nebraska	Mitchell
Carlinville and Vicinity	North Platte	Watertown
Mt. Vernon and Vicinity	Norfolk	
O'Fallon		Texas
Macomb	New Mexico	Baytown, Goose Creek
Mascoutah	Carlsbad and Vicinity	and Pelly
Gillespie		Paris
Oglesby	New York	Washington
Mt. Olive	Watertown	Renton
Nokomis	Cohoes	
Spring Valley		Wisconsin
Indiana	North Carolina	Lincoln County
Shelbyville	High Point	New London
Jackson County	North Dakota	Burlington
Connorsville	Dickinson	Chippewa Falls

The following is a statement showing the number of charters issued during the twelve months of this fiscal year:

1937-1938

Nationals	2
Internationals	2
Central Labor Unions	57
Local Trade Unions	419
Federal Labor Unions	148
Total	628

**DIRECTLY CHARTERED LOCAL TRADE AND
FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS**

On August 31, 1938, we had 1,517 local trade and federal labor unions with an average membership for the fiscal year of 181,236, and a defense fund of \$436,774.96.

The Federation has 1,879 general and district organizers, as well as 118 paid organizers and the officers of the 792 city central bodies that are ready at all times

to respond to a call to assist the members of directly affiliated unions in the case of strike or lockout.

There was received a total per capita tax for defense fund purposes from the local unions during the year of \$236,784.24, initiation fees, \$102,338.38, and reinstatement fees, \$4,485.12.

UNION LABELS

There are now 45 labels and 11 cards issued and used by the following organizations which have been indorsed by the American Federation of Labor:

ORGANIZATIONS USING LABELS

American Federation of Labor	Garment Workers, United	Papermakers
Bakers and Confectioners	Glass Bottle Blowers	*Photo-Engravers
Bill Posters and Billers	Glove Workers	Plate Printers
Boilermakers	Hatters and Millinery Wkrs.	Potters
Blacksmiths	Horseshoers	Powder Workers
*Bookbinders	Jewelry Workers	*Pressmen, Printing
Boot and Shoe Workers	Lathers	Sheep Shearers
Brewery Workmen	Laundry Workers	*Stereotypers and
Brick and Clay Workers	Leather Workers	Electrotypers
Broommakers	Machinists	Stove Mounters
Carpenters and Joiners	Marble Workers	Teamsters
Brotherhood	Metal Polishers	Tobacco Workers
Carvers, Wood	Metal Workers, Sheet	*Typographical
Cigarmakers	Metal Engravers	Upholsterers
Coopers	Molders	United Wall Paper Crafts
Electrical Workers	Painters	Weavers

* These five unions own and control jointly what is known as the Allied Printing Trades Label.

ORGANIZATIONS USING CARDS, BUTTONS, EMBLEMS

Actors	Engineers, Operating	Meat Cutters and Butcher
Barbers	Firemen, Stationary	Workmen
Clerks, Retail	Hotel and Restaurant	Musicians
Draftsmen, Technical Engineers, Architects	Employees	Stage employees, Theatrical
		Teamsters

The following crafts and callings are using the American Federation of Labor labels: Athletic Goods Workers; Bakelite Products; Brushmakers; Coffee, Spice and Baking Powder Workers; Flour Mill Workers; Dried Fruit and Nut Packers; Horse Nail Workers; Neckwear Workers; Metal Novelty Workers; Suspender Makers.

Charters Revoked, Cancelled, Suspended, Surrendered, Disbanded, Merged, Amalgamated, Joined International Unions and Reinstated

The charters of the following National and International Unions were revoked:

UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA.
 INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS.
 FEDERATION OF FLAT GLASS WORKERS OF AMERICA.
 AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA.
 AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION OF IRON, STEEL AND TIN WORKERS.
 UNITED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA.
 INTERNATIONAL UNION UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS OF AMERICA.

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS OF AMERICA.

OIL FIELD, GAS WELL AND REFINERY WORKERS OF AMERICA.

The following charter was canceled:

JOURNEYMEN TAILORS UNION OF AMERICA.

CENTRAL BODIES: Disbanded, 4; suspended, 1; reinstated, 9.

LOCAL TRADE UNIONS: Disbanded, 24; suspended, 241; joined national and international organizations, 48; reinstated, 83.

FEDERAL LABOR UNIONS: Disbanded, 24; suspended, 102; joined national and international organizations, 30; reinstated, 24.

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS WITHDRAWN: Paving Cutters Union of the U. S. and Canada Quarry Workers International Union of North America.

TOTAL MEMBERSHIP OF AFFILIATED UNIONS

Total membership for the month of August, 1938, for affiliated organizations is 3,623,087, which shows an increase of 762,154 members over the average membership of fiscal year ending August 31, 1937, and 1,183,032 over the membership, August 31, 1936, excluding suspended organizations.

National and International Unions and local trade and federal labor unions are required to pay per capita tax upon their full paid-up membership and, therefore, the membership does not include the members who were unemployed during the fiscal year.

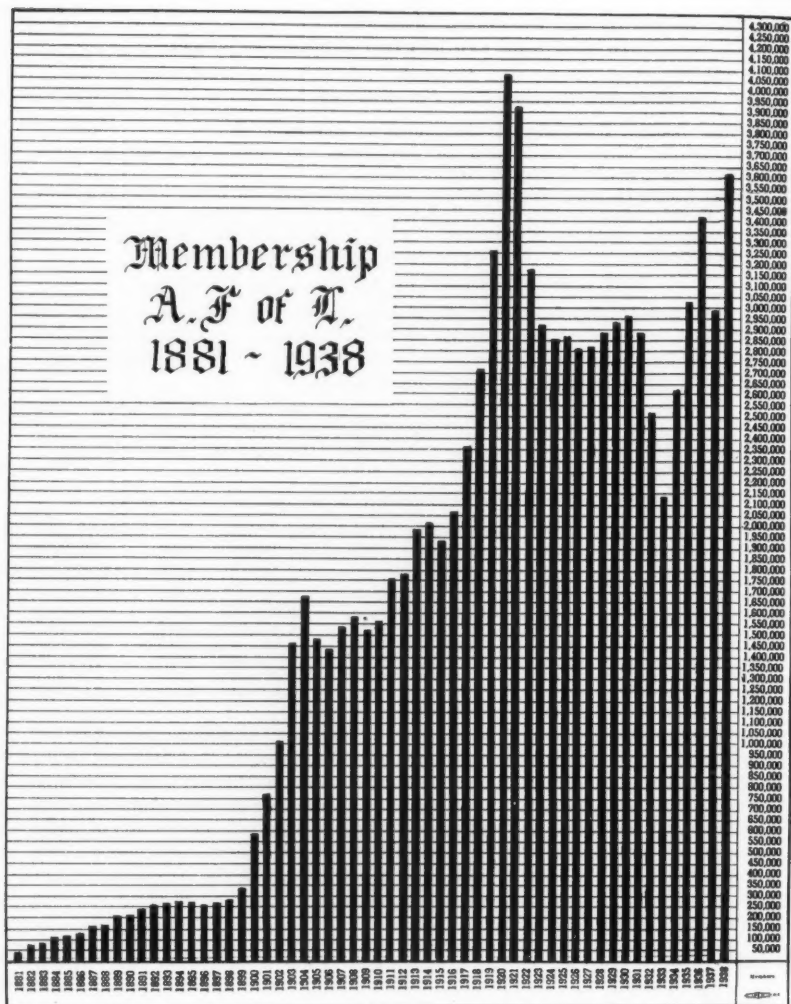
The following is the yearly membership in the past forty-one years:

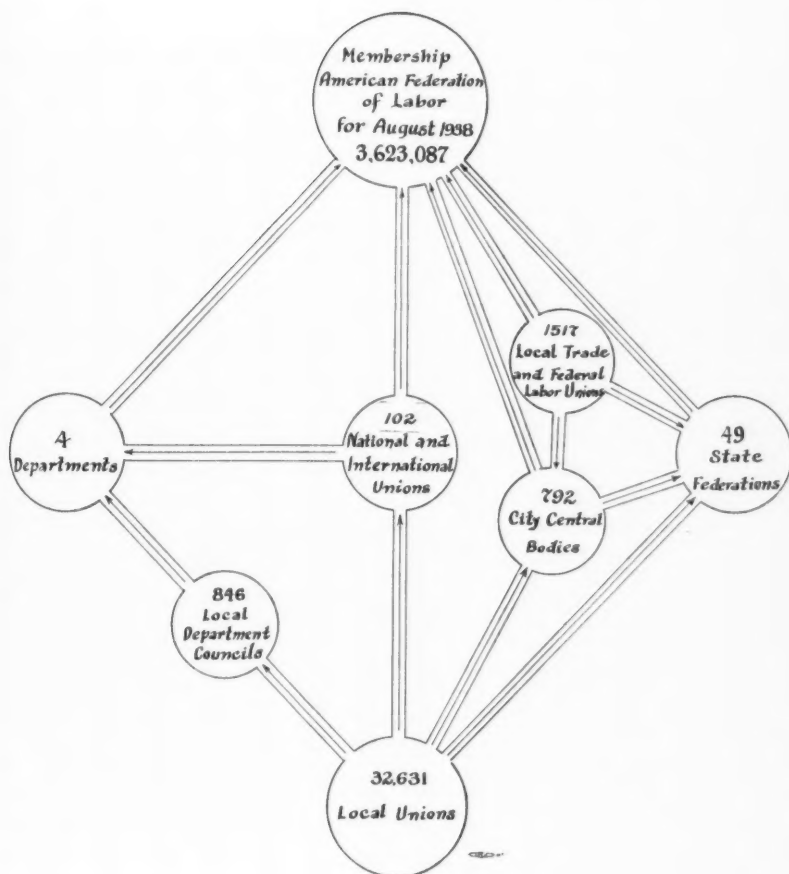
Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership	Year	Membership
1897	264,825	1908	1,586,885	1919	3,260,068	1929	2,933,545
1898	278,016	1909	1,482,872	1920	4,078,740	1930	2,961,096
1899	349,422	1910	1,562,112	1921	3,906,528	1931	2,889,550
1900	548,321	1911	1,761,835	1922	3,195,635	1932	2,532,261
1901	787,537	1912	1,770,145	1923	2,926,468	1933	2,126,796
1902	1,024,399	1913	1,996,004	1924	2,865,799	1934	2,698,011
1903	1,465,800	1914	2,020,671	1925	2,877,297	1935	3,045,347
1904	1,676,200	1915	1,946,347	1926	2,803,966	1936	3,422,398
1905	1,494,300	1916	2,072,702	1927	2,812,526	1937	2,860,933
1906	1,454,200	1917	2,371,434	1928	2,896,063	1938	3,623,087
1907	1,538,970	1918	2,726,478				

So that the delegates and membership at large may at a glance note the total membership of the organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a chart follows on the next page indicating the membership for each year since 1881 up to and including 1938—58 years. In addition, another chart has been prepared showing clearly the manner in which the American Federation of Labor is organized commencing with the local unions of the national and international organizations and the local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor as the source from which all funds are secured to carry on every activity in the labor movement.

Local unions of national and international organizations, and the local unions affiliated direct with the American Federation of Labor, constitute the state and city central bodies as well as department councils. The chart shows that there are 32,631 local unions in 102 national and international unions, and 1,517 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, a grand total of 34,148 local unions.

The August 1938 paid membership of the National and International Unions is 3,442,033 and the paid membership of the directly affiliated local unions of the American Federation of Labor is 181,054.





VOTING STRENGTH

The following table shows the voting strength of the affiliated unions of the American Federation of Labor for the years 1930 up to and including 1938. This table is based upon the average membership paid upon to the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year.

ORGANIZATIONS	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Actors, Associated, & Artists of A.	112	83	45	33	31	43	44	55	176
Asbestos Workers' Intl. Assol. of Heat and Frost Insulators.	33	41	20	20	25	25	25	25	35
Automobile Workers of A. Int'l Union United.						1	190	†	†
Bakery & Confectionery Wkrs., I. U. of A.	200	201	179	159	181	218	261	325	621
Barbers' International Union, Jour.	512	461	399	320	393	323	323	408	465
Bill Posters.	16	16	16	16	14	14	14	14	16
Blacksmiths, Intl. Brotherhood of.	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50	50
Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders.	193	170	150	142	143	153	155	180	280
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union.	322	275	170	134	192	259	270	293	308
Bookbinders, Intl. Brotherhood of.	139	137	119	107	119	117	116	131	174
Brewery Workmen, International Union.	160	160	160	160	255	417	420	420	420
Brick and Clay Workers, etc.	42	33	20	1	14	16	10	55	50
Bricklayers, Masons & Plasterers' I. U. A.	900	900	567	458	458	650	650	650	650
Bridge & Struc. Iron Wkrs. Intl. Asso.	209	175	120	100	160	160	160	227	413
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, Intl.	5	4	3	2	1	2	2	2	3
Building Service Employees' Intl. Union.	162	180	180	180	192	275	350	420	658
Carpenters and Joiners, United Bro. of.	3,032	3,020	2,900	2,058	2,000	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Carmen of A., Bro. Railway.	800	800	800	592	550	550	583	650	650
Carvers' Union, International Wood.	12	11	9	8	8	6	4	4	4
Cigarmakers' International Union.	155	155	155	98	70	70	70	70	70
Cleaning & Dye House Wkrs.								48	159
Clerks, Bro. of Railway.	970	753	608	600	600	725	875	892	910
Clerks, Intl. Protective Assn. Retail.	100	100	87	50	58	72	103	185	467
Clothing Workers of A., Amalgamated.					833	1,000	1,200	†	†
Cloth Hat, Cap & Millinery Workers International Union.	60	58	46	61	d	d	d	d	d
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car.	23	23	21	20	20	20	20	19	14
Coopers' International Union.	7	7	6	7	25	29	25	26	36
Diamond Workers' Prot. Union of A.	4	4	3	3	2	2	4	3	3
Draftsmen's Union, Intl.	12	17	10	7	10	12	12	14	18
Electrical Workers, International Bro.	1,420	1,420	1,399	941	1,135	1,300	1,700	1,712	1,750
Elevator Constructors.	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102	102
Engineers, Intl. Union of Operating.	340	340	344	350	350	350	350	420	420
Engravers, Friendly Society of.				1	4	c	c	e	c
Engravers, Intl. Union, Metal.	89	90	89	87	86	87	88	91	102
Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Photo.	4	5	5	5	3	3	2	2	2
Federal Employees, National Fed. of.	335	381	c	c	c	c	e	e	c
Fire Fighters, International Assn. of.	180	180	180	180	197	235	255	291	300
Firemen and Oilers, Intl. Bro. of.	90	91	93	92	101	149	207	236	254
Foundry Employees, Intl. Bro. of.	28	10	7	5	20	32	37	35	35
Fur Workers' Union of U. S. & C., Intl.	70	80	38	40	20	30	150	c	c
Garment Workers of America, United.	472	463	456	395	370	371	406	395	400
Glass Cutters League of A., Window.	9	10	9	6	10	12	12	13	12
Glass Bottle Blowers' Assn. of U. S. & C.	60	60	60	60	60	60	62	108	200
Glass Workers of A., Fed. of Flat.					8	100	116	†	†
Glass Workers, American Flint.	49	46	39	36	61	61	48	53	179
Glove Workers.	8	5	3	5	34	35	22	17	7
Government Employees, Am. Fed. of.				40	83	139	222	214	212
Granite Cutters' Intl. Asso. of A., The.	85	85	62	50	50	50	50	50	50
Hatters of North America, United.	115	93	85	85	d	d	d	d	d
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Wkrs. Intl. Union, United.					198	214	221	239	225
Hodcarriers and Common Laborers.	1,027	1,150	900	521	442	523	654	996	1,477
Horsehoers of United States and Canada.	7	4	2	1	1	1	1	2	2
Hotel and Restaurant Employees, etc.	365	337	283	227	378	570	738	1,071	1,759
Iron, Steel and Tin Workers' Amal. Asso.	79	58	50	46	55	86	92	†	†
Jewelry Workers' International.	8	8	8	8	49	55	53	60	45
Ladies' Garment Workers, International.	508	475	400	250	1,500	1,600	1,967	†	†
Lathers, Intl. Union of W. W. of Metal.	165	165	165	81	81	81	81	81	81
Laundry Workers, International Union.	55	55	55	50	53	60	60	70	194
Leather Workers' Intl. Union, United.	50	50	10	8	30	27	25	25	25
Letter Carriers, National Asso. of.	508	550	550	550	517	500	500	525	600
Letter Carriers, Nat. Fed. of Rural.	8	8	11	12	12	12	6	5	6
Lithographers' Intl. P. & B. Asso.	56	57	56	52	58	67	69	72	112
Longshoremen's Association, Intl.	347	299	270	234	343	400	406	614	624
Machinists, International Association of.	780	776	707	650	820	925	1,137	1,380	1,901
Maintenance of Way Employees, I. B. of.	401	408	371	278	312	335	337	418	523

VOTING STRENGTH—Continued

ORGANIZATIONS	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
Marble Polishers, etc., Intl. Asso. of.....	77	77	77	62	55	55	55	55	55
Masters, Mates and Pilots.....	30	30	30	25	20	22	25	29	30
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, Natl. Asso. of.....				1	1	1	1	1	1
Messengers, Special Delivery Natl. Assn.....									11
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen.....	125	113	114	111	195	198	194	300	521
Metal Workers' Intl. Association, Sheet.....	250	250	250	175	160	160	160	162	198
Mine Workers of America, United.....	4,000	4,000	3,083	3,000	3,000	4,000	4,000	†	†
Mine, Mill and Smelter Wkrs., I. U. of.....	40	40	21	13	116	146	159	†	350
Mine Workers of A. Intl. Progressive.....	218	152	95	60	88	118	159	222	277
Molders Union of North America, Intl.....	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Musicians, American Federation of.....							5	c	c
Newspaper Guild, American.....								†	†
Oil Field, etc., Workers.....	11	9	4	3	125	428	405	†	†
Painters of America, Brotherhood of.....	1,062	964	796	593	578	656	665	801	994
Papermakers, United Brotherhood of.....	40	40	40	23	115	90	66	116	163
Patternmakers' League of N. A.....	70	70	70	70	70	25	26	42	68
Pavers & Hammermen, Intl. Union of.....	20	20	20	20	20	20	31	a	a
Paving Cutters' Union of U. S. of A. & C.....	24	24	22	22	22	21	20	20	†
Piano & Organ Wkrs. Union of A. Intl.....	5	4	3	2	2	†	†	†	†
Pilots Assn., Air Line, (Intl).....		1	5	6	7	7	8	9	10
Plasterers' Intl. Asso. of U. S. & C. Oper.....	382	377	353	226	180	180	180	184	191
Plumbers, Steamfitters, etc.....	450	450	450	450	450	340	330	330	377
Polishers, Intl. Union of Metal.....	60	58	23	14	35	40	46	56	70
Porters, Bro. Sleeping Car.....							12	55	60
Pocketbook & Novelty Wkrs.....								5	100
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, Natl. Assn.....									12
Post Office Clerks, Natl. Federation of.....	352	360	360	360	333	320	320	360	380
Potters, National Bro. of Operative.....	58	54	52	45	79	100	104	110	120
Powder and High Explosive Workers.....	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2
Printing Pressmen, International.....	400	400	400	353	320	320	320	337	372
Printers, Die Stammers' & Engravers' Union of N. A., Intl. Plate.....	11	12	11	10	12	14	13	10	9
Pulp, Sulphite, and Paper Mill Wkrs.....	50	50	50	50	69	85	91	157	300
Quarry Workers, International.....	30	30	26	21	20	20	20	c	c
Railway Employees' Amal. Assn., S. & E.....	972	914	817	712	700	734	757	767	790
Railway Mail Association.....	198	198	207	200	192	191	193	210	217
Roofers, Damp & Waterproof Wkrs. Assn. United Slate, Tile and Composition.....	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40	40
Rubber Workers of Amer., United.....							85	†	†
Seamen's Union of America, Intl.....	150	150	97	60	50	125	200	142	22
Sheep Shearers Union of N. A.....	1	1	1	6	8	11	9	8	8
Siderographers, Intl. Assn. of.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
State County & Municipal Emp.....								114	200
Spinners Union Intl.....									5
Stage Employees, Intl. Alliance Theatrical.....	240	240	240	240	240	240	240	242	278
Stereotypers & Electrotypers' U. of A.....	78	82	81	82	80	79	81	83	87
Stonecutters Association, Journeymen.....	58	58	57	56	56	57	52	50	42
Stove Mounters' International Union.....	10	8	7	6	15	20	23	30	36
Switchmen's Union of North America.....	92	82	72	63	73	80	85	89	83
Tailors' Union of America, Journeymen.....	67	58	28	17	26	45	59	†	†
Teachers, Am. Fed. of.....	52	63	70	70	85	120	127	154	221
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, etc., Intl. Bro. of.....	985	920	820	713	955	1,370	1,610	2,109	3,092
Telegraphers, Commercial.....	38	38	35	22	20	20	20	20	29
Telegraphers, Order of Railroad.....	410	410	370	350	350	350	350	350	350
Textile Workers of America, United.....	300	300	275	150	387	792	1,000	†	†
Tobacco Workers Intl. Union of America.....	24	24	25	26	83	104	85	110	143
Typographical Union, International.....	776	775	761	738	731	734	733	755	794
Upholsters, International Union of.....	107	101	65	65	65	65	85	102	110
United Wall Paper Crafts of N. A.....	6	6	5	5	6	6	5	9	30
Wire Weavers' Protective, American.....	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Centrals.....	804	728	619	618	686	730	734	735	792
State Branches.....	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49	49
Directly affiliated local trade and Federal labor unions.....	397	376	339	711	2,184	1,750	1,246	1,925	2,314
Total vote of Unions.....	30,678	29,906	26,092	22,554	28,105	31,866	35,420	29,943	36,656

† Suspended. a Merged with Hod Carriers and Common Laborers. c Withdrew affiliation. d Amalgamated and title changed to United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers Intl. Union.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

GOMPERS MEMORIAL FUND

By direction of the forty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council, an appeal was issued under date of December 26th, 1928, for the collection of funds for the erection of a Memorial to Samuel Gompers.

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1938.....	\$118,073.23
Interest on fund investments.....	15,510.89
Total receipts	\$133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929 to and including August 31, 1938.....	117,748.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....	\$15,835.25
Funds deposited as follows:	
1266 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Stock.....	\$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account.....	7,069.25
United States Savings Bonds (maturity value \$10,000.00).....	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....	\$15,835.25

CONCLUSION

I desire to express my sincere appreciation of the cooperation and assistance extended to me in the performance of my duties by the officers of the national and international unions and of all our affiliated bodies and by my colleagues of the Executive Council.

Respectfully submitted,

Frank Morrison
 Secretary-Treasurer American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF A. F. OF L. BUILDING

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor:

The following is a report of the receipts and expenses for the twelve months ending August 31, 1938.

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand, August 31, 1937.....		\$67,388.24
Rents	\$33,300.00	
Interest:		
U. S. Treasury Bonds.....	\$ 88.02	
Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	769.17	
		857.19
Sale of waste paper.....		26.79
Reimbursement on Fire Loss.....		1,528.91
Profit on sale of Bonds.....		3,423.75
Total receipts		39,136.64
Receipts and balance.....		106,524.88

EXPENSES

<i>Maintenance:</i>		
Pay roll (building employees).....	\$17,711.65	
Taxes	3,219.36	
Electricity	1,926.13	
Fuel (coal)	962.98	
Supplies	1,664.28	
Upkeep and repairs.....	1,487.50	
Plastering and painting.....	3,951.39	
Cleaning windows	429.00	
Insurance (liability)	641.58	
Insurance (fire)	5.43	
Water rent	157.08	
Hauling ashes and trash.....	192.00	
Upkeep of rest room (laundry, etc.).....	10.01	
Upkeep and repairs of elevators.....	802.68	
Social Security Tax:		
Unemployment Insurance	458.18	
Old Age Benefits.....	158.95	
Rent of Safe Deposit Box.....	3.30	
Fire replacement	2,295.25	
Transfer to General Fund.....	50,000.00	
Total expenses		86,076.75
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....		\$20,448.13

RECAPITULATION

Receipts and balance.....	\$106,524.88
Expenses	86,076.75
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....	\$20,448.13
Moneys deposited and invested as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation.....	\$ 1,218.00
Riggs National Bank.....	11,730.13
\$10,000.00 U. S. Savings Bonds.....	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....	\$20,448.13

This report of the trustees of the A. F. of L. Building is submitted to you, the Executive Council and through you to the convention and the rank and file of the A. F. of L. We have performed the duty assigned to us with the best interest of the Federation in view.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN,
FRANK MORRISON,
JOHN P. FREY,

Trustees, A. F. of L. Building.

EXTENSION OF OUR ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN

While the national and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have carried on organizing work within their respective jurisdictions in a highly successful way, the American Federation of Labor itself has extended its organizing work among the unorganized workers in the fields outside of the respective jurisdictions of affiliated national and international unions. This action is in conformity with instructions of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in 1934, and all conventions of the American Federation of Labor which have been held since that time.

In order to facilitate the organizing work of the American Federation of Labor an Organization Department was created and a Director of Organization placed in charge. Through such Department the organization activities of the American Federation of Labor were coordinated and the intensity of our organizing campaign increased. Lewis G. Hines, who had served as an organizer for the American Federation of Labor, was appointed Director and placed in charge of the Organization Department.

Unorganized workers in every section have manifested increasing interest in organization and have responded to the appeals of our organizing staff to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in a most wonderful and successful way. We have organized many thousands of workers in industries where no semblance of organization had ever before existed. For instance, in the agricultural and cannery industries in California, on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere, thousands of workers were organized into unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who had known nothing about organization before. Our experience gained in this particular field shows that these workers, notwithstanding they are employed in seasonal industries, remain loyal and steadfast to the American Federation of Labor when they become organized.

The fields in which the American Federation of Labor has specialized are among those employed as office workers and those classified as white collar workers, beet sugar workers, cement workers, gasoline station attendants, and in the flour and cereal milling, fabricated metal, aluminum, agricultural and cannery, chemical, distillery and communications industries, as well as miscellaneous workers employed in other fields.

The organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor has been aggressive and alert. The workers who become organized have manifested a fighting spirit and as a result, contracts have been negotiated which provide for increases in wages and improvements in working conditions. On the other hand, through the mobilization of their economic strength in well-established organizations, they have in numerous instances successfully resisted any and all attempts to impose reductions in wages. In accordance with the traditional policy of the American Federation of Labor strikes have been inaugurated and supported where it became absolutely necessary in order to maintain the integrity of local federal labor union wage scales established and conditions of employment gained through organized effort and collective bargaining. State Federations of

Labor and City Central Labor Unions have given our organizing staff and the American Federation of Labor most valuable support.

We review with a feeling of deep satisfaction the progress made in our organization work during the past year, and we are gratified, indeed, over the success which attended our efforts. The workers everywhere are turning to the American Federation of Labor. They are learning through experience and by contrast with a dual, seceding movement, more and more of the real value and worth of the American Federation of Labor. Public opinion, which develops but slowly in favor of or against movements which are launched in the economic, social and political life of the Nation, has crystallized in support of the American Federation of Labor. We have more real friends outside the American Federation of Labor than we ever before had in all the history of our great movement.

The call for assistance and help coming from the unorganized workers of the Nation is increasing and the demands made upon us for organizers to perfect organization among unorganized workers, is greater than ever before. We have found it impossible to respond as fully as conditions demand to the appeals which have been made for field workers, organizers, and assistance. It is the purpose and policy of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in carrying on their own organizing campaigns, and in addition concentrate our efforts in carrying on organizing work among those employed in the industries named in this report and in the miscellaneous industries where little or no organization has ever existed.

The American Federation of Labor has gone to the limit of its financial ability in carrying on organizing work in all sections, industries and communities. We will continue this policy. Every appeal for organizing assistance and help will be met so far as our financial resources will permit. In order to do this and to carry on our organizing work in a bigger, broader and even more aggressive way, it is necessary that adequate funds be provided.

The Executive Council recommends, therefore, that this, the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, authorize and direct the continuance of the assessment of one cent per member per month, which was legally and officially levied at the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Denver, Colorado, in October, 1937, for another year. The funds provided through the payment of this assessment will enable the American Federation of Labor to continue its organization policies, maintain the gains we have already made, and render additional service both to national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and to the unorganized workers of the nation.

Special Organizing Activities—For the information of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, the Executive Council submits herein a more detailed report upon organizing activities within the different fields in which the American Federation of Labor has specialized in its organizing work.

Office and White Collar Workers—We have continued the organization campaign among office workers and white collar workers, including insurance

agents, which was inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor several years ago. During the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor an Office Employees International Council was formed. The local unions composed of office workers established in the different cities and towns throughout the Nation became affiliated with this Council. New local unions of white collar and office workers have been established in many cities. The membership of these local unions has increased in a very substantial way. Sixty-eight active local unions of office workers have been formed. Organizers are specializing in carrying forward organizing work among office and white collar workers. Many agreements have been negotiated with employers. In every instance higher and better wages have been secured and provisions for improvements in working conditions have been incorporated in all contracts. Because of the aroused interest in organization manifested by office workers and white collar workers everywhere, it is clearly evident that many thousands of office and white collar workers will be organized during the coming year.

Beet Sugar Workers—In September, 1937, the American Federation of Labor inaugurated a campaign among the employees in this industry, and up to the present time twenty-three local unions have been established in the States of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, Utah, Wyoming and Washington. Separate agreements were negotiated covering wages, hours, recognition and conditions in the various companies as the local unions were organized. A conference was called on July 24, 1938, of the aforementioned local unions for the purpose of preparing a basic agreement for the industry. In addition, the ground work for organization in this industry has been laid in the States of Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Indiana, where organization will be completed at the opening of the campaign season around the latter part of August and early September.

Cement Workers—The Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held at San Francisco, California, in October, 1934, directed the Executive Council to launch and carry forward a special organizing campaign among those employed in cement manufacturing plants. This action was undoubtedly taken by the convention because of the unorganized condition of those employed in this important industry. There was no organization existing among these workers in the cement industry at the time when the aforementioned action was taken. The instructions of the convention were complied with and a campaign of organization launched among those employed in cement manufacturing plants as quickly as it was possible to do so. That campaign of organization has been carried on continuously and most aggressively. As a result local organizations have been established in practically every cement manufacturing plant throughout the Nation. Eighty-two local unions have been organized. These local unions formed a National Council of Cement Workers under the supervision and direction of the American Federation of Labor. This Council is functioning in a highly successful way. Annual meetings have been held and through said Council the work of organization has been coordinated and a greater degree of uniformity in the development of wage scales and working conditions has been achieved. Contracts have been negotiated between these

federal labor unions of cement workers and their employers at practically every cement manufacturing plant in the Nation. These contracts represent decided improvements in wages and working conditions. Many new contracts have been negotiated and many old ones have been renewed. These cement workers have successfully resisted every attempt that has been made to reduce their wages even though these attempts were made during a period of wide-spread unemployment such as existed during the past year. We review with a feeling of deep satisfaction the progress which the American Federation of Labor made in the organizing campaign it launched in the cement manufacturing industry.

Aluminum Workers—We have carried forward our work of organization among those employed in the aluminum manufacturing industry with renewed vigor during the past year. In this particular field, however, the secession, dual movement has carried on a raiding policy. We met this challenge in a firm and uncompromising way. There are eighteen federal labor unions of aluminum workers chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Wage scales have been negotiated between these aluminum workers and their employers. It is our purpose to continue our organizing campaign in a firm and determined way among those employed in the aluminum manufacturing industry.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Mill Workers—We have centered our efforts in a special way in organizing work in this particular field. Notwithstanding many difficulties which we met we have made most decided and gratifying progress. We have succeeded in organizing practically 40 per cent of those employed in the grain processing industry. We have organized eighty-eight local unions among those employed in the milling industry. The National Council of Grain Processors has been set up. This Council is functioning in a most harmonious and satisfactory way. Organization has been carried on in the field of flour milling, cereal manufacturing, feed manufacturing and rice milling. Contractual negotiations have been completed with practically every large milling company operating in the United States and the dues-paying membership has shown a steady increase. Practically every member is covered by contract which safeguards his seniority rights, provides for a general 40-hour week (with few exceptions), time and one-half over the 8-hour day and the 40-hour week, vacations of two weeks for employees with more than a year's service, and the elimination of most of the evils which have existed in the industry in the past. The National Council of Grain Processors has shown a steady increase in membership, gradually moved into new territory, and is now in a concerted drive for members in the rice milling industry in the South and the Southwest.

Fabricated Metal Workers—We have organized a very large number of those employed in the fabricated metal industries of the Nation. Fifty-four local unions of fabricated metal and enamelware workers have been organized and chartered by the American Federation of Labor. A Council of Fabricated Metal and Enamelware Workers has been created and is serving as a clearing house for information and as an instrumentality through which these newly organized workers can coordinate their economic, financial and industrial interests. Our organizers have been alert and active, responding quickly to every

request for service that reached them from unorganized workers employed in this important industry. This is a growing industry. Furthermore, it is highly competitive. The need for organization both from the economic and competitive standpoint is very great. It is the purpose and determination of the American Federation of Labor to continue to carry on an aggressive organizing campaign in this field.

Textile Workers—The American Federation of Labor has engaged in organization activities among those employed in textile manufacturing plants in a number of communities. Because of the chaos and division which was created within the ranks of the textile workers by the dual Committee for Industrial Organization, textile workers are confused. Many of them became discouraged and disheartened. The indications are that they are now turning to their parent body, the American Federation of Labor. We have organized a substantial number of textile workers. We are certain that the continuous campaign which we will carry on in this field will bring satisfactory results. It is our purpose and determination to organize those workers who wish and desire to become a part of the American Federation of Labor.

Lumber Workers—The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have carried forward a most intensive campaign among the lumber, logging and sawmill workers of the Northwest. This became necessary because of the dual, seceding C.I.O. movement which raided this field where the workers had been organized into unions affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. The fight which grew out of this attempt of the C.I.O. to raid organized lumber, logging and sawmill workers became intense in many communities. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have been winning their fight. Lumber, logging and sawmill workers who had been persuaded to leave the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and become associated with the C.I.O. have learned through bitter experience of the serious mistake they made. Many thousands of them have left the C.I.O. and returned to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. In all this bitter contest the American Federation of Labor has given to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America a full and complete measure of support. We were glad to do so because the fight involved the question as to whether we would permit the dual, secession movement to raid local unions which had been formed and established by an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We know it is the determination of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to carry on the fight in the Northwest against the raiding tactics and policies of the C.I.O., no matter how long the contest may last, until the C.I.O. is driven out and the lumber, logging and sawmill workers are united in a harmonious organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers—The progress we have made in this particular field is little short of remarkable. We have established sixty-four local unions of agricultural, cannery and citrus workers. They number more than 21,305 workers. The success we have met in this field has been won against the

combined opposition of hostile employers and the Committee for Industrial Organization, which has constantly attempted to raid our organized and established cannery and agricultural workers federal labor unions. We have found it necessary to be on the alert in order to counteract the efforts of the Committee for Industrial Organization to raid these splendid federal labor unions. In the efforts put forth to carry on their raiding tactics they have attempted to enlist the services and help of the National Labor Relations Board. We have been compelled to meet complaint charges filed by C.I.O. representatives who have sought to have our federal labor unions destroyed and contracts set aside. The hearing requested by the C.I.O. has been conducted in San Francisco for many weeks. It is an attempt on the part of the C.I.O. to prevail upon the National Labor Relations Board to invalidate contracts which were honorably entered into. We have met this attack with all the power and vigor at our command. We shall continue to do so. It is a part of the policy of the American Federation of Labor to carry on aggressive organizing work among those employed in the agricultural, cannery and citrus industry. We firmly expect to increase our membership in this particular field in a most substantial way during the coming year.

Chemical Workers—Several former local unions have been re-established and a number of new ones installed in this industry as a result of our efforts among this group of workers. The local unions already established are on a firm basis and considerable progress is being made in the industry. A number of contracts have been negotiated and are in force, and new ones are now being negotiated.

Distillery Workers—The American Federation of Labor made gratifying progress in the organizing work it has carried on among those employed in the winery and distillery industries of the country. We have organized twenty-five federal labor unions of distillery workers. Agreements covering practically all of these distillery workers have been negotiated. Wages and working conditions have been greatly improved. We have specialized in our efforts to consolidate our gains in this particular field and to go forward in all our organizing work. We have been compelled to meet the activities of the C.I.O. in this particular field. It is attempting to raid our established federal labor unions of distillery workers in a number of places. Notwithstanding this fact, we are meeting with a large measure of success. We expect to organize this field fully and completely within the near future.

Communication Workers—We have assisted the Commercial Telegraphers Union in the organization of communication employees, and more recently inaugurated a campaign among the employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Miscellaneous—Outstanding among the miscellaneous groups organized are the following: Brush Workers, Salt Workers, Gypsum Mill Workers, Organ Makers, Refrigerator Workers, Warehousemen, Optical Workers, Drug Company Employees, Bag Makers, Sugar Refinery Workers, Green House Workers, Fishery Employees, Newspaper Employees, (varied) Fertilizer Workers, colored Freight

Handlers and hundreds of others too varied to be mentioned at this time. Furthermore, special assistance was extended to the following organizations:

Laundry Workers International Union
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
United Leather Workers International Union
International Glove Workers' Union of America
International Metal Engravers' Union
International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers
United Brick and Clay Workers
Commercial Telegraphers,

in their organizing campaigns. The officers and members of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor extended most valuable assistance in all this organizing work. In addition, the rights of all these affiliated unions were protected and their jurisdictional authority fully recognized. The records show that during the months from July, 1937, to and including June, 1938, our organizers have applied for and charters have been issued to 809 local trade and federal labor unions. This figure does not include those applications which were forwarded to the various national and international unions whose jurisdictions covered such groups.

SECESSION AND DUALISM

During the closing days of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Denver, Colorado, October 4-15, 1937, proposals for a conference were received by the officers of the American Federation of Labor from the representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Notwithstanding the fact that the C. I. O. was regarded as a dual movement formed by organizations which had withdrawn from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, the officers and delegates in attendance at the Convention ordered that conferences be held and efforts put forth to reach a settlement, so that solidarity and unity could be established in the organized labor movement of the Nation.

The first proposal submitted by the Committee for Industrial Organization provided that a committee of one hundred representatives from each organization meet, confer and deal with proposals submitted for a settlement of existing differences. This proposal was rejected by the American Federation of Labor because its officers and members believed that a committee of two hundred could not function properly or deal with the differences in a direct and constructive way. This fact was emphasized in a paragraph of the telegram sent the representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization by direction of the convention on October 14, 1937, which read as follows:

We cannot believe the suggestion for a committee of one hundred representatives on each side, making up a conference of two hundred, can serve any useful or practical purpose. We prefer to regard the proposal for a conference of two hundred rather as an initial method of approach on the part of the Committee for Industrial Organization. We know every substantial union in

the Committee for Industrial Organization, at least those formerly in association and in good standing with the American Federation of Labor, is ably experienced in conference methods. They know as we know that we cannot employ mass committees in negotiating agreements with employers. They know as we do that governments do not employ mass conferences in dealing with matters of state. Large groups are employed to carry on conflicts. Small groups are employed to negotiate peace, understanding, agreement and co-operation. Mass conferences lead to expressions of bitterness and hatred and not to words of friendly counsel and cooperative understanding. We therefore submit that we stand ready and willing, as hereinbefore indicated, to meet through the means of our special committee with a like representative committee of the organizations of any or all of the unions making up the conference of the Committee for Industrial Organization at such time and place as may be agreed upon, without prior commitment and for the purpose of reuniting the forces of Labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor and under such terms and conditions and policies and procedures as may be agreed to and prove acceptable to all.

Upon receipt of the message sent the representative of the Committee for Industrial Organization by direction of the Denver Convention, from which the above paragraph is quoted, the representative of the Committee for Industrial Organization replied as follows:

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 15, 1937.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Denver, Colo.

Your telegram of October 14 in response to the telegram of the Committee for Industrial Organization which had suggested that a conference be held to obtain a unified labor movement has been received and presented to the conference of the Committee for Industrial Organization now in session.

I am authorized by such conference to transmit the following reply:

The Committee for Industrial Organization is prepared to meet in conference on the basis set forth in its telegram heretofore mentioned. The proposal of the Committee for Industrial Organization included a suggested committee of one hundred from each organization in order to meet the accepted practice of democratic labor organizations and to afford full representation for the unions involved.

However, the conference of the Committee for Industrial Organization has designated a committee of ten to meet with a committee from the American Federation of Labor to determine the number of representatives for each organization to attend the proposed conference and to fix a mutually satisfactory time and place for such proposed conference.

It is suggested that this preliminary meeting be held in Washington, D. C., during the week of October 25, 1937.

Please advise here today. Twelve hundred fifteenth street Washington after six P.M. tonight.

Harvey Fremming, Secretary pro tem.

The foregoing telegram was received by the Executive Council immediately following the adjournment of the Denver Convention. For that reason it could not be reported to or considered by the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. However, pursuant to the previous action taken by the convention and in conformity with authority conferred upon the Executive Council of the

American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council made a reply to said telegram, which read as follows:

Denver, Colorado,
October 15, 1937.

Harvey Fremming,
Secretary, Pro Tem.,
Committee for Industrial Organization,
1200 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Your telegram of October 15 in response to our telegram of October 14 was received too late for attention by our convention and therefore received the consideration of our Executive Council. I am directed by it to advise you and your associates as follows:

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor notes the willingness of the Committee for Industrial Organization to meet with a committee for purposes set forth in previous telegrams exchanged. The Executive Council notes particularly that this willingness to meet in conference on the part of the Committee for Industrial Organization is made conditional upon the American Federation of Labor accepting the terms and conditions, policies and procedures outlined in its telegram of October 13 without change whereas the proposal of the American Federation of Labor always has been and is now to meet without prior commitment of any kind and so that agreement if reached be based upon fairness to all concerned and after mutual discussion and consideration.

We regard your answer as a well designed attempt to mislead the public and confuse the issue. We nevertheless reiterate that the American Federation of Labor has a standing committee fully authorized to meet a committee from the Committee for Industrial Organization for the purpose of taking up the major matters originally in dispute with the sincere desire to effect a just and reasonable settlement and uniting labor under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. It is to be understood that such conference is to be held without prior commitments, stipulations or conditions by either side. Please advise when you are ready to meet.

Frank Morrison, Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor.

An answer was received to this message, which read as follows:

Atlantic City, N. J.,
October 16, 1937.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Denver, Colorado.

Our Committee will meet your committee Willard Washington October 25 with or without commitments as you prefer. If you decide to cease quibbling and attend conference advise me Pittsburgh.

PHILIP MURRAY, *Chairman*, Special
Committee for Industrial Organization.

When this telegram was received the Executive Council immediately directed that the following message be sent accepting the acquiescence of the Committee for Industrial Organization in the proposal of the Executive Council that rea-

sonably sized committees representing both organizations meet at Washington on October 25, 1937:

Denver, Colorado,
October 17, 1937.

Phillip Murray, Chairman,
Special Committee for Industrial Organization,
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The Committee of the American Federation of Labor composed of Vice Presidents Harrison, Woll and Bugniazet will meet your committee Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., October 25 ten a. m.

FRANK MORRISON, *Secretary-Treasurer*,
American Federation of Labor.

Thus for the first time following the withdrawal of organizations from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and the setting up of the C. I. O. on November 10, 1935, a conference between a committee representing the American Federation of Labor and a committee representing the Committee for Industrial Organization, was held. Said conference convened at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., at 10 A. M. October 25, 1937. The Executive Council assigned Vice-Presidents George M. Harrison, Matthew Woll and G. M. Bugniazet to represent the American Federation of Labor. The Committee for Industrial Organization was represented by a committee composed of ten members. The conference failed. The reasons for the failure of the conference which continued for an extended period of time are clearly set forth in the report which Vice-Presidents Harrison, Woll and Bugniazet, the American Federation of Labor Committee, made to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor on February 3, 1938. The report of the committee is herewith incorporated in this Report of the Executive Council for the information of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention and of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and their friends throughout the Nation:

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Greetings:

Your Committee, authorized and empowered to negotiate a settlement with the C.I.O. desires to submit its report of the recent conferences with representatives of the C.I.O.

Your Committee, pursuant to arrangements previously made by the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and representatives of the C.I.O., met in conference with ten representatives of the C.I.O. in Washington, D. C., October 25, 1937, and continued with intermittent conferences until December 21, 1937. During these conferences your Committee advised the representatives of the C.I.O. that it had full and complete authority to negotiate a settlement of the controversy and we were assured by the C.I.O. representatives that they too had similar authority. How true their statement was will be disclosed by facts referred to later in this report.

At the first conference, the representatives of the C.I.O. proposed:

1. That the American Federation of Labor establish a separate department within the A. F. of L. to be known as the C.I.O. Department and that this department be granted complete autonomy over all matters affecting the organizations of that department, with the agreement that the A. F. of L. could not and would not pass upon any matter affecting those organizations.

2. That all C.I.O. organizations be chartered and admitted to the A. F. of L. and given membership in the C.I.O. Department.

3. That all C.I.O. organizations when chartered and admitted to the A. F. of L. would be entitled to and enjoy the same rights and privileges as all other affiliated organizations.

4. That the A. F. of L. agree to the industrial form of organization for certain specified industries.

5. That the A. F. of L. agree to amend its constitution so as to prohibit the A. F. of L. Executive Council from exercising the power and authority to suspend affiliated International and National Unions, except on authority and by direction of a convention of the American Federation of Labor. In response to these proposals your committee suggested that the A. F. of L. would admit all previously affiliated unions and all those unions suspended as well as those unions that withdrew from the A. F. of L. That after these unions were reaffiliated any and all other questions could and would be taken up in conference and adjusted under the laws of the A. F. of L. This counter-proposal by your committee was rejected by the representatives of the C.I.O.

The balance of our conferences were then occupied by a general discussion in an effort to develop a basis for agreement. After much discussion we reached the following basis of agreement:

That there were no major difficulties only minor jurisdictional questions affecting the twelve original A. F. of L. unions that had been suspended and withdrew from the A. F. of L. and therefore there were no obstacles to their return to the A. F. of L. but since the C.I.O. had established twenty additional unions in the same fields occupied by the A. F. of L. unions it would be necessary to consider each of these twenty new C.I.O. unions separately in an effort to remove the conflict with the A. F. of L. unions. In order to progress with this phase of the matter it was agreed that:

a. The twelve original A. F. of L. unions would not apply nor be admitted to the A. F. of L. until all matters affecting the twenty new C.I.O. unions were adjusted so that the interests of all would be cared for concurrently.

b. That a joint conference committee equally representative of the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. unions would be established for each of these twenty new C.I.O. and dual or conflicting unions to resolve the conflict or to work out a mutually acceptable understanding.

c. That when these conflicts (b) were adjusted, then the membership of the C.I.O. unions would be admitted into the A. F. of L. concurrently with the original A. F. of L. Unions.

d. That if all other matters were adjusted the A. F. of L. Committee would consider recommending the amending of the Constitution of the A. F. of L. to provide that the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. could only suspend an affiliated International or National union or revoke its charter on direct authority of a convention of the A. F. of L.

e. That a special convention of the A. F. of L. would be held within a reasonable time (sixty to ninety days) after all matters were adjusted and all affiliated organizations would be entitled to representation with all rights and privileges of other A. F. of L. unions.

f. That we would agree to specify certain industries where the industrial form of organization would apply.

As stated above, this basis for agreement was accepted by the C.I.O. Committee. It was further agreed to advise the Press of the agreement. At the request of Charles P. Howard, acting C.I.O. Chairman, it was decided out of courtesy to Mr. Philip Murray, who was absent from the conference at the time this understanding was reached, to delay the public announcement until he could be advised of the understanding. When Mr. Murray was informed of the understanding he requested that the conference recess until another day so that he could consult with his principals in the C.I.O.

When the conference reconvened at a later date Mr. Murray refused to carry out the understanding reached and proposed that the entire controversy be referred to a subcommittee. While your committee insisted that the understanding be carried out, we did agree to confer through a sub-committee. Accordingly a sub-committee of John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, William Green and George M. Harrison was appointed.

This sub-committee met promptly. At this meeting your representatives urged Mr. Lewis to accept the understanding reached with the representatives of the C.I.O. This he declined to do. He vetoed what they had agreed to.

Mr. Lewis then proposed that the A. F. of L. charter and admit ALL C.I.O. unions (32) to the A. F. of L. with all rights and privileges and after they were in the A. F. of L. matters of conflict be taken up in conference but with the understanding that when these unions were admitted to the A. F. of L. they could not later be suspended if the points of conflict were not adjusted.

Your representatives pointed out that the proposal was impractical because it would establish dual unionism within the A. F. of L. It would settle nothing.

Since Mr. Lewis would not yield in his position, the negotiations of the sub-committee were adjourned. Subsequently a report was made to the joint C.I.O.-A. F. of L. Conference Committee. At this, the final meeting of the joint C.I.O.-A. F. of L. Conference, Mr. Murray advised your Committee that unless we were willing to accept the Lewis proposal there was no good to be accomplished in continuing further meetings. Faced with this situation, the conference terminated.

Respectfully submitted:

(Sgd.) GEORGE M. HARRISON,

" G. M. BUGNIAZET,

" MATTHEW WOLL,

A. F. of L. Conference Committee.

It is made clear in the report of the committee representing the Executive Council that an agreement which provided for a termination of the secession movement launched by the C.I.O. was reached and was accepted by both the C.I.O. committee and the American Federation of Labor committee. The negotiations had proceeded to the point where it was understood that the agreement reached would be publicly announced immediately following the extension of certain courtesies to the dominant representatives of the Committee for Industrial Organization. Instead of this course being followed, to the surprise of the representatives of the American Federation of Labor Committee, they were informed, and the public as well, that the agreement reached had been vetoed by the ranking officers of the Committee for Industrial Organization. This fact was subsequently confirmed by members of the committee representing the C.I.O. who publicly announced that an agreement had been reached between the duly constituted committees but had been overturned and set aside by Chairman John L. Lewis of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The Executive Council and the committee representing the Executive Council worked faithfully and most diligently in an effort to negotiate an agreement providing for a settlement of the differences existing between the Committee for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council expresses its appreciation for the patient, constructive and exalted service which was rendered by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor who served upon the negotiating committee.

The Executive Council places the blame for failure to consummate an agreement ending the differences which were caused by withdrawal of the C.I.O.

organizations from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor, squarely and directly upon the dominant officers of the Committee for Industrial Organization. They repudiated the work of their own committee. They vetoed an agreement which had been honorably negotiated. They are responsible for the division, discord and the dualism which continues to exist within the organized labor movement of the country. The record makes this clear. No truthful answer can be offered and no justifiable defense can be made by the dominant controlling officers of the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The Committee for Industrial Organization proposed the conference. The American Federation of Labor accepted the offer. We fought for the creation of practical, workable committees. The three members of the committee representing the American Federation of Labor met with a committee of ten which the C.I.O. insisted should represent them; they submitted proposals and considered counter-proposals; they negotiated an agreement with the committee of ten (of which the late Charles P. Howard, President of the International Typographical Union was a member), accepted it, approved it, and agreed that at a stated hour it would be signed, sealed and publicly announced. It seems inconceivable that one man, the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization, could veto an agreement thus entered into and by doing so, accept responsibility for a continuation of division, discord, hate, enmity and dualism in the organized labor movement of the Nation.

It seems quite appropriate to here point out that the Committee for Industrial Organization is a secession movement. It was formed by organizations which withdrew from affiliation with the American Federation of Labor; it was not made up of unions organized outside the American Federation of Labor, independent in character and free from a contractual relationship with the American Federation of Labor. Thus, the division which exists within the ranks of labor is directly traceable to the formation of this secession, dual, rival movement. Those who support it have placed their seal of approval upon secession and dualism. How can they preach unity and solidarity in the labor movement when they support secession and dualism? If they support it, promote it and advocate it in the American Federation of Labor they cannot consistently oppose it within their own organized units. They virtually say, through support of the C.I.O. and secession, that they favor secession, they believe in dualism, they justify it and in doing so they favor division, discord, hatred and enmity within the labor movement, all of which grow out of secession and dualism.

The Committee for Industrial Organization continues its activities as a secession movement. It has raided the jurisdiction of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. This is contradictory to their avowed purpose and declaration that the Committee for Industrial Organization was formed for the purpose of organizing the unorganized.

The Executive Council has resisted every attempt of the Committee for Industrial Organization to invade the jurisdiction of affiliated unions. The Council will continue that policy. Furthermore, we shall continue the fight of the American Federation of Labor to maintain its superiority and standing as the bona fide, recognized labor movement of the North American Continent.

The progress of the American Federation of Labor in the period during which it was compelled to deal with the C.I.O., is reflected in its numerical growth, its standing, strength and influence in the economic, industrial and political life of the Nation. The loss of membership included in the ten national unions which formed the C.I.O., amounting to approximately 982,343, has been overcome. We have organized and added to the membership of the American Federation of Labor a new membership in excess of the number lost when the C.I.O. was formed. The growth of our membership continues steady and substantial. It is a dues-paying membership, as is clearly set forth in the financial report of the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor. Furthermore, the American Federation of Labor is a part of the institutional life of the Nation. Public opinion, which is, after all, the most powerful force in determining the policies of government, is giving wholehearted support to the American Federation of Labor. The Executive Council points to the contrast which exists between a united, harmonious, cooperative American Federation of Labor, governed and administered in accordance with democratic rules and procedure, and the division, discord and disillusionment which exists within the C.I.O. where autocracy and dictatorship have clearly supplanted the control of the workers over the administration of their own economic and organizational affairs.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

The following detailed report shows that \$27,111,225.46 was paid by national and international labor organizations to their members in out-of-work, disability, pension, death, sick, and miscellaneous benefits. This vast sum of benefits paid, however, does not cover the total amount paid by all national and international and local unions during the past year. It represents the amount paid by national and international organizations and other organized units which reported to the American Federation of Labor. Many local unions chartered by organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and federal labor unions chartered directly by the American Federation of Labor have established funds out of which benefits were paid locally. In addition, strike benefits were paid by local organizations which do not appear in this report.

Thus, there should be added to the total amount set forth in this report of benefits paid to members of organized labor, many millions of dollars more paid by organizations not reporting and by local unions chartered by international unions which have established and maintained benefit funds for the protection of their membership.

A questionnaire sent to our international unions shows that 589,818 union members already have vacations with pay. We heartily endorse the efforts of our member unions to win vacations with pay, and urge them to include a vacation clause in their agreements wherever possible.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1937

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1938	Vacation Period
Actors and Artists of America, Associated Air-Line Pilots Association	NO NO	INTER NATIONAL INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS BENE FITS			PAID PAID		660.00 per mo. (ret. \$160) 210.00 per mo. (Ce-pilot)					
Asbestos Workers, International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Plumbers and Roofers, International Union of America	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENE FITS			PAID		1.37 1/2 hr.	7 hours	35 hrs.	4,000		
Bakers and Confectioners, International Union of America	47,217.10	153,428.00				10,392.00	211,037.10					33,333	1 to 2 wks.
Barbers' International Union, Journeymen and Apprentices of America, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders	117,841.60 5,000.00 7,600.00	45,864.00 350.00					163,705.60 5,550.00 7,600.00						
Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders	367,568.75 65,100.00	\$1,290.00			9,900.00	5,285.91 516.00	384,024.66 104,976.99	Mechanics 1.15 per hr. Helpers 1.05 per hr. Men 1.00 per hr. Women .50 per hr.	8 hours 8 hours 8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 44 hrs., 5 1/2 days	29,150 8,851	768	11 days to 3 weeks
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, Flour, Cereal and Soft Drink Workers of America, International Union of the United	25,200.00 7,840.00		1,200.00				25,200.00 172,890.00					2,000 24,670	1 week 1 week
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America, Brick and Clay Workers of America, The United	228,370.08 2,180.00			586,842.47			815,212.55 6,239.00	1.25 per hr. .50 per hr. min.	8 hours 8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days	65,000 5,000		

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1937—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1935	Vacation Period
Bridge and Structural Iron Workers, International Association	28,050 00			83,765 32			111,815 32	1.50 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	40,000	1,300	1 week.
Broom and Whisk Makers' Union, International	NO	INTERNATIONAL		BENE	FITS	PAID		5.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs.	200		
Building Service Employers' International Union													
Carmen of America, Brotherhood Railway Carpenters and Joiners of America, United Brotherhood of	159,450 00				8,250 00		187,700 00					30,000	1 to 2 wks.
Carvers' Association of North America, International Woodworkers' Union of America	528,825 92			475,728 00	8,000 00		1,012,250 92	1.25 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs.		9,000	1 week
Cigar-makers' International Union of America	1,800 00						1,800 00						
Cleaning and Dyeing Workers, International Association						19,805 44	19,805 44	Piece work	8 hours	44 hrs.			
Clerks, National Federation of Post Office Clerks, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, International Protective Association, Retail	73,500 00	18,571 40					92,071 40	2.00 per ann.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	40,000	45,000	15 days
Conductors, Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, International Union of North America	301,245 30						301,245 30	22.50 per wk. Men	8 hours	48 hrs.			1 to 2 wks.
Diamond Workers' Protective Union of America	6,400 00					13,470 77	19,870 77	30.00 per wk. 200.00 per mo.	8 hours	56 hrs., 7 days			
Draftsmen's Unions, International Association of Technical Engineers, Architects and	NO	INTERNATIONAL		BENE	FITS	PAID		1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	3,000	100	1 wk.
	3,925 00						3,925 00	55.00 per wk.	7 hours	35 hrs., 5 days	250		
	250 00					100 00	350 00						
	NO	INTERNATIONAL		BENE	FITS	PAID		5.00 to 12.00 per day	7 to 8 hours	39 hrs., 5 days	2,000	1,800	2 to 4 wks.

REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1937—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1933	Vacation Period
Electrical Workers of America, International Brotherhood of	492,644.41			327,459.80			820,104.21	1.226 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	148,750	45,000	1 to 2 wks.
Elevator Constructors' International Union of Engineers, International Union of Operating	57,920.50					7,610.00	65,530.50	Stationary 1.12½ per hr. Hoisting and Portable 1.50 per hr. 1.15 per hr.	8 hours	Building Trades 40 hrs. Stationary Engineers 44 hrs.	21,000		
Engravers Union, International Metal Engravers' Union of North America, International Photo Engravers' Association of America, International Association of Firemen and Oilers, International Brotherhood of	NO 175,155.02 NO 19,500.00 2,400.00 25,600.00	INTER NATIONAL 45,687.55 INTER NATIONAL 1,550.00	INTER NATIONAL 4,550,209.24	BENEFITS BENEFITS	PAID BENEFITS	PAID 1,550.00	846,332.31 21,050.00 2,400.00 25,600.00	60.00 per wk. 2,000 per ann. Commercial 1.00 per hr. Railroad .55 per hr. .50 per hr. Cutters 35.00 to 55.00 per wk. Operators 16.00 to 30.00 per wk.	8 hours 7½ hours 12 hours 8 hours 8 hours 8 hours	42 hrs. 37½ hrs., 5 days 34 hrs., 7 days Commercial 40 hrs., 5 days Railroad 48 hrs., 6 days 40 hrs., 3 days 40 hrs., 5 days	170 9,400 40 11,000 3,500 40,000	85 500 25,000 15,850	1 week 1 to 2 wks. 15 days 2 weeks
Foundry Employees, International Brotherhood of, Garment Workers of America, United							45,550.00	6.00 to 12.00 per day	6 to 8 hours	30 to 40 hrs.	15,000		
Glass Bottle Blowers' Association of the United States and Canada	7,000.00					920.00	7,920.00	10.00 per day	7 hrs., 12 min.	36 hrs.	1,450		
Glass Cutters' League of America, Window Glass Workers' Union, Glass Workers' Union of America, International	25,500.00 NO					28,794.63 PAID	54,294.63	34.53 per wk.	8 hours 8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days 40 hrs., 5 days	6,000		
Government Employees, American Federation of							1,440 per ann.	7½ hours	41½ hrs., 6 days		2,500	25,687	26 days

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1937—(Continued)

Name of Organisation	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week 1938	Vacations with Pay Period 1938
Granite Cutters' International Association of America, The	56,090.00				2,250.00		58,340.00	8.25 per day.		40 hrs., 5 days.		
Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers' International Union, United	20,320.00		10,055.50			68,974.93	99,359.43	.50 to 2.75 per hr.	Cap and Men's Hat Trade 8 hrs. Millinery Trade 35 hrs., 5 days	35,000		
Hed Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America, International	49,750.00						49,750.00					
Horse Shoers of United States and Canada, International Union	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID							
Houses of Journeymen Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America	\$ 107,039.59	\$58,075.88				218,801.72	353,807.89					1 week
Jewelry Workers' Union, International	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			65 to 1.50 per hr.	7 & 8 hrs.	35 & 40 hrs.	3,772	
Lathe International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal	32,832.47						32,832.47	1.39 per hr.	7.75 hours	39 hrs., 5.02 days	8,000	
Laundry Workers' International Union	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			25.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	2,000	9,000 1 week
Leather Workers' International Union	NO	INTER NATIONAL	INTER NATIONAL	BENEFITS	PAID			2,091.23 per ann.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days		60,000 15 days
Letter Carriers, National Association of	175,943.35	154,656.20					330,301.55					32,000 15 days
Letter Carriers, National Federation of												
Rural												
Lithographers' International Protective and Beneficial Association of the United States and Canada	61,209.00	15,000.00	75,000.00	4,250.00		5,072.00	160,531.00	40.00 per wk.	5 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	11,000	3,000 1 week
Longshoremen's Association, International												
Machine, International Association of	317,271.27	18,600.00	355,500.00		8,500.00	226,000.00	925,871.27	.90 per hr.	8 hours	44 hrs., 5½ days	80,000	50,000 1 to 4 wks.

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1937—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1938	Vacation Period
Maintenance of Way Employees, Brotherhood of	254,415 63						254,415 63			40 hrs., 5 days			
Marble, Slate and Stone Polishers, Rubbers and Sewers, Tile and Marble Setters, Helpers and Terrazzo	4,473 50	125 00				116 00	4,714 50	6.50 per day	8 hours	40 hrs.	5,500		
International Association of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, National Organization	3,237 25	879 00				324 65	4,440 90		Railroad 8 hrs., Other 10-12 hrs.	6 days 45-60 hrs.			
Master Mechanics and Foremen of Navy Yards and Naval Stations, National Association of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENEFITS			PAID		15.00 per day	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	150	140	26 days
Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, Amalgamated	25,850 00					23,115 00	48,965 00	Retail Markets 37.50 per wk. Packing Plants .50 per hr.	8½ hours 7 hours	Retail Markets 51 hrs., 6 days Packing Plants 27½-36 hrs., 4½ days	60,000	25,000	1 to 2 w ka
Metal Workers' International Association, Sheet	31,900 00					2,870 00	34,770 00						
Mine Workers of America, International Union, Paper Molders' Union of North America, International	311,500 00					99,116 93	212,615 93	6.00 per day	7 hours		15,000		
Municipal, American Federation of	231,286 29	81,376 50	41,609 80				354,255 59	.95 per hr.	8 hours	44 hrs.			
Paint and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of	5,762,425 00	4,975,485 30					437,910 30						
Paper Makers, International Brotherhood of	271,415 89				6,650 00		278,066 89	1.07½ per hr.	7 hrs. 38 min.	39 hrs. 52 min.	111,070		
Pattern Makers' League of North America, International Association of the United States and Canada, Operative	8,539 95						8,539 95	.85 per hr.	8 hours	48 hrs.	800	639	1 week
	113,250 00	5,321 07				6,724 35	32,495 42	1.25 per hr.	7 and 8 hours	35 and 40 hrs.	6,650		
	60,250 00					4,400 00	64,650 00	10.00 per day	8 hours	5 days	16,500		

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BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1937—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1935	Vacation Period
Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada, United Association of	161,482 00	108,770 00				894 00	271,056 00	11.00 per day.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	60 000		
Pocketbook and Notebook Workers' Union, International Ladies' Handbag	4,350 00					3,213 00	7,563 00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	7 000	3,500	1 to 2 wks.
Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Helpers International Union, Metal													
Potters, Brotherhood of	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENEFITS			PAID		1,600 per ann.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	1,500	1,500	15 days
Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers, National Association of	20,000 00	5,639 80				2,890 00	28,529 80						
Potters, National Brotherhood of Operative and High Explosive Workers of America, United	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENEFITS			PAID		.65 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs.	95		
Printers, Die Shampers and Engravers' Union of North America, International Plate	NO	INTER NATIONAL	BENEFITS			PAID		45.00 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs.	800		
Printing Pressmen's Union of North America, International	3,307,120 14	448,681 88	4193,503 60	4192,601 55	452,238 45	44,646 00	838,971 62	Pressmen—Book & Job 50.02 wk. Assistants—Book & Job 36.79 wk. Pressmen Day Newspaper 47.60 Pressmen Night Newspaper 51.35 wk. 5.00 per day.	Commercial 8 hours Newspaper Day 8 hours Newspaper Night 7 hours		38 000		1 to 2 wks.
Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States and Canada, Brotherhood of	3,797,514 25	473,008 70		4195,150 00	4,575 00	15,745 40	15,745 40		8 hours	40 hrs.		2,500	1 week
Railway Employers of America, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Mail Association	48,450 00				146,507 47	7,330 00	1,077,577 45					65,500	1 to 2 wks.
Reds, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association, United State, Tile and Cement	11,800 00						195,017 47	2,446 per ann.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	22,021	22,000	15 days
							11,800 00	1.37 1/2 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	4,000	4,000	

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REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1937—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1938	Vacation Period
Sheep Shearers Union of North America	850 00			2,650 00		502 00	4,002 00	Piece work 12½ per sheep	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	824		
Sidographers, International Association of													
Smoking Tobacco Manufacturers, The National Association of	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE FITS		PAID		1,700 per ann.	10 hours	60 hrs			
Spunners Union, International			4,000 00				4,000 00	35.00 per wk.	8 hours	43 hrs	500		
Stage Employees and Moving Picture Makers, International Union of the United States and Canada, International Alliance of Theatrical	NO	INTER	NATIONAL	BENE FITS		PAID							
State, County and Municipal Employees, American Federation of													
Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union of North America, International	113,937 20	122,874 16	221,319 94	7,767 00		\$ 5,317 06	371,215 36			43 hr		24,000	1 to 2 wks.
Stonecutters' Association of North America, International	14,350 00						14,350 00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 and 44 hrs 5 and 5½ days			
Stone Movers' International Union	9,300 00					14,252 75	23,552 75	Day rate .86 per hr. Piece work .92½ per hr. 7.06 per day.	8 hours			894	1 week
Switchmen's Union of North America	207,625 00						226,750 00		8 hours	43 hrs., 6 days			
Teamsters, American Federation of	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENE FITS	19,125 00	PAID			8 hours	5 days	25,000		
Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America, International Brotherhood of	NO	INTERN	ATIONAL	BENE FITS		PAID							
Telegraphers, Order of	161,056 00	2,993 00					167,049 00	.74 per hr.	8 hours	53 hrs., 6½ days		7,500	2 weeks
Telephone Union of North America, The Commercial	1,100 00						1,100 00						

BENEFIT SERVICES OF STANDARD NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS FOR 1937—(Continued)

Name of Organization	Death	Sick	Unemployment	Old Age	Disability	Miscellaneous	Total	Average Wage	Average Work Day	Average Work Week	5-Day Week	Vacations with Pay 1938	Vacation Period
Tobacco Workers' International Union	1,400 00	25,840 00					27,240 00	40 to .80 per hr.	8 hours	5 days	14,363	12,500	2 weeks
Typographical Union, International	877,017 33	488,409 48	4149,290 29	2,717,271 68		4512,088 11	4,124,076 89	46.24 per wk.	39.45 hrs., 5 days		59,250		
Upsholers' International Union of North America	6,600 00						6,600 00	Skilled 48.00 per wk. Unskilled 23.50 per wk.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days	3,500	3,100	
Wall Paper Craftsmen and Workers of North America, United	500 00	800 00					1,300 00	1.00 per hr.	8 hours	40 hrs., 5 days			
Wavers' Protective Association, American Wire	1,545,371 53				140,278 83	164,546 50	1,833,196 86						
Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers	1,233,940 34	981,249 57		3,958 00	512,182 40	680,642 39	3,382,000 70						
Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers	2,083,769 38	150,207 12		2,486 22	1,686,901 05	174,452 46	4,097,815 23	Road service varied. Yard service 5.51 to 7.54 per day	Pass and freight service varied. Yard service 8 hours				
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen	942,937 32	106,203 69			18,500 00		1,067,641 01	Passenger 7 hrs., 30 min. Freight, 8 hrs.					
Order of Railway Conductors of America											1,090,703	589,818	
Total	13,390,755 36	2,277,903 00	1,671,139 36	4,600,056 04	2,623,918 20	2,547,453 50	27,111,225 46						

Recapitulation:

Includes disability benefits.	\$13,390,755 36
Includes death benefits.	2,277,903 00
Includes local union benefits.	1,671,139 36
Paid by local unions.	4,600,056 04
Includes Sick Benefits.	2,623,918 20
Includes unemployment benefits.	2,547,453 50
Miscellaneous	
Total	\$27,111,225 46

CHARTERS TO NATIONAL UNIONS

Three new international charters were issued during the past year.

On November 11, 1937, a charter was issued to the National Association of Railway Mail Laborers.

On November 19, 1937, a charter was issued to the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

On April 28, 1938, a charter was issued to the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America.

All of these new unions are functioning as affiliated units of the American Federation of Labor. Definite and substantial progress has been made by each of them in the extension of organization among those eligible to membership in their respective national and international unions. The Executive Council is extending to these unions all support and assistance possible.

Granting of Charter to the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America—Because the International Union United Mine Workers of America led in the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization and has been the chief supporter and largest financial contributor toward this dual, secession movement ever since its formation, the Executive Council responded to the application of the Progressive Mine Workers of America for a charter of affiliation.

At a meeting of the Executive Council held at Washington, D. C., beginning April 25th, the charter application of the Progressive Mine Workers of America was approved and ordered issued. This action was taken and a charter issued to the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America April 28, 1938.

The action of the Executive Council relating to the application of the Progressive Mine Workers of America for a charter of affiliation is set forth in a resolution unanimously adopted, which reads as follows:

WHEREAS, The United Mine Workers at its regular annual convention held in Washington, D. C., January 25, 1938 to February 3, 1938, amended its constitution and laws disavowing all further association and affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and completely abandoning whatever rights and privileges it might justly claim as a suspended organization, and

WHEREAS, the Executive Council acting under and within the authority delegated to it by a previous convention of the American Federation of Labor to revoke the charter of the United Mine Workers of America, and if it becomes advisable or desirable to charter a new International Mine Workers Union, and

WHEREAS, an application has been filed for the chartering of an International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America, and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council having given this subject due consideration, be it

RESOLVED, that the Executive Council hereby approves the application filed for the chartering of the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America, that its jurisdiction embrace jurisdiction heretofore covered by the United Mine Workers of America, and that President Green be authorized to take such action as may be necessary to effectually constitute this new International Union.

REVOCAION OF CHARTERS

Pursuant to the instructions of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, the Executive Council officially revoked the

charters of the following international unions which were associated with the Committee for Industrial Organization:

United Mine Workers of America
International Union Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers
Federation of Flat Glass Workers.

This action was taken at a meeting of the Executive Council which was held in Miami, Florida, beginning January 24, 1938.

Similar action was taken by the Executive Council at its meeting held in Washington, D. C., beginning April 25, 1938, at which time the charters of the following organizations associated with the Committee for Industrial Organization were revoked:

United Automobile Workers of America
United Rubber Workers of America
Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
United Textile Workers of America
Oil Field, Gas Well and Refinery Workers of America

Following the adjournment of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor the Executive Council directed the officers and members of state federations of labor and city central bodies to dissociate from membership therein all organizations affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization. There was an immediate response from practically all state federations of labor and city central bodies. Where action on the instructions of the Executive Council was delayed or where, because of C.I.O. domination in state federations of labor and city central bodies, the officers and members refused to act, the charters of said organizations were revoked and new state federations of labor and city central bodies were formed.

The Executive Council is glad to report that all state federations of labor and city central bodies have dissociated from membership therein all C.I.O. organizations. If it is found later that any subordinate organization chartered by the American Federation of Labor has either failed or refused to comply with the order of the Executive Council to dissociate C.I.O. organizations from membership therein, the Executive Council will act promptly in each and every case. There can be no compromise on this matter. It is the purpose of the Executive Council to see to it that state federations of labor and city central bodies are made up of American Federation of Labor unions. This action is necessary in order to preserve the integrity, authority and solidarity of the American Federation of Labor.

JURISDICTIONAL MATTERS

Masters, Mates and Pilots—Longshoremen—Pursuant to the directions of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor in the jurisdictional controversy between the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and the International Longshoremen's Association, conferences have been held between the representatives of the two organizations involved. These

conferences were held at different times during the year. While some substantial progress was made in the adjustment of this controversy, no definite or final agreement has yet been reached. It is hoped that ultimately, through a continuation of conferences, the questions in dispute will be settled.

Printing Trades—Lithographers—This controversy has been considered by conventions of the American Federation of Labor for the past twenty-five years. It arose out of a dispute over the operation of the offset printing press and the conflict which developed out of the use of the Allied Printing Trades label and the Lithographers' label. The Denver Convention directed that a conference between all parties at interest be held within ninety days after adjournment of said convention. In conformity with this recommendation of the convention, a conference was held at headquarters on November 18th, 1937. Representatives of the International Photo-Engravers' Union, the Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association, and the Allied Printing Trades Council participated in the conference, which was presided over by President Green. Secretary-Treasurer Morrison also was present. After a thorough discussion of the matters in dispute it was decided that the conference be postponed for the purpose of investigating the set-up of the plants, and that a further conference would be held on December 15th, 1937.

At a conference held on December 15th, representatives of the Photo-Engravers and of the Printing Pressmen submitted statistics regarding the production of offset negatives and plates and the number of offset pressmen employed in general printing establishments in one hundred cities in the United States. The Lithographers did not submit statistics concerning this work. Unfortunately no agreement was reached. Earnest efforts were put forth by the executive officers of the American Federation of Labor to prevail upon all parties at interest to settle the dispute and to agree upon a plan and a policy which would provide for a final settlement of the controversy. Numerous proposals were submitted; none of which however, was accepted.

A communication was received under date of December 27, 1937, from Secretary-Treasurer Orr of the Printing Pressmen, and President Volz of the Photo-Engravers, from which the following is quoted:

The representatives of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union and the International Photo-Engravers' Union believe that every effort has been exhausted to bring about an amalgamation as directed by the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor Conventions. We, therefore, insist and request that the decisions of the Executive Council and the American Federation of Labor Conventions directing that the amalgamation be made effective should be placed in effect without further delay, as any attempt to hold further conferences would only delay matters.

A full report upon the outcome of the conferences held was made to the Executive Council at its meeting in Miami, Florida, January 24-February 8, 1938. The Executive Council then decided that the action of the Denver Convention be put into effect and that the President of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to send out a letter to all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor advising them that the label of the Lithographers

is not recognized by the American Federation of Labor and that the Allied Printing Trades Label is the only recognized union label on printed matter. In conformity with the instructions of the Executive Council, the following official communication was sent to the officers of the national and international unions, state federations of labor, and city central bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor:

Washington, D. C.
March 15, 1938.

(To Secretaries of Nationals
City Central Bodies and State
Federations of Labor.)

Dear Sir and Brother:

The long-standing controversy which has existed for more than twenty years between the printing trades organizations and the Lithographers International Protective and Beneficial Association, has been given the best thought and attention of the Executive Council on numerous occasions. Repeated conferences have been held in which all parties interested and involved participated, in an effort to bring about a settlement. Conventions of the American Federation of Labor have considered the dispute and through committees endeavored to find a basis of settlement. It seemed impossible to do so.

The last convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in Denver, Colorado, October 1937, took positive action regarding this matter. It directed the officers of the American Federation of Labor to hold further conferences with representatives of the organizations involved and interested. These instructions were carried out. Conferences were held at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor on November 18th and December 15th, 1937, when further efforts were put forth in order to find a basis of settlement. We failed to achieve success in this particular matter.

The convention decided further that in the event it was impossible to bring about a settlement through conferences, that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor be advised that the label of the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association is no longer recognized by the American Federation of Labor and that the Allied Printing Trades label is the only recognized union label on printed matter.

I therefore officially advise you that:

The use of a union label by the International Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association is disapproved and that the union label of the Allied Printing Trades Unions be recognized as the only bona fide union label to be used in connection with all forms and character of plate making and printing including offset plate making and offset printing and as awarded to the international printing trades unions by the American Federation of Labor.

Please take note of this official action of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor and of the Executive Council. I ask that you be governed in the recognition of the Allied Printing Trades Label by this definite official decision of the Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Sincerely yours,

WM. GREEN
President,
American Federation of Labor.

Journeyman Tailors—Accurate information was submitted to the Executive Council at its quarterly meeting held in Washington, D. C., beginning April 25th, 1938, which showed that the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America has discontinued the payment of per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor, had failed to submit monthly or periodical reports as required by the laws of the American Federation of Labor, and had become affiliated with the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Based upon this information the Executive Council decided to accept the fact that the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America had ceased its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. The records show that the Journeyman Tailors' Union had steadily declined in membership. Its last payment of per capita tax was made upon 7,000 members for the month of August, 1936.

The Executive Council decided to grant that organization's former jurisdiction to the United Garment Workers of America. We recommend that the convention officially revoke the charter of the Journeyman Tailors' Union of America, and extend official approval to the action taken by the Executive Council in this particular matter.

Extension of Jurisdiction over Gasoline Service Station Employees—The Executive Council granted jurisdiction to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America over gasoline service station employees.

The American Federation of Labor had carried on an aggressive organizing campaign among gasoline service station attendants, and as a result forty-seven local unions of gasoline service station employees had been organized and chartered, and a National Council of Gasoline Station Attendants had been formed.

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America made formal application for jurisdiction over gasoline service employees on April 15, 1938. When said application was considered by the Executive Council, it arrived at the opinion that because of the very close relationship existing between truck drivers, chauffeurs, teamsters and helpers who transport gasoline and other products used in gasoline filling stations, and the workers employed in these stations, the economic and industrial interests of the workers involved could be best served through membership in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. This action was taken after it became evident that a substantial majority of the members of the Gasoline Station Attendants Federal Labor Unions desired and favored affiliation with the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. Truck drivers, teamsters and chauffeurs can assist and help gasoline service station attendants and those employed in gasoline filling stations in the promotion of their economic and industrial welfare. All can work together as members of one organization, and through cooperation and a thorough organization, all can greatly assist each other.

When the application of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America was granted, an official communication was sent to the officers and members of each and all of the local unions of Gaso-

line Service Station Attendants chartered by the American Federation of Labor, instructing them to surrender their federal charters and become members of and affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America. The instructions of the Executive Council in this particular matter were, with very few exceptions, promptly carried out.

UNEMPLOYMENT

The business recession which started after September, 1937, has added 3,500,000 to the ranks of the unemployed. In addition, there has been no increase in jobs to provide for the young persons who came of working age during this period, and these boys and girls add about 475,000 more to the total number to be employed.

In September, 1937, unemployment had reached the lowest point since recovery started, but there were still 7,513,000 out of work. By June, 1938, unemployment had risen to 11,445,000, a total increase of nearly 4,000,000. These lay offs brought our army of unemployed back to the levels of early 1935, cancelling the gains of the last three years.

During this nine month period of depressed business, from September to June, unemployment has risen steadily. Only one month, April, showed a slight gain in employment due to the spring busy season in industry; but spring employment gains this year were almost negligible and far below normal. Not until July was there any sign of a real employment upturn. The gain of some 41,000 jobs in manufacturing in July is small, but since it comes at a time when employment usually declines, it suggests a change for the better. Employment on farms and in road building also increased in July, making a total gain of 104,000.

Trade union members have fared very much better than employees in industry generally during these months of declining employment. Throughout the late spring months, April through June, while employment in general declined, trade union employment increased. Our figures show that 2 per cent of our members who had been unemployed in March were back at work by June, while in the country as a whole unemployment increased by 174,000 from March to June. Trade union unemployment declined from 21 per cent of the membership to 19 per cent in this period while general unemployment rose from 11,226,000 in March to 11,400,000 in June. Employment of union members has continued to increase through July and early August so that another 2 per cent of our unemployed are now back at work. Thus in the entire period since March, trade union unemployment has decreased from 21 per cent of the membership in March, to 18 per cent in July and 17 per cent in early August, while unemployment as a whole has not decreased at all; 23.1 per cent of all workers (omitting management) were unemployed in March and 23.3 per cent were unemployed in July.

Social security payments were by no means sufficient to take care of the large number of men and women who found themselves without work this winter and spring. WPA has steadily increased its rolls, and with the new Government funds, further increases are being made. From January 1 to

July 30, 1938, 1,338,000 were added to WPA payrolls, so that on July 30, WPA employment reached 2,967,000. There were at this time 285,000 on CCC and about 300,000 employed by other Government agencies, so that total emergency employment amounted to more than 3,500,000.

Funds provided by the Government spending program will also provide work on PWA, Rural Electrification, and the United States Housing Authority. Counting funds already allotted by these organizations, including large housing projects under the Federal Housing Authority loans and new WPA employment, and including work required in private industries to furnish materials and transportation, we estimate that the Government program will furnish 9,237,000 man-months of employment before July 1, 1939. This is equivalent to 770,000 full year jobs or 1,540,000 half-year jobs. It will greatly stimulate reemployment and recovery, for the men employed on these jobs will, by their purchases, create jobs for others.

The outlook is for further gains in employment this fall and next spring. In addition to jobs created by the Government, improvement in private business in the last few months promises an increase of private employment.

SHORTER WORK WEEK

Unions have already gone far in shortening the work week below forty hours. In 1937, Labor Department reports show that 30 per cent of the membership in printing trades and 15 per cent in building trades were working less than a forty-hour week and 8 per cent of union bakers. No information is yet available for 1938.

The 1937 records show striking gains since pre-depression years. Average hours of union building trades were shortened from forty-three per week in 1929 to thirty-nine in 1937, and in printing in the same period average union hours were reduced from 44.3 to 39.5. This means an average gain in leisure of four hours for building tradesmen and nearly five hours for printers. Union bakers also reduced their hours by nearly five per week in these eight years.

The work week of forty hours or less is so prevalent in building and printing today that less than 4 per cent of union building tradesmen and less than 9 per cent of union printing tradesmen work over forty hours per week. In 1929, 75 per cent in building and almost 100 per cent in printing worked more than forty hours.

Although Labor Department information is lacking to show work hours in other industries, the advances in these trades in the last eight years show what can be accomplished when effort is concentrated on achieving this necessary adjustment.

To those who argue that a work week below forty-four hours would curtail production we would cite records of the United States Department of Labor which show that in manufacturing industries the hours actually worked per week when part time is included have averaged thirty-nine or less in each year since 1931. The figures are as follows:

Average Hours Per Week

Years	Yearly Averages
1932	37.9
1933	37.9
1934	34.7
1935	36.6
1936	39.1
1937	38.5
1938*	34.3

* First 7 months.

The American Federation of Labor reiterates its endorsement of the thirty-hour week as the schedule toward which we are working as rapidly as possible. The constant increase in productivity forces us to adjust work hours downward at an equal rate. The army of unemployed, which has never since depression been reduced below 7,500,000 and today numbers over 11,000,000, is testimony enough to the need for shorter work hours.

Industry is able to make this adjustment by a steady and progressive reduction of the work week until the 30-hour level is reached. In 1929, work hours in industry generally averaged over forty-eight per week, while today the 40- and 44-hour week is prevalent. Yet, after accomplishing these striking reductions in hours together with an increase in hourly wages in the short period of eight years, unit labor costs in June this year in manufacturing were 3 per cent below 1929, according to the National Industrial Conference Board Index, and the Nation's leading manufacturing companies earned the high profit of 10.7 per cent on their net worth in 1937.

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICE

During the past year the American Federation of Labor has not only maintained its regular research service to the affiliated unions, but has succeeded in expanding and improving the information furnished in order to fit it more closely to the pressing practical needs of our unions. Requests for information, coming from directly affiliated locals, organizers and international officers, have become so numerous that it has not always been possible to fill them as promptly as desired.

Facts for Wage Negotiations—The service which has proved to be most useful in the course of the Federation's organizing work has consisted of furnishing our unions and organizers with up-to-date facts for use in wage negotiations.

The reports prepared have included four types of data. First, we supplied affiliated unions with information showing changes in general economic and labor conditions for the country as a whole or in specific regions. This material included figures on production, employment, unemployment, payrolls, average wages, average hours, cost of living and buying power. Notable among these

is the Federation's unemployment estimate which has attained international reputation. Also important are the studies of the cost of living, including two reports on the cost of living in the South which have been used widely in organizing as well as in wage negotiations. Much of essential information of this kind has been furnished unions in the form of our *Monthly Survey of Business*.

Second, reports made available to individual unions the latest information on the general labor standards and conditions in the industry or trade in which the membership of the union is employed. They included data on wage rates, weekly wages, hours of work, employment, payrolls, and labor costs in the industry, as well as pertinent information showing changes in the volume of production, productivity per worker, prices, stocks, shipments, and in some instances exports and imports.

Third, on the basis of information available from such standard sources as Moody's Manual of Industrials, and Standard Corporation Records, we have whenever requested, furnished unions and organizers with carefully prepared summary reports on the financial condition of individual companies, showing earnings, sales, profits, and other essential data. Unions which have neither the access to the original sources of information nor the trained personnel to analyze and interpret this information have found such financial reports to be invaluable in collective bargaining negotiations. It is significant that during the recent recession in every instance in which one of our directly affiliated unions was faced with a demand for wage cut, the union was able to resist such a demand and that its success was largely dependent upon the assistance rendered by our research staff in enabling the union to answer the employer's arguments with unassailable facts.

Equally important to the directly affiliated unions have been the reports on standards embodied in the existing agreements of other unions in the same field. By maintaining an up-to-date agreement file at American Federation of Labor headquarters, it has been possible for our staff to tabulate wage scales for a given trade, occupation or industry and make known to the unions in need of the information what has been accomplished by other unions in the same field. Whenever it was found that an agreement contained a particularly effective provision regarding seniority, vacations with pay, collective bargaining procedure, etc., such features have been reported to organizers in contact with the local unions in the same field.

All such reports in connection with wage negotiations have been furnished to our organizers and directly affiliated unions as a regular service. They have also been prepared for many national and international unions when requested by national and international officers.

Information on Social Security—Complexity of the operation of the Social Security Act has called forth an unusual number of inquiries from affiliated unions and State Federations regarding unemployment compensation, old age benefits and public assistance provisions of the social security program. With the beginning of unemployment benefit payments in twenty-two states during the past year, it was vitally important for labor representatives in these states to re-

ceive timely information regarding the experience of other states in the development of standards and administrative procedures under their state unemployment compensation laws. Of special importance has been information furnished unions on rulings of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue and on precedents set in the handling of benefit claims and appeals. By furnishing this information the Federation has enabled affiliated unions to gain a fuller measure of participation in the social security program for their membership. The meaning of social security laws will be crystallized in decisions rendered on claims for benefits and on appeals from decisions. Such decisions should be analyzed so that underlying principles should be available for guidance of local policy. Unless these decisions are followed carefully bad precedents may become established which may pervert the purpose of the law.

Labor Board Cases—Information on procedure to be followed in filing charges and petitions with the regional offices of the National Labor Relations Board and on preparation of cases has been furnished unions since the Board's inception. During the past year more than two thousand inquiries about procedure and about the status of cases pending before the Board have been answered. In addition a new service was developed whereby national and international officers or, in the case of directly affiliated unions, organizers in the field, have been promptly advised of any action taken by the Board which required the filing of exceptions, motions or briefs, or making appearances for oral argument before the National Board. This service has enabled our unions to present their cases more effectively and to better prepare for elections and certifications, especially in the cases involving the C.I.O. In a large number of instances complaints made by unions concerned regarding delays or mishandling of cases by regional and field representatives of the Board, have been taken up with the National Board and every effort has been made to get satisfactory action on each complaint.

Wage and Hour Standards—There has been kept up to date and currently available data on labor standards in different industries, originally developed in connection with the N.R.A. codes. The availability of this information has proved extremely useful in connection with the determination of prevailing minimum wages by the Public Contracts Board under the Walsh-Healey Act. Presentation of detailed evidence so developed at the panel meetings and public hearings of the Public Contracts Board has enabled the unions concerned to insure equitable determination of prevailing minimum wages in each industry.

With the passage of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, the availability of such data has gained additional importance. In view of this, special attention has been given to extend the scope of this data and to furnish unions with reliable information regarding the provisions, operation and enforcement of the Act.

Other Services—To the extent possible, we have kept available current information on major developments in the fields of workmen's compensation, child

labor, and other labor standards. By reporting important administrative actions in connection with the work relief, public works, and housing programs, it has been possible to place the information desired in the hands of individual unions.

Our research staff has also prepared briefs and evidence at the request of affiliated unions on special problems. An example of this service has been the preparation of briefs and data used before the Interstate Commerce Commission in the determination of the maximum hours of service under the Motor Carrier Act.

With the growing need for use of facts in hearings and wage negotiations, we have striven to have available information essential to the success of organization work and thus further the progress of our labor movement.

THE LABOR PRESS

The labor press, which gives support to the economic philosophy, the political program, and the principles and policies of the American Federation of Labor, has rendered and is rendering most valuable service. This refers to the bona fide labor press such as the official publications of the American Federation of Labor and national and international unions, as well as the local labor papers and periodicals, many of which have a wide circulation and are distributed over an extensive field.

The loyalty which these publications herein referred to have shown to the American Federation of Labor in its fight against dualism, secession, and false and destructive political and economic philosophies proclaimed by dual and seceding unions, is appreciated by the Executive Council and by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor as well.

The Executive Council bespeaks for this splendid labor press and for labor publications the full support and assistance of all the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor and of all national and international unions, of state federations of labor and city central bodies.

The dissemination of the truth regarding dualism and secession, and the plans, policies and work of the American Federation of Labor, is more necessary now than ever before in the history of the American Federation of Labor, and can only be brought about through the labor publications and the labor press referred to herein.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

The officers of this Department have at all times cooperated with legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor, officials of other Departments of the American Federation of Labor, and legislative representatives of national and international Unions. In like manner, we have received support and assistance on these matters.

In checking over the records of this Department, we find there has been an increased activity in organization among the national and international unions affiliated with this Department. One evidence of this increased activity among the building and construction trades throughout the country is the fact that since

July 1, 1937, the Department has granted seventy-seven charters to local Building and Construction Trades Councils.

Since our last convention, the C. I. O. has renewed its activity endeavoring to enter the construction industry, but we are pleased to report that this Department and its affiliated national and international unions have been most successful in offsetting the attempt of the C. I. O. to encroach upon the jurisdiction of our national and international unions. We take this opportunity to assure the American Federation of Labor and its Executive Council that the Building and Construction Trades Department will continue to give them our loyal support in combatting this dual movement.

The Department is glad to report that our finances are in a very healthy condition, and that all Building and Construction Trades Organizations are in good standing, and will be represented at the Thirty-Second Annual Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department.

We wish to thank President Green, Secretary-Treasurer Morrison, and members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for their sincere cooperation on matters affecting the Department.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Metal Trades Department is gratified to report that its affiliated international unions have made marked progress during the year. Not only has there been a material increase in membership, but most satisfactory progress has been made in placing the newly acquired membership under trade union agreements with their employers.

Much of the activity within the Department is carried on through local Metal Trades Councils. The local policy is to negotiate agreements with employers through the representatives of the local Metal Trades Council, such agreements covering all of the members whose local unions are affiliated with the Council and in the firm's employ.

It is the well-established policy of the Department to federate local Metal Trades Councils into District Councils, so that through large areas a systematic effort can be made to carry on organizing, and establish terms of employment and conditions of labor through agreements with employers, which will place employers in the territory covered by the District Council on an equal competitive basis so far as wages and hours of labor are concerned.

Since the Department's convention, held in Denver, September 1937, two such District Councils have been organized: one on the Pacific Coast, the membership of which is composed of local Metal Trades Councils from Vancouver, B. C., to Los Angeles, Calif.; another District Council has been organized for the Gulf of Mexico District which includes in its membership local Metal Trades Councils from Florida to the Mexican border.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

Continued progress is being made by the Railway Employees' Department and its affiliated international organizations in organizing railroad workers. A

Federal Unemployment Insurance Law has been enacted for railroad workers which has the same coverage as the Railroad Retirement Act enacted last year. It will become effective on July 1, 1939, and is a considerable improvement over the state laws enacted under the provisions of the Social Security Act inasmuch as it is more liberal and better adapted to the interstate character of railroad employment. Thus, substantial gains have been made. With the temporary recession in business, however, the railroad managements on practically every railroad in the United States served notice for a fifteen per cent reduction in wages on May 12, 1938, which is being vigorously resisted by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations. They should be supported by organized labor as a whole in order to prevent a general deflation of wages.

Progress of Organization—The Railway Employees' Department of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated international organizations have continued to wage an intensive organizing campaign in the railroad industry during the past year. Representation has been established and new agreements have been negotiated on a number of additional roads, and on the few roads where representation has not as yet been established, a full staff of organizers are actively engaged. Since 1933, when the present organizing campaign was first begun, representation has been established on a total of one hundred and forty-two roads, and to date agreements have been negotiated on a total of one hundred and twenty-six roads. Of these, one hundred are new agreements which have been negotiated and only twenty-six roads remain on which the existing agreement has been taken over temporarily. As rapidly as representatives can be assigned, new agreements are being negotiated, and this tremendous task is now nearing completion. The phenomenal success which the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations have had in organizing railroad workers may be attributed largely to the effective manner in which they have represented their membership. Won over by the results which these organizations have achieved, the employees have repudiated the company unions, which have all but disappeared from the railroad scene, and before long will become extinct.

Employment and Compensation—During the year 1937, employment and compensation in the railroad industry were the highest since 1931, but in the early months of 1938 declined rapidly to the lowest point in many years.

According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the average number of employees in Class I Steam Railroads in the United States (excluding Switching and Terminal Companies) increased from 1,065,624 in 1936 to 1,115,077 in 1937 or 4.6 per cent, while their total compensation increased from \$1,848,635,804 to \$1,985,323,363 or 7.4 per cent. During the first five months of 1938, for which figures are available, the average number of employees declined to 929,008 or 16.4 per cent below the 1,111,375 employees reported for the first five months of 1937, while total compensation declined from \$809,771,681 during the first five months of 1937 to \$711,121,861 during the same period in 1938 or 12.2 per cent. In May, 1938, railroad employment reached 905,573, which is the lowest number of employees reported since 1898. The larger increase in compensation

during the year 1937 and the smaller decline in 1938 reflects the increase in wages which was put into effect on August 1, 1937.

Employment in the Maintenance of Equipment Departments increased from 296,419 in 1936 to 311,142 in 1937 or 5.0 per cent, while total compensation increased from \$470,947,676 to \$510,728,215 or 8.5 per cent during the same period. During the first five months of 1938 the average number of employees in the Mechanical Department declined to 240,445 or 24.7 per cent under the 319,276 employees reported for the first five months of 1937, while the compensation paid to these employees decreased 23.5 per cent from \$213,261,838 during the first five months of 1937 to \$163,202,983 during the same period in 1938. The retrenchment policy adopted by the carriers during the first months of 1938 is particularly evident among the maintenance forces.

Railroad traffic, as indicated by weekly car loadings compiled by the Car Service Division of the Association of American Railroads showed a marked improvement during the year 1937 as compared with the several preceding years. During the first few months of 1938 they dropped somewhat, but have shown an improvement in recent months, and it is estimated that by the end of the year may approach the level of 1937.

Freight car loadings increased from 30,062,675 in 1936 to 37,992,928 in 1937 or 26.4 per cent. During the first thirty weeks of 1938, car loadings totaled 16,503,200 cars, as compared to 22,032,078 cars for the same period in 1937. For the week ended July 16, 1938, car loadings exceeded 600,000 cars, the peak for the year.

Improved business in 1937 created a demand for rolling stock, which accounts for the increase in maintenance forces noted above, and resulted in greatly improving the bad order situation. During the early months of 1938, however, the bad order situation again became worse, due to the reduction in maintenance forces. According to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission the per cent of road freight locomotives unserviceable of the total at the close of May, 1936 was 31.9 declining to 25.5 per cent in May, 1937, and increasing to 29.8 per cent in May, 1938. The percentage of road passenger locomotives, likewise, declined from 24.0 per cent in May, 1936 to 20.2 per cent in May, 1937, and increased to 22.9 per cent in 1938. The percentage of freight cars unserviceable of the total on line also decreased from 13.5 at the close of May, 1936, to 10.1 in May, 1937, and increased to 11.9 at the close of May, 1938.

Maintenance of equipment expenses increased from \$782,805,609 in 1936 to \$826,710,534 in 1937 or 5.6 per cent. During the first five months of 1938 maintenance of equipment expenses were \$278,907,822 or 20.0 per cent under the expenses totaling \$348,258,995, for the same period of 1937.

Although employment and compensation suffered a set-back during the early months of 1938, railroad traffic has been improving, and from all indications should continue to improve and provide added employment for railroad workers.

Railroad Wages--During the temporary recession in business, the railroad managements on substantially all of the railroads in the United States formally served notice on their employees on May 12, 1938, of their "intention to reduce, on July 1, present basic rates of pay by 15 per cent." This move on the part of the

railroad managements to reduce wages comes close on the heels of the national agreements entered into last fall providing for an increase in wages of approximately five cents an hour.

Indications of a wage cut first became apparent early in March when it was reported in the press that a representative group of railroad presidents would meet in Chicago on March 18 to consider the advisability of inaugurating a movement to reduce the wages of railroad employees. Upon hearing this, President Roosevelt expressed his opposition to a wage reduction. At a press conference held on March 15, he said wage reductions were inadvisable.

The member roads of the Association of American Railroads met in Chicago on March 18 and decided to request a conference with the labor organizations for the purpose of discussing the problems of the industry and particularly the situation created by the decision rendered by the Interstate Commerce Commission in the freight rates case, *Ex Parte 123*.

Joint conferences were held between a committee appointed by the carriers and the Railway Labor Executives' Association in an effort to obtain certain legislation which would improve the financial and general condition of the railroads. It was understood by the Association that no action would be taken by the carriers with respect to inaugurating a wage reduction movement while the joint conferences were in progress, and that a movement to reduce wages would not be undertaken if the desired legislative relief could be obtained.

Proposals which were submitted by both groups were first discussed. Meanwhile a committee composed of Commissioners Splawn, Eastman and McHaffie of the Interstate Commerce Commission, submitted a report to President Roosevelt on the railroad problem, and on April 4, 1938, the joint committee conferred with the President on this report and the proposals which they had advanced.

While the President listened attentively to the joint views of the carriers and the employees, which included the suggestion that the government guarantee to the railroads for a period of three years a certain amount of net operating income based on some fair test period, with the qualification that during these three years the railroads should expend for maintenance not more than the maximum amount which each carrier expended during the same test period, with due regard to changes in prices or materials and the cost of labor, he indicated very definitely that he was opposed to any form of subsidy being given to the railroads by the government. The President did state, however, that he hoped the railroads would not resort to the curtailment of operating costs by reducing wages as he feared the effect of any such movement on the entire country. The President indicated that he would perhaps make no recommendations to Congress but might transmit the report which he had received from the three Commissioners, together with such criticisms, comment and recommendations as he had received from other members of the committee, and permit Congress to take such action as it believed the situation warranted.

Following this conference, it was understood that nothing further would be done by the carriers in connection with their proposed wage reduction movement pending transmission of the President's message to Congress covering the railroad situation. Further conferences were held jointly, and with Senator Burton K.

Wheeler and Chairman Jesse Jones of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation from whom a favorable reaction was obtained on the legislative program. Sufficient progress had been made to warrant the conclusion that aid for the railroads through legislative enactment was practically assured.

Without advising the Railway Labor Organizations of their intentions, the Board of Directors of the Association of American Railroads met in Chicago on April 28th and recommended that a movement be inaugurated for a fifteen per cent reduction in wages. The member roads of the Association of American Railroads met the following day and adopted the recommendation.

The action of the carriers was immediately denounced by senators and congressmen, who indicated that no aid would be forthcoming from Congress if the railroads persisted in their efforts to secure a wage reduction.

At an informal meeting held on May 3, 1938, President Pelley of the Association of American Railroads, advised the Railway Labor Executives' Association that the handling of the wage case had been turned over to a committee of which Mr. H. A. Enochs was Chairman and that formal notices under the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, for a fifteen per cent reduction in wages, effective July 1, 1938, would be served not later than May 14th. The question of securing legislation for the railroads was also a subject of discussion and Mr. Pelley was advised that since the railroads had decided to launch a movement to cut wages, no further cooperation would be forthcoming from the employees in an effort to secure such legislation, which was ultimately abandoned by Congress.

As the result of the notices served by the Carriers on May 12, 1938, conferences were held with their local committees in accordance with the Railway Labor Act. At the request of the managements, agreement was reached on practically all of the carriers to refer the matter to national committees for further handling.

Negotiations between the Carriers' Joint Conference Committee and the Railway Labor Executives' Association were begun in Chicago on July 29, and continued with brief recesses until August 4, 1938, when they were concluded because no agreement could be reached. The carriers immediately invoked the services of the National Mediation Board, and the employees were advised that mediation proceedings would begin on August 11, 1938.

The request of the carriers for a reduction in wages was not only made in bad faith in view of the cooperation extended by the Railway Labor Organizations and the progress which had been made toward securing aid for the railways through legislation, but a reduction in the already too low wages of railroad employees is positively unjustified. At no time during the conferences were the wages of railroad employees said to be too high. It was established, however, that the railroads were heavily burdened with a huge debt structure and excessive interest and fixed charges, brought about by unwise development of railroad plant and the financial abuses in which the carriers or rather their absentee owners have indulged in the past. This and the reduction in traffic caused by the temporary recession in business were shown to have been the cause of their difficulties. It

was pointed out that the bond and stock holders, who have taken the most out of the industry, rather than the employes, should make their contribution toward the solution of the railroads' difficulties. With the improvement which is now taking place in business conditions, any shadow of a justification for a wage reduction vanishes completely.

Canadian Railroad Wages—In accordance with the agreement signed on March 29, 1937, providing for the progressive restoration of the ten per cent deduction which was then in effect, the basic rates of Canadian railroad workers were fully restored on April 1, 1938, to what they were prior to the depression. No effort has been made to reduce wages inasmuch as the Canadian employes did not participate in the wage increase granted to railroad employes in the United States last fall.

Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act—The Standard Railroad Labor Organizations were successful during the third session of the 75th Congress, in securing the enactment of a National Unemployment Insurance Law for the railroad industry, which was deemed desirable because of the interstate character of railroad employment. The law was passed in record time without a dissenting vote, and is a vast improvement over the state laws which it displaces.

Following the enactment of the Social Security Act, the various states passed unemployment insurance laws, but because of the differences in their provisions, they have been difficult of application to railroad employes, who very frequently are required to cross state lines in the performance of their duties for the railroads. A great deal of study was given to this problem by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, and an effort was made to negotiate with the railroads and agree on a bill to be submitted jointly to Congress as was done in the case of the Railroad Retirement Act. While disposed to favor such a bill during preliminary discussions, the railroads refused to go along, making it necessary for the organizations to pursue the enactment of such a law alone and over their opposition.

Although the Congress was nearing the end of its session, a bill was introduced in the Senate (S. 3772) and in the House (H. R. 10127) at the request of the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations. Hearings before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce began on May 26 and continued until June 3, 1938. Hearings before the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce began on June 3 and ended on June 9, 1938. The bill was reported out favorably by the House Committee on June 9 and by the Senate Committee on June 13, 1938. The measure was passed unanimously by the House of Representatives on June 13 and by the Senate on June 15 and it was signed by the President on June 25, 1938. Thus a year of vigorous and continuous effort given over to drawing up and securing the enactment of a Federal law establishing a National Unemployment Insurance System for railroad workers was ended with one of the fastest enactments of a major piece of legislation ever attempted by Congress. This is a glowing tribute to the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations, who sponsored this measure, which is perhaps the most advanced and comprehensive unemployment insurance program ever enacted into law.

Opposition was encountered from the railroad management representatives who appeared at the hearings and testified at length against the measure. They did not deny that a separate Federal unemployment insurance system might be necessary in the future, but contended that insufficient experience was had under the state laws to work out an effective plan for railroad workers—the argument always used by the railroads when any social legislation is proposed.

The real reasons underlying the railroad opposition were (1) the hope and belief that the whole social security program will ultimately break down; the carriers not caring to be left under a separate, sound unemployment insurance system under which they would have to continue to pay a tax; (2) the fear that the states may, directly or indirectly, continue to tax the railroads for the support of the general unemployment insurance projects.

Not wishing to admit these real reasons publicly, the railroads based their opposition chiefly upon the ground that the schedule of benefits was too liberal and the merit-rating principle (included in most of the state laws) was disregarded in the proposed legislation. The merit-rating principle, it might be added, was lobbied through most of the state legislatures by employers to save the employers money and is not in the best interests of the unemployed worker.

The Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, unlike most of the state laws, is simpler and far more easily administered. Moreover, it represents a saving to the carriers of several million dollars a year because of decreased taxes and decreased costs of social security reporting and accounting.

Because of the interest which has been displayed in this law, a summary of its provisions is given herewith.

The coverage of the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is identically the same as that of the Railroad Retirement Act. All employees who now pay a tax under the Retirement Act are covered by the Unemployment Insurance Act.

Railroad and express employees after June 30, 1939, will be covered by the Railroad Act and will not as a general rule be entitled to draw unemployment compensation benefits under the state laws. Unemployed railroad workers qualifying will receive such benefits from the Railroad Retirement Board.

The employee pays no tax at all under the Act. Railroad employees in California, Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Rhode Island will be freed of paying the taxes now provided by their respective state laws.

The act specifically makes it unlawful for any employer to require or permit any employee to bear any portion of all the tax provided. (Sec. 9-b.)

The carriers pay the same tax (3 per cent of total payroll) which they now pay under Title IX of the Social Security Act, except that they will not pay any tax on compensation in excess of \$300 per month.

The contributions provided will be collected by the Railroad Retirement Board itself and not by the Bureau of Internal Revenue, as is the case under the Retirement Act. Differences of interpretation, therefore, will be avoided, especially with respect to the coverage of the legislation which has been encountered under the operation of the Retirement Acts.

It is particularly fortunate for the employees that this arrangement was

secured, inasmuch as the Treasury Department failed in its effort to kill the legislation (which will be recalled was true also in connection with the enactment of the Retirement Acts).

To be eligible for benefits an unemployed worker must have earned at least \$150 during the last calendar year if he applies for benefits after July 1 of any year; or during the next to the last calendar year if before July 1. The Retirement Board cannot have the necessary records available for any calendar year until after July 1 following.

About July 1 of each year the Board will provide each railroad employe a statement of his earnings during the preceding calendar year, and all employes will be advised in such statement of the amount of benefits to which they would be entitled should they become unemployed.

There are certain disqualifications which will apply in very few cases, such as voluntary quitting without good cause, discharge for misconduct, making fraudulent claims for benefits, refusal to accept suitable work, illegal strikes, etc. (Sec. 4.)

To qualify an employe must also serve a waiting period of fifteen consecutive days of total unemployment or two such half-month periods in each of which he was unemployed at least eight days and did not receive any benefits. This waiting period must be within six months preceding the application for benefits.

If the employe has earned as much as \$150 during his base year and has served his waiting period and has not disqualified himself, he becomes eligible for benefits on the following scale:

Total Compensation in Base Year	Daily Benefit Amount	Max. Amt. of Benefits Payable in Any Benefit Year
\$150.00 to \$199.99	\$1.75	\$140
200.00 to 474.99	2.00	160
475.00 to 749.99	2.25	180
750.00 to 1,024.99	2.50	200
1,025.00 to 1,299.99	2.75	220
1,300.00 and over	3.00	240

This schedule works out as follows: Let us assume a worker earns \$1,000 this year (1938) and he becomes unemployed next June 1. He can serve his waiting period any time during the six months prior to July 1, but must be unemployed after July 1 to draw benefits. The law goes into effect July 1. This worker is totally unemployed during June, 1939, so he served his waiting period then. On July 16 he applies for benefits. The Retirement Board has a record of his total earnings during 1938 (this is his base year because he applies after July 1. If he had applied on June 15 his base year would have been 1937), checks those and finds he earned \$1,000. That employe, therefore, is eligible to receive \$2.50 a day in benefits, under the scale of benefits listed above.

He will receive the \$2.50 for each day he is unemployed during any half month in excess of seven days. Let us assume that this employe continues to be unemployed during July, 1939. He was totally unemployed from July 1 to July 15. On July 16 as indicated he files an application with the Board. The

Board's examiner checks his record and finds that the employee did not work any time from July 1 to July 15. The examiner checks off the first seven days and finds the employee was totally unemployed eight more days during that half month, so the employee is entitled to receive $8 \times \$2.50$ or \$20.00 for that half month period. If he continues to be unemployed he will receive \$20.00 for each half-month period until he has received 80 times his daily benefits or, in this case, \$200.

This employee's benefit year would begin July 1, 1939, and would end July 1, 1940. As has been shown above, however, he would stop drawing benefits as of November 27, inasmuch as he would have received a maximum of \$200 as of that date. He could not draw any other benefits prior to July 1, 1940, and to qualify then he would need have earned at least \$150 during 1939, his next base year.

It was assumed the employee worked from January to June, 1939. Let us say he earned \$800 during that time.

On July 15, 1940, he makes his second application to the Board. The Board's examiner checks his earnings for 1939, the last calendar year, finds that he earned \$800 and that he was totally unemployed 15 consecutive days during the six months preceding the beginning of his new benefit year, thus having served his waiting period. The employee is, therefore, eligible again, this time for \$2.50 a day. (See \$750.00-\$1,024.99 Bracket.)

He continues to be totally unemployed during July, 1940. When the application is filed on July 16, the examiner checks off the first seven days and finds the employee is entitled to eight days benefit for the period July 1-July 15 inclusive. If the employee should continue to be totally unemployed during August, September, October and November, he would draw benefits as during the former year until he drew a maximum of \$200, which would be on November 27, 1940.

If a railroad employee will have started to draw benefits under a state law between July 1, 1938, and June 30, 1939, and becomes ineligible because of the Federal Railroad Unemployment Insurance Law to continue to draw benefits under the state law after July 1, 1939, the employee will draw benefits under the Federal law, if eligible, until he has drawn, including the amounts received under the state law, the maximum payable to him under the Federal law.

In this case the employee's benefit year would begin on the first day with respect to which benefits were received by him under the state law.

If a railroad employee is not qualified as of July 1, 1939, under the Federal law and at the same time is made ineligible to continue to receive benefits under the state law he becomes eligible to draw the minimum rate under the Federal law until he has drawn the balance to which he would have been entitled under the state law.

Railroad employees have been advised to make application for benefits to which they may be entitled under the state laws. This will in no way affect their eligibility under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act when it becomes operative July 1, 1939.

The benefits received under the Act will be substantially more liberal than those payable under the state laws.

The following comparison which was submitted by the railroads at the hearings before the committees of Congress gives some idea of the benefits payable under the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, as compared with those payable under the state laws.

Total Compensation in Base Year I	Daily Benefit II	Maximum Benefit in 1 yr. under HR. 10127 III	Maximum benefits in 1 year under typical State law IV	Per cent III is of I V	Per cent IV is of I VI
\$150 to \$199.99	\$1.75	\$140	\$25.00 to \$33.33	93.3-70.0	16.7
200 to 474.99	2.00	160	33.33 to 79.17	80.0-33.7	16.7
475 to 749.99	2.25	180	79.17 to 125.00	37.9-24.0	16.7
750 to 1,024.99	2.50	200	125.00 to 170.83	26.7-19.5	16.7
1,025 to 1,299.99	2.75	220	170.83 to 216.67	21.5-16.9	16.7
1,300 and over	3.00	240	216.67 to 240.00	*18.5	*16.7
*And down.					

Special provision is made for part-time workers. (Sec. 1 (f) and Sec. 2 (d).) The definition of part-time workers includes such employes as payroll clerks who come in and work only a few days a month; station caretakers and attendants; etc., which employes are not continuously subject to call. It does not include workers like freight handlers and express employes who work regularly short hours, but who are continuously subject to call. These are considered regular workers, and qualify on the same basis as full-time employes depending upon their earnings in their base year.

Assuming that an employe is eligible he may draw benefits, as pointed out, for each day of unemployment in any two-week period.

The employe must be able to work on such day and be available for work and must not receive any other remuneration (defined Sec. 1 (j)) from any source. The unemployed worker will be required to register. If he is sick on a given day or otherwise unable to register, he cannot draw benefits for that day, because he would not be available for work which the employment agency might have found for him. There will probably be few such cases. An effort was made to work out some arrangement to take care of unemployed workers who might happen to be sick, but it was found that the task of checking upon all such cases would so increase the cost of the plan that it would be prohibitive. In due course it may be possible to work out an amendment to cover this matter, or better still to secure the enactment of health insurance legislation which is greatly needed. Saturdays, Sundays and holidays are counted as days of unemployment.

Reference has been made above to certain conditions which disqualify workers for benefits. These disqualifications are discussed below briefly.

If an employe leaves his work without good cause he becomes ineligible to draw benefits for thirty days beginning with the day when he so left his work.

This time, however, may be counted as a waiting period. If at the end of the thirty days he is unemployed and eligible he may then start drawing benefits, and draw the maximum to which he is entitled.

If an employee is discharged or suspended for misconduct, relating to his work he is disqualified for forty-five days, but the time may be counted in the waiting period. If the employee is reinstated at a later date and should receive back pay he would draw no benefits for such days. If reinstated without back pay, and the Board found no discharge without misconduct, he would be entitled to draw benefits for such days as he was eligible.

If the employee fails to accept suitable work (defined Sec. 4-c) offered him, he is disqualified for thirty days. The work must be offered by the employment agencies and must be "suitable", as defined.

Rules, of course, will be worked out by the Board in connection with all of these disqualifications.

If the employee is called upon by the employment office to report for suitable work and was able to work, but not available, he is disqualified for fifteen days. If he was sick and not able to work he would not be disqualified, but would lose benefits on the days on which he was sick.

Employees participating in illegal strikes, i.e., strikes commenced in violation of the Railway Labor Act, or in violation of the established rules and practices of a bona fide labor organization of which they are members, are ineligible to draw benefits for any day on which they are unemployed due to such a strike.

If an employee is not participating in, financing, or directly interested in an illegal strike, and is unemployed as a result of such a strike, he is not disqualified.

The payment of regular union dues is not to be considered financing or direct interest in a strike. . . . if the strike is a legal strike, i.e., is not contrary to the provisions of the Railway Labor Act and not in violation of established rules and practices of a bona fide labor organization of which the employees are members, all such employees may draw benefits on the basis of their eligibility as if unemployed due to lack of work.

Employees knowingly making, aiding in, making or causing to be made, any false or fraudulent statement or claim for the purpose of causing benefits to be paid, will be disqualified for seventy-five days. In addition any such employee may be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding one year or both. (Sec. 9 a.)

The railroad unemployment insurance program has been adopted to afford such assistance as is possible to the greatest number of unemployed railroad workers. The plan belongs to the railroad employees themselves, and no lenience should be asked for any unscrupulous and dishonest individuals who may try to advance their own selfish interests at the expense of employees who have a legitimate and lawful claim to benefits.

Employees who may be receiving compensation under the Washington Job Protection Agreement, the Railroad Retirement Acts, old-age benefits under the Social Security Act, or unemployment compensation benefits under a state law are disqualified while receiving such compensation. Back pay is to be counted

as wages. Special provision is made to insure that employes who receive back pay will not also receive benefits for that time. (Sec. 2-9.)

Workmen's Compensation and awards under the Federal Employers Liability Act are not included in remuneration. In other words, the employes in certain cases may receive such awards and at the same time receive unemployment benefits. Such cases, however, will likely be few, because the employe must be able and available for work to draw benefits.

As indicated above, if an unemployed worker is offered suitable work he must accept it. He will not be eligible for benefits if he does not do so. Suitable work is to be determined in the first instance by the employment agencies and the Board's examiners and in final analysis by the Board. Certain definite standards are established to control the Board and its agents in their findings.

No employe is required to accept employment which is available as a result of any strike, lockout or labor dispute. The Act does not sanction scabbing.

If the rates of pay, hours, or conditions of employment of work available are substantially less favorable to the unemployed worker than those prevailing for similar work in the locality, the work is not suitable and the employe may continue to draw benefits assuming he is eligible, if he refuses to accept the employment. The same is true if the compensation offered is less than the union wage rate for similar work. Such a provision was inserted to meet a situation which had already arisen under the state laws. The Wisconsin Unemployment Compensation Commission recently handed down a decision that an unemployed worker under the Wisconsin law could be forced to accept employment in a non-union shop at a rate lower than the union rate. This is another respect in which the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act is far superior to the state laws. It cannot be used by the railroads as a means of breaking down union wage scales.

An unemployed railroad worker cannot be deprived of benefits because he refused to accept suitable employment offered if, as a condition of such employment, he would be required to join a company union, or to resign from or refrain from joining any bona fide labor organization; or if acceptance of the work requires him to engage in activities in violation of law or which activities would subject him to expulsion from a bona fide labor organization of which he should be a member, because of such activities being in violation of reasonable requirements of the constitution, by-laws, or regulations of such union. (Sec. 2-c-IV.)

If the rules of an organization provide that members shall not cross picket lines maintained by members of another bona fide labor organization, refusal of employes to cross such line will not bar the worker from benefits.

These greatly needed protections to the worker and his union are found in very few unemployment insurance laws.

An unemployed worker may draw benefits if eligible, and refuse to accept work which would subject him to loss of substantial seniority rights under a bona fide collective bargaining agreement.

In passing upon suitable work, the Board is required to consider current practices recognized by management and Labor; the degree of risk involved to the employe's health, safety and morals; physical fitness and prior training; experience and prior earnings; his length of unemployment and prospects for

securing work in his customary occupation; and the distance of the available work from the employee's residence and from his most recent work.

When the benefit provisions of this law become effective on July 1, 1939, it will do much to relieve the distress of unemployed railroad workers.

UNION LABEL TRADES DEPARTMENT

The Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor has had a most successful year. In addition to increasing the usual activities for the promotion of the Union Label, Shop Card and Service Button, the Department held its first national exhibition of union label products and union services, known as the A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition.

The increased demand for the Union Label, Shop Card and Service Button is due to the volunteer work of the members of the national and international labor unions, state federations of labor, central labor unions, union label leagues, women's auxiliaries and various union label committees. The Union Label Trades Department takes this opportunity to thank the officials of these various branches of the American Federation of Labor and the editors of the Labor Press for their wholehearted support and intelligent cooperation in every plan to publicize the official emblems of labor unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The following list of the principal activities of the Department with a brief description of results obtained in each one will give the convention a general conception of the policy and aims of the Union Label Trades Department.

A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition—During the week May 16 to 21 (inclusive), the first A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition was held in Music Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio. The greatest result of union labor's exhibition was the splendid cooperation of unionized industries that obtained booth space to display union label products and demonstrate union services. The chief purpose of the Exhibition was to deliver to these unionized concerns the valuable union market which, including the members of labor unionists' families, consists of twenty-five million consumers with an annual purchasing power of over six billion dollars. Union label exhibitions also help to familiarize the union label conscious consumer with the brand and trade names used by firms recognizing the principle of collective bargaining with labor unions. In connection with the Exhibition, the Department printed the "1938 Union Label Catalogue-Directory" which contains listings of union firms.

The increased desire of various industries to display the union label gives evidence of the fact that Labor's great show had a stimulating effect in encouraging organization of labor unions. The psychological effect upon the consumers as a whole was very effective. The Department is planning to make the A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition an annual event.

Editorials—News Releases—Cartoons—The chief function of the Union Label Trades Department is to carry on an educational campaign for the promotion of

the Union Label, Shop Card and Button. Every channel of publicity has been utilized for this purpose by the Department.

News releases, editorials and cartoons have been issued to the labor weeklies, monthly labor journals and other publications. Liberal space has been contributed for their display by the labor press. Other weekly and daily papers as well as farm journals have carried union label advertising.

Mats of all union labels, shop cards and buttons have also been furnished to labor newspapers and central labor bodies for the purpose of display advertising.

Farmers' Agreement—It is estimated that over a million farmers have become interested and are now demanding the union label on their wearing apparel and other purchases. This has been accomplished by a reciprocal agreement through which members of labor unions buy farmers' union products wherever possible and in turn members of the farmers' unions buy union label goods and patronize union services.

New Union Labels, Shop Cards and Service Buttons—Six national and international labor unions have become affiliated with the Union Label Trades Department since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor. Their union labels will be added to the facsimiles of the other union labels, shop cards and service buttons, making a total of sixty-four. Mats of these insignia are mailed to the labor press and officials of labor unions upon request. They are also printed in the 1938 Union Label Catalogue-Directory and on the official poster of the Department.

Radio Broadcasts—One of the most resultful sources of publicity for the "trade marks" of American Labor is broadcasting. A general demand for union label products and union services has been created by the use of the radio. Coast-to-coast broadcasts on the networks of the National Broadcasting Company and the Columbia Broadcasting System have aroused unusual interest by the consuming public. In addition to nation-wide broadcasts, there are many local radio stations that have given time for a series of talks on the union label.

Union Label Leagues—There has been a healthy growth of Union Label Leagues, which include in their membership the women buyers for the families of union members.

The Union Label Leagues in conjunction with the central labor bodies in various cities have held Union Label Exhibits which have been very successful. Displays by all the merchants who sell union-made goods as well as the manufacturers of union-made products are exhibited. Local unions, the products of which bear the union label and the services of which are unionized, also have displays at these exhibits. Our Department encourages the formation of Union Label Leagues when possible.

Union Label Weeks—Among the various other activities carried on by the Union Label Trades Department are union label weeks in various cities throughout America. Several governors and mayors have issued proclamations declaring that a six-day period be set aside for the sole purpose of promoting union label

products and union services. In connection with the union label week, the Central Labor Unions, in cooperation with Union Label Leagues and Women's Auxiliaries, arrange for large parades, radio addresses, streamers on automobiles, newspaper and window display advertising of union label merchandise, and demonstrations of union services. Great interest is shown in these events and the results are proven by the many requests that our Department receives for union label literature.

American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor—The Union Label Trades Department, with the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, organized an international auxiliary to coordinate the women's auxiliaries of various unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and also the women's auxiliaries of the standard railway unions. Considerable progress has been made.

After two annual conferences the first annual convention of the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor was held in Cincinnati, on May 19, 20, 21, in conjunction with the A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exhibition. It was a successful gathering. The delegates demonstrated that they were enthusiastic over the possibilities of the new American Women's Auxiliary. It starts with a membership of two and one-half million which includes local auxiliaries and central or joint-council auxiliaries in many cities.

At last the women members of labor unionists' families play a vital part in obtaining higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions for American Labor. The wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, and friends of organized workers have, in collective buying, a weapon which is as effective as the collective bargaining of labor unions. Individually, each woman can do her part by spending union-earned money only for union label goods and services. But, collectively, the economic effect and psychological influence will be more powerfully felt if these women join their new organization—the American Federation of Women's Auxiliaries of Labor.

FREE FEDERATION OF THE WORKINGMEN OF PUERTO RICO

The Executive Council of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico, in line with the organization plan approved on November 19, 1936, has worked during this year with the same zeal and enthusiasm displayed last year. Activities were intensified and results have been highly gratifying, both in connection with city workers as well as rural laborers. The *Tres Años de Renovación y Vida* (Three Years of Rehabilitation and Progress) campaign has exerted a valuable influence in renewing the interest and enthusiasm of labor leaders and labor people in general, and has notably contributed to the defense and maintenance of the ideals, tactics and procedures of the American Federation of Labor and this Puerto Rican state branch.

Sugar Cane Collective Agreement—1938—One of the most important accomplishments recorded during the year under review has been the renewal and maintenance of the Island-wide collective agreement entered into between the

Association of Sugar Producers of Puerto Rico, representing forty-one sugar mills or centrals, and the Free Federation of Workingmen. This collective pact was signed for the first time in 1934. The improvements in the working conditions brought about by this agreement have been notable. Wage rates have been increased every year. The main features of the 1938 sugar cane agreement follow:

(a) Fixes a uniform wage increase of 10 per cent for all field workers, and 5 per cent for factory workers.

(b) Covers all sugar mills in the Island of Puerto Rico, including eight of them that did not enter into the 1937 agreement.

(c) Determines the issuing of credential cards, by the Insular Agricultural Adjustment Committee, to representatives of agricultural labor unions, authorizing and guaranteeing their intervention in the settlement of difficulties arising in the enforcement and interpretation of the agreement. The Agricultural Adjustment Committee is composed of two representatives of the Association of Sugar Producers and two of the Free Federation of Workingmen.

(d) Has reaffirmed the principle that all disputes and controversies between employers and workers in the sugar industry can be peaceably and conveniently settled by a committee with equal representation. Virtually complementary to the sugar collective agreement was U. S. Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace's Order Number 17 fixing the reasonable wages that should be paid by those employers who wished to avail themselves of the benefits of the National Sugar Act. About two months prior to the signing of the sugar cane collective agreement, a commission from the U. S. Department of Agriculture came to Puerto Rico for the purpose of holding several hearings and securing evidence in relation to reasonable wages that should be paid by our sugar industry. The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico attended these hearings together with representatives of the Agricultural and Factory Unions, and advocated the maintenance of the collective agreement as the most workable and effective means of fixing wage rates and governing the relations between employers and workers of our sugar industry. In these hearings the Free Federation's representatives frankly rejected all piece-work propositions, condemning this system of work as highly detrimental and unjust to the working people. The Executive Council of the Free Federation submitted a timely report to the San Juan Office of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration on the economic conditions of the sugar cane laborers. Copies of the 1934, 1935, 1936 and 1937 collective agreements were appended to that report. At the time when the Association of Sugar Producers and the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico had finished negotiating the 1938 sugar cane agreement, Secretary Wallace made public his Order Number 17 fixing the wage rates he deemed reasonable. These rates were practically the same as those fixed in the collective agreement. Order Number 17 provided a minimum daily wage of \$1, fixed a 10 per cent increase over previous rates, and contained other clauses in connection with housing facilities, medical care and so forth. The Free Federation received this Order with full satisfaction even though it had been issued after the 1938 collective agreement had been entered into. The Association of Sugar Producers apparently was satisfied with the Order. This was not the case, however, with the independent growers or *colonos*, who submitted a protest

against the Order to Secretary Wallace. These landowners had never been willing to enter into collective contracts, in spite of numerous invitations from the Free Federation of Workingmen and from the Association of Sugar Producers.

We are pleased to state that the 1938 sugar cane collective agreement has been remarkably beneficial to the workers, and has operated with full success throughout the whole period. This agreement covers nearly one hundred and fifty thousand workers. Puerto Rico is the only sugar-producing area in the world where wage rates and labor-employer relations in the sugar industry are fixed and governed by a collective agreement. Some one hundred and sixty agricultural labor unions and fifteen factory unions watch the fulfilment of this pact.

The Longshoremen Controversy—The collective bargain which in past years had governed the relations between the shipping companies and the longshore workers, represented by the Insular Council of Longshoremen's Unions of Puerto Rico, was substituted this year by an award made by a Committee of Arbitration, the members of which were appointed by the Governor of this Island. This committee was composed of the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, an Associate Justice of this same court and the Auditor of Puerto Rico. The extremely tolerant attitude of the longshoremen's unions, which permitted people not connected with the American Federation of Labor and friendly to the CIO to interfere in their affairs, was responsible for the occurrence of controversies and disputes, and for some time weakened the discipline among their people. On account of this situation the longshoremen's unions lost their opportunity to enter into an agreement directly with the steamship companies instead of submitting to the provisions of an award.

Negotiations for the 1938 contract had just been started in December 1937 when the tally clerks, the watchmen and other dock employees that never before had taken an active part in the affairs of the longshoremen went on strike—on January 3, 1938—demanding that their prevailing hourly wage of 35 cents be increased to \$1.00.

This movement was promoted by anti-American Federation of Labor agitators who, pretending to be friends of our organization, succeeded in creating a state of disorder among the workers. In sympathy with the tally clerks, the stevedores and other dock workers left their work, requesting that their hourly rates of 32 cents and 47 cents on regular cargo be lifted to 75 cents and \$1.12 respectively. The crews of the steamers cooperated with this movement by refusing to furnish steam for loading or unloading purposes. The controversy rapidly spread over all the ports of the Island.

The Executive Council of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico was not for a single moment unaware of the fact that under the wage matters involved in this conflict there was a hidden campaign directed by Continental emissaries and local agitators against the American Federation of Labor and the Free Federation, aimed at taking hold of the longshoremen unions of Puerto Rico. Fortunately, their harmful propaganda only won for them a negligible number of followers.

The Executive Council of the Free Federation repeatedly intervened to properly orientate our brothers on strike inasmuch as nineteen out of the twenty-one striking unions were affiliated with our organization. The Commissioner of Labor also intervened. The work performed by this Government official was really notable. He did his best and resorted to all possible legal means to bring about an adequate settlement of the conflict, without impairment to the personality of the working people. Resident Commissioner at Washington and President of the Free Federation of Workmen, Santiago Iglesias, who was well acquainted with the different aspects of the problem, also submitted several plans to the workers and urged peaceable settlement of the controversy.

An offer made by the employers to negotiate on a basis of 40 cents per regular hour and 60 cents per overtime hour was rejected by the strikers.

The situation became so serious after more than five weeks of dock strike that the Government decided to intervene.

Finally, on February 7, the workers signed an agreement by virtue of which the controversy was submitted to a board of arbitration. The next day they returned to work. On February 12 the Governor appointed the members of the board of arbitration, and after hearings wherein both parties submitted all the evidence available, an award was rendered—on May 26, 1938—fixing a wage rate of 45 cents per regular hour and 75 cents per overtime hour. Clause No. 2 of the award reads as follows:

The award to be made by this Board of Arbitration shall take the place and shall have the effect of a collective agreement between the stevedores and dock workers and the various steamship companies serving Puerto Rico, and shall govern the relations between the said companies and the said workers during the year from January 1 to December 31, 1938, to the same effect as if a voluntary collective agreement had been signed by them on January 1, 1938.

Clause No. 7 reads as follows:

The Board believes and decides that the determination as to the number of men that shall be placed at each hold, at each hatch and upon the dock should be left to the discretion and the control of the companies. It is a purely internal and administrative matter over which neither the Board nor the Union can exercise control.

Clause No. 13 states:

The time for commencing or stopping work must be left to the discretion and convenience of the companies.

Clause No. 17, in its main paragraphs, specifies:

Labor has no right to interfere with the management of the internal affairs of the steamship companies, nor to dictate how their business shall be run, nor *whom the employer shall employ, nor when.*

To decide upon any difference that might arise in the interpretation of said award the Board recommends that a Grievance Committee or Board of Inquiry be immediately organized and empowered to pass upon and decide any difference, the ruling of such committee to be final and binding.

To the date of this report the aforementioned committee has not as yet been appointed.

The award, though apparently a success, was not received with the gladness and enthusiasm that were generally expected.

After normal conditions had been reestablished the CIO agents continued fostering intrigues and disturbances, but this time they did not have any success at all, even though some of the results of their propaganda remained in a few unions.

The International Longshoremen Association—Continental CIO agents and the local enemies of the Free Federation of Workingmen displayed insistent efforts to alienate the Federation unions against the crews of the Waterman Line's ships, who had entered into an agreement with the American Federation of Labor. It was at this time when a Stevedores' and Dock Workers' Union was organized and affiliated with the International Longshoremen Association (ILA). Members of this newly created union proceeded to unload the Waterman Line's ships in order to live up to a collective contract signed by the American Federation of Labor. This was accomplished in spite of the fact that these I.L.A. workers were repeatedly threatened by CIO "stool pigeons."

Out of the total number of dock workers on this Island more than twenty-five hundred have joined the union affiliated with the International Longshoremen's Association since it was organized less than four months ago.

At the time of submitting this report almost all unions loyal to the Free Federation of Workingmen have applied for charters, from the International Longshoremen's Association.

The Executive Council of the Free Federation, complying with certain charges made by several stevedores' unions impugning the election of the new Insular Council of the Dock Workers' Unions, proceeded to suspend this Council indefinitely, and is frankly supporting the unionization of the dock workers within the International Longshoremen's Association.

Compulsory Arbitration—Taking advantage of the situation created in the dock controversy by some irresponsible persons, the reactionary forces in the Legislative Assembly of Puerto Rico introduced a bill to establish compulsory arbitration and making obligatory the awards made by an arbitration committee created thereby. This bill was consistently fought by the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico, through its loyal members occupying seats in our Legislature, through the press, through meetings and other means. The Insular Department of Labor was also against this proposed legislation. Fortunately for the working people, so many amendments were made to this bill that as finally enacted it is unimportant and harmless.

The Tobacco Stripping Industry—The 1937 collective agreement, for this industry, the provisions of which were included in our report for last year, was renewed in 1938 without any difficulty. Indications are that the wages in this industry will be improved by the new Wages and Hours Law of the U. S. Congress.

The Wages and Hours Law—The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico, following the policy of the American Federation of Labor, wired a petition

to the U. S. Congress in favor of the enactment of the Wages and Hours Bill without discrimination to Puerto Rico.

Employers of several Puerto Rican industries, specially the needlework trades, did much lobbying work at Washington to prevent the inclusion of Puerto Rico in said law, and, in case that the Island were included, to secure the establishment of wage differentials.

The Free Federation of Workingmen advocated the right of Puerto Rico's working population to receive the same treatment as the Continental workers, arguing that it was not wise for local employers to be prompt in availing themselves of the benefits of Federal rehabilitation legislation in favor of agriculture, business and industry while at the same time rejecting those measures apparently unfavorable to their interests.

When the Wages and Hours Bill became a law the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico felt as joyful as the Continental workers. Certain capitalist reactionary circles of this Island showed some discontent with Resident Commissioner Iglesias for not having exerted his official influence to omit Puerto Rico from the provisions of the new law, or, as an ultimate recourse, introduce certain amendments which would have been discriminatory against the toiling people of this Island. Honorable Santiago Iglesias, President of the Free Federation of Workingmen and founder of the organized labor movement of Puerto Rico, did nothing but maintain his loyalty to the principles which he has been defending and propagating for the last forty years. There is no doubt that the Wages and Hours Bill will be an effective means of ending the starvation wages and excessive hours in factories, shops and homes.

Organization Campaign—The Executive Council of the Free Federation of Workingmen reports with pride that, as a result of an Island-wide publicity and promotion campaign waged during this year through the radio, the press, assemblies, mass meetings and other means, 143 new unions, comprising different trades and occupations, have been chartered by our Federation during the year ending August, 1938. Added to our former total of 195 unions, they make a total of 338 affiliated bodies.

Nearly all of the townships of Puerto Rico were visited by the members of the Executive Council and other labor leaders who have been assisting us in the three-year Renovation and Life Campaign.

The 1938 Convention—The Executive Council has decided to hold the next insular convention of the Free Federation of Workingmen on November 11, 1938 (Armistice Day), in the city of San Juan, capital of Puerto Rico. By that time the American Federation of Labor will have held its 1938 convention and we shall therefore have the benefit of its proceedings. It is expected that this convention will be one of the most enthusiastic and eventful gatherings in the history of the Free Federation of Workingmen, as there are numerous social and economic problems that will demand the most careful attention from this general assembly.

The Puerto Rico Labor News—Labor conditions, wages, industrial relations and social legislation have been adequately made known to the public in general

during this year through a bi-lingual bi-monthly news organ that, under the name of *Puerto Rico Labor News*, is being issued by the Insular Department of Labor.

The Free Federation of Workingmen, as the leading and oldest organization representing the organized labor movement of this country, has been repeatedly mentioned in this official labor publication in connection with the signing of collective agreements, industrial controversies, labor laws and other matters and activities.

The *Puerto Rico Labor News* has been of considerable value to us as a source of statistical information relative to hours of labor, wages, living and working conditions, and so forth. Many a time we have given our assistance to its editors by furnishing them data on important labor events that have taken place in the past, membership of labor organizations, and activities of social interest carried out by our organization.

General Remarks—The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico was organized forty years ago and has evolved under the guidance and inspiration of the democratic institutions of America, particularly the American Federation of Labor, with which it is affiliated.

Our organization will continue with more spirit every day its struggle to improve the working and living conditions of the laboring masses of Puerto Rico. Neither the backward employers nor the enemies arising from labor ranks will succeed in their efforts to stop the Federation and its leaders in the fulfillment of their task. We consider the present a crucial moment for the working people. Any mistake or weakness in our struggle may regrettably hinder the great task to be accomplished by organized labor.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

On May 15, 1935, Senator Robert F. Wagner arose in the Senate and said of the National Labor Relations Act:

Anyone familiar with these laws will recognize at once that there is nothing in the pending bill which places the stamp of governmental favor upon any particular type of union.

Had the National Labor Relations Board construed and administered the Act in the spirit and on the basis of the foregoing declaration, we would not now have occasion to submit the following report. Instead of a report of justified criticism we would be submitting a report of unqualified approval of the Board and its administration.

It is with deep regret that frankness impels us to report to you that the National Labor Relations Board has administered the Act contrary to its letter, spirit and intent, with manifest bias and prejudice against the American Federation of Labor and in favor of dual and rival organizations. Our resentment has been aroused and your officers have publicly and officially in most vigorous terms condemned this unholy alliance between a government agency exercising quasi-judicial jurisdiction and the C.I.O.

Increasing importance which attaches to the actions of the National Labor Relations Board is evidenced by the fact that in the three years of its existence the Board has handled 16,500 cases involving almost 4,000,000 workers. As the work of the Board grew so did its tendency to go beyond the direct Congressional mandate and gradually to apply its decisions not to the questions of Labor's basic rights which the Wagner Act had been designed to protect, but to the problems of form and structure of the labor movement itself.

That a three-man board, composed of men with no direct labor experience, should undertake to shape the form and structure of our labor movement through decisions clothed with judicial authority, aroused among our unions a growing feeling of apprehension and indignation. Aware of its solemn responsibility to preserve and perpetuate the basic democratic principle of Labor's self-determination and self-government, the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor has united in its protest against this unwelcome intervention in Labor's internal problems by a Government bureau. The American Federation of Labor is aware that problems which have emerged and developed over a period of fifty or sixty years—problems with which Labor has struggled for several generations—cannot and should not be settled by snap judgments of outsiders no matter how well-intentioned or learned they may be.

It is with this invasion of Labor's democratic sovereignty that we have found fault and not with the principles and purposes which the Act embodies and which will always have our unyielding support.

The Board has exceeded its public purpose and has vitiated the procedure delineated in the Act in three respects:

First, in a large number of instances its agents have shown gross favoritism and bias in the handling of cases, furthering the objectives of one union against another and favoring one form of labor organization.

Second, by administrative fiat the Board has set aside legally valid and binding contracts entered into in good faith by bona fide unions and employers.

Third, through the arbitrary determination of appropriate units in cases dealing with the question concerning representation, the Board has sought to impose upon workers regardless of their wishes the type of organization it favored.

Before the United States Supreme Court on April 12, 1937, handed down the five epoch-making decisions, upholding the constitutionality of the National Labor Relations Act, the administration of the law by the National Labor Relations Board was on the whole, just and proper. Such errors as were committed, were the natural result of a newly constituted Government agency administering a newly created law. Since the decisions of the Supreme Court of April 12, 1937, the Board has abandoned whatever restraint it imposed upon itself prior to this date and has brazenly and by official acts declared itself as a proponent of the C.I.O. fostering its interests and by the effect of its decrees recruited membership for the C.I.O.

In the short period of time from April 12, 1937, to the date of the holding of the Denver Convention, the tendency on the part of some members of the Board to pervert the spirit and intent of the law became apparent. The American Federation of Labor, desiring to maintain the substantial benefits of the Act and

desiring to accord the Board the benefit of whatever doubt may have existed as to its apparent unfair attitude towards the American Federation of Labor, abstained from any official disapproval of the Board in the report of the Executive Council to the Denver Convention. The Executive Council however directed attention to the fact that the Board was overstepping the bounds of its proper functions and the Executive Council urged caution, as disclosed by the following statement in the Report:

The National Labor Relations Board is now taking jurisdiction under the decisions of the Supreme Court over a great portion of the vast industries of America. It possesses more power than does any other governmental board now in existence. The Board's task is important enough if it adheres to the original intention of the Act of preventing employers from interfering with employees in joining unions. This work could well occupy the entire time of the Board and its staff. The Board, however, is going beyond this function and letting itself be drawn into conflicts between unions when such entry by the Board is entirely improper and we believe unlawful. . . . The administration of the Act by the Board is becoming more and more important. Whether or not it will recognize the validity of union contracts where a question of representation has been raised, whether or not it will continue its hands-off policy with respect to intervention during a strike and whether or not it can continue to avoid the jurisdictional dispute between the Federation and the C.I.O. in the determination of units appropriate for collective bargaining remains to be seen. It is of the utmost importance to organized labor that the administration of the Act be in competent and conscientious and impartial hands.

Our suggestions for caution have gone unheeded. The administration of the Act has not been in competent and impartial hands. On the contrary, flagrant bias and prejudice exists on the part of the members of the Board as is evidenced by decisions which attempt to undermine and destroy American Federation of Labor unions.

A study of numerous cases discloses the following:

1—The Board has thwarted the intent of Congress in determining what shall constitute an appropriate unit for the purpose of collective bargaining.

2—The Board has by its decisions determined that craft unions or other labor unions of long standing and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have no right to free choice and self organization. The Board has assumed the power to make the determination of the proper unit contrary to the desires and wishes of craft groups or other recognized constituted unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

3—The assumption of power by the Board to disregard existing units of long standing and to substitute its own ideas and judgment of what shall constitute the proper unit has caused disintegration and in some cases virtual disestablishment of American Federation of Labor unions.

4—The pronouncements of the Board respecting the proper unit disclose the determination on the part of the Board to comply with the contentions and demands of the C.I.O. and to favor C.I.O. unions in an effort to destroy American Federation of Labor unions.

5—Great difficulty is experienced by many American Federation of Labor unions which are strong and clearly have a majority in a plant in getting the Board to order an election, when requests therefor are made by American Federation of Labor unions. By comparison, C.I.O. unions have secured rapid compliance with similar requests on their part.

6—American Federation of Labor unions have experienced great difficulty in obtaining decisions by the Board after elections have been held, and after hearings have been had. Many decisions have been held up for many months and in some cases for the purpose of affording C.I.O. unions an advantage through the delay.

7—Lawyers and personnel of the regional labor boards have personal relationships with C.I.O. officials and have frequently advised and guided them in pending controversies with American Federation of Labor unions.

8—The National Labor Relations Board has in many cases built up a straw-man by the use of the word "favoritism" by the employer, as a result of which, it has violated the sanctity of contractual obligations between employers and American Federation of Labor unions, has invalidated contracts and virtually disestablished existing American Federation of Labor unions.

9—The Board has instituted investigations and hearings at the request of small minorities of C.I.O. members for the purpose of assisting the C.I.O. in disrupting existing relations between the employers and American Federation of Labor unions.

Space will not permit a detailed recital of the number of cases and instances establishing the foregoing points. However, a few key cases are herein referred to.

First and foremost is the case of the Allis Chalmers Company, wherein Board member Edwin Smith dissented. He held that maintenance electricians and firemen and oilers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have not the right to vote as separate units and that the majority in these groups should be denied the right to select their bargaining agent. He held that all workers should be fused into one unit and an industrial organization set up. In discussing the majority opinion wherein the craft groups were accorded the right to select their bargaining agent he said: "By this pseudo-democratic method, a determination of the greatest consequence to the other employees in the plant is left in the hands of groups known to be hostile to industrial organization." Board members, Chairman Madden and Donald Wakefield Smith wrote the majority opinion which was contrary to the contentions of Board member Edwin Smith. Since then, however, Board member Edwin Smith has won over Board member Donald Wakefield Smith and these two wrote that portion of the opinion in the Serrick Corporation case dated July 27, 1938.

... Furthermore, for the purposes of this Act, and under the circumstances of the present case, the division of the respondent's employees by the International Association of Machinists into two locals for organizational purposes must be deemed artificial. Since the I. A. of M. sought to organize the tool room employees separately and at approximately the same time, solicited and carried on organizational activity among production employees and continued to do so up to the time of the hearing, in fact, its methods of organization must be regarded as an attempt to enroll all the respondent's production employees in direct competition with the United Automobile Workers, which was organizing on an industrial basis. Therefore, the I. A. of M. cannot be heard to maintain that the craft unit is appropriate.

The foregoing decision of Board members Edwin S. Smith and Donald Wakefield Smith elicited the following dissenting opinion from Chairman Madden:

I concur in the decision and in all of the opinion except that part ... beginning with the words "Furthermore, for the purposes of the act,"

and ending with the words "that the craft unit is appropriate." I think that this language is unnecessary for the decision of this case and that therefore no opinion should be expressed upon this subject.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the insidious attempt to destroy American Federation of Labor unions through the perversion of the unit provision in the National Labor Relations Act is definitely on its way to accomplishment by the Board unless strong and determined measures are taken by the American Federation of Labor to prevent it.

Precedent-making decisions have been handed down in which contracts between employers and American Federation of Labor unions have been invalidated. This has been accomplished by the Board by adopting a rule termed "favoritism" by the employer for the American Federation of Labor unions in the matter of organization. The Board has accomplished this by rulings in which it ascribed to employers acts of "favoritism" toward the American Federation of Labor unions in the matter of organization. The Board has applied these rulings in such a way that if a foreman or a minor supervisory employee who has no right to hire or fire but who is eligible to membership in the C.I.O. and A. F. of L. unions, makes, without authorization from any official of the employer, a statement favorable to the American Federation of Labor union of which the employee in question is a member, such statement is sufficient to invalidate contracts lawfully entered into between the employer and the A. F. of L. union. The following cases, which do not include all the cases on the subject, are proof of the foregoing charge:

Consolidated Edison Company
Serrick Corporation
National Motor Bearing Company
Zenite Metal Corporation
Carrollton Metal Products Company
National Electric Products Corporation
Electric Vacuum Cleaner Company.

It is interesting to note that in several instances, the United States Circuit Courts of Appeals have condemned this rule of the Board and failed to approve of it. Two such cases recently decided are the Ballston-Stillwater Knitting Co., Inc., decided in the month of August, 1938, by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second District (N. Y.), and Peninsular and Occidental Steamship Co., decided in the month of August, 1938, by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for New Orleans.

Based on reasoning similar to that used in the invalidation of contracts, the Board has set aside elections conducted under its auspices in which the American Federation of Labor unions were successful. These elections were set aside at the instance and request of the C.I.O. unions on the weakest of pretexts. The cases which support this charge are, among others, Carrollton Metal Products Company; Tennessee Copper Company; Johns-Manville Company (Cal.). When American Federation of Labor unions complained respecting outrageous conduct which would affect a C.I.O. favorable election—conduct amounting to bribery of voters—the Board has refused to grant even a hearing on the matter, much less

set aside the election. A case in support of this charge is Mobile-Alabama Dry Dock Company.

By virtue of its decisions the Board has, by implication at least, placed American Federation of Labor unions in the category of company unions and has caused to be visited upon American Federation of Labor unions the same punishment as has been visited upon company unions.

In the Consolidated Edison Company case involving the C.I.O. and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the I. B. E. W. had secured a contract recognizing it as the bargaining agency for its own members. The Board set aside the contract and used language which fails to conceal the finding that it looks upon the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers as a company union. This case was appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of New York. The Court held that there was no justifiable reason for invalidating this contract and authorized the company and the I. B. E. W. to immediately enter into new contracts upon the same terms and conditions as those which were invalidated by the Board.

The Board has abused its powers in determining limitations of the bargaining unit. Bit by bit the Board has assumed extraordinary powers in determining the unit for bargaining. It reached its culmination in the so-called Pacific Coast Longshoremen's case. The Board held all the employers of the Pacific Coast ports and all employees of the Pacific Coast ports to constitute a single unit for bargaining. Thus the city of Tacoma has an overwhelming majority of employees who are members of the American Federation of Labor. Yet the Board has held that the C.I.O. will bargain for all the employees of Tacoma including the American Federation of Labor majority because of the claimed majority by the C.I.O. of the entire coast. Here the Board effectively disestablishes the American Federation of Labor union, because a union which cannot bargain for its members cannot function.

This ruling is a product of the philosophy of Edwin S. Smith and Donald Wakefield Smith to foster industrial unions to the detriment of American Federation of Labor unions. This case is a precedent for combining all steel, automobile, and unions in similar large industries and all the employers in these respective industries as one unit, so as to effectively throttle and destroy individual American Federation of Labor unions because the number of members in the aggregate in the American Federation of Labor unions in these industries may be less than the aggregate members in the C.I.O. unions.

The Board has refused to respect strike settlements effected by the Department of Labor or by courts on the basis that an election would be held to determine the bargaining representative when it felt that American Federation of Labor unions were likely to win the election.

We mention the cases of the Mt. Vernon Car Manufacturing Company of Mt. Vernon, Illinois, the Serrick Corporation of Muncie, Indiana, and the Consumers Power Company of Michigan in support of this contention.

In these cases strikes were called off on the basis that an election would be held. In the Mt. Vernon case over a year has elapsed and no election has been held. On the contrary, a prolonged hearing was conducted, which cost the

American Federation of Labor many thousands of dollars and no decision has been rendered to date. In the Serrick Company case a decision was withheld for a year and then instead of respecting the settlement and holding an election, the Board certified the C.I.O. union without election. In the Consumers' Power case, which involves a utility, there have been threats of closing down the power plant. Governor Murphy interceded and secured a promise from the Board that it would hold an election within sixty days. At the behest of the C.I.O. the Board has not held an election to date, which is far beyond the 60-day period. When the delay became intolerable and a strike was imminent, it proceeded to hold a hearing in order to give the C.I.O. the advantage of further delay.

There are a number of cases in which the C.I.O. unions have filed objections for certification as bargaining representative. When it was apparent to the C.I.O. that it would lose the election the Board has permitted charges of so-called unfair labor practices to be filed against the employer. This was done for the purpose of preventing the election which it was certain would result unsuccessfully for the C.I.O. It is apparent to us and to any impartial individual inquiring into these cases that the Board and the C.I.O. have conspired to delay the elections at the behest and for the benefit of the C.I.O.

The latest instance of this kind is the case brought by the C.I.O. against Chicago newspaper publishers. After a prolonged hearing the case was set for argument. The C.I.O. realizing it would lose an election, filed a charge of unfair labor practices. In fact an old complaint was resurrected and the arguments were called off by the Board.

There are many other cases and instances establishing other activities of the Board which are detrimental to the interests of the American Federation of Labor and which evince partiality and bias in favor of the C.I.O. The proof is strong and overwhelming.

Realizing that the maladministration of the Act is the responsibility of the present personnel of the Board, the Executive Council made known to the President of the United States its opposition to the reappointment of Donald Wakefield Smith. The President has re-appointed him. However, such reappointment does not lessen the justification for opposition by the American Federation of Labor and it will continue to oppose those members of the Board who fail to act impartially and without prejudice.

The Executive Council has given much attention to the subject of the revision of the Wagner Act. The basic rights guaranteed by the Act, such as self-organization, collective bargaining and bona-fide restraints upon employers against interfering with these rights, are sound and ought to be preserved. However, proper amendments are necessary to curtail the unlawful assumption of broad powers by the Board, also to curtail unlimited discretion in construing and administering the Act, and to make specific the jurisdictional limits of the Board. The manner and method of holding elections should be specifically provided for as well as the time in which such elections shall be held. Amendments will be necessary in respect to rights of review and appeal of decisions of the Board and that such right of review shall be accorded unions aggrieved of decisions in representation cases which is not now provided for in the Act.

More specifically, amendments will be required to limit the Board's power to invalidate union and employer contracts and to limit the power of the Board in determining the proper unit for the purpose of collective bargaining.

In connection with amendments it must be remembered that the Act does not accomplish to the degree intended the outlawing of company unions. There must be included in the revisions and amendments of the Act definite and more specific provisions in respect to the abolition of company unions.

SOCIAL SECURITY

The administration of the Social Security Act now enters its fourth year. With the signing of this Act on August 15, 1935, a very complicated piece of administrative machinery went into effect. Its provisions were understood by very few persons and the implications of those provisions by still fewer. The Act made a wide variety of appropriations for groups without opportunity to earn regular incomes. Part of these appropriations are of the nature of relief and part of the nature of insurance. Those which come under the relief category are old age pensions for the needy; grants for dependent children, for maternal and child welfare; grants for aid to blind; those under the insurance category are unemployment compensation and old age benefits. In addition, grants for administrative expenses are made to the U. S. Public Health Service and the Office of Education and for state unemployment compensation.

Up to July 31, 1938, taxes collected under Title VIII (Old age benefits) totalled \$737,526,539, paid by 38,265,000 employees and 1,757,000 employers. Benefit payments from the Old Age Reserve account amounted to \$6,210,545. Interest on the Reserve totalled \$17,674,043. The Reserve account stood at \$1,136,463,498.

Under Title IX (unemployment compensation) on July 31, the states had deposited into the Unemployment Trust Fund \$1,003,707,194 from which \$227,945,000 had been withdrawn between February 1, 1936, and July 3, 1938. The balance of the fund was \$883,763,009.

The following amounts have been allotted states under the Social Security Act:

for old age assistance.....	\$350,590,010
“ aid to dependent children.....	45,819,189
“ “ to needy blind.....	11,528,663
“ maternal and child health.....	8,538,383
“ aid to crippled children.....	5,715,952
“ other child welfare.....	2,735,562
“ public health.....	19,275,077
“ administering state unemployment compensation law...	60,001,347

The enactment of the Social Security Act was undoubtedly one of the greatest social achievements in the history of this country. The provisions of the Act lessen the fear and insecurity of millions of families but they by no means usher in Utopia or undermine the initiative or self-dependence of workers. Establishment of provisions for social security as a public policy gives a foundation upon which to mold provisions providing the kind of security we want. Experience of three years indicates the need for a number of changes: first, separate the

functions and services of an insurance nature from those providing public assistance, and placed under separate administration. The former, which involves rights of workers, should be under the Department of Labor. The latter should be included in our program for public welfare which should be a permanent service of the Federal Government. It is neither intelligent nor economical to leave relief to emergency planning, a regularly recurring and urgent need which we know no way to escape.

However, our plans for any one type of emergency that undermines social security must be coordinated with the whole social security program. Benefits for those without jobs must be determined with full knowledge of relief provisions and must be made in the light of such social security provisions as aid for the aged, the chronic invalids, those temporarily incapacitated by illness. Where pensions or relief exist for those in need due to constantly recurring causes, the problem of emergency relief becomes much more simple.

Old Age Provisions—Labor believes that every person who leads a useful constructive life has a right to security after passing the prime of productive service. Old age with its accumulated wisdom and experience has an indispensable contribution to make to active generations and deserves the respect and consideration which can only follow economic independence. Labor, therefore, believes our goal should be incomes for all sixty years of age if income earning decline begins at that age and insurance for all at sixty-five.

At present we have two systems: old age pensions for the needy and benefits of an insurance nature for the self-supporting. The pension plan provides for Federal subsidies for state plans. The payments vary widely from state to state: in Alabama the average monthly payment was \$10.17; in Arkansas, \$9.12; in California, \$32.30; in Kentucky, \$9.36; in Mississippi, \$4.74; in New York, \$23.68; in Massachusetts, \$27.78; in Utah, \$25.37, etc. The total amount distributed to 1,686,209 persons in the month of May was \$32,477,009.

Under the Federal plan for old-age benefits of an insurance nature only lump sum payments are to be paid prior to 1942. That is, the equities of persons reaching sixty-five years of age or dying before 1942 will be in proportion to payment and not real insurance. According to existing plans contributions into the old age reserve are accumulating funds to pay future workers more adequate monthly payment.

In the meanwhile contributions are being paid into the Federal Old Age Reserves which on July 31 totalled \$737,526,539. This reserve is intended to increase for a number of years. Obviously it must have an effect upon our Federal financial policies. Workers question the wisdom of contributions from their small earnings to forestall borrowing by the Federal Government.

We believe that monthly payments should begin immediately instead of putting upon workers of today the burden of providing for those of future generations.

We believe that the coverage of old age benefits should be widened to include all employed persons including the self-employed.

We believe exemptions from payment of taxes should be repealed with

exception of services in the direct employ of the United States and state governments.

The use of a stamp system for collections would facilitate collections from isolated groups while the self-employed could include payments in income taxes.

During the past year the President of the American Federation of Labor has urged the Collector of Internal Revenue to implement that portion of the Bureau's regulations which requires: "At the time each payment of wages is made to an employee, his employer shall furnish a written statement to the employee showing the amount of employee's tax deducted from such wages." By specifying the form of such statement to be furnished employees the Collector would require a statement that would serve as evidence of rights in Old Age Benefits.

President Green pointed out that in making such deductions for the Federal Government for the benefit of his employees, each employer was serving a function which is essentially fiduciary—that of a trustee. The Collector of Revenue has so far refused to act, claiming that what constitutes evidence of claims is to be determined by the Social Security Board. However, it is quite possible for two government agencies to agree upon a plan of procedure. We should also consider the practicability of authorizing the Social Security Board to collect its own taxes as is the general practice of these countries.

The Social Security Board is now ready to give every person registered for old age benefits a statement of his or her credits for the year 1937. Errors or inaccuracies can thus be checked. It is important that every worker keep his own records of employers for whom he worked and wages received so that he may be in a position to check his record when available. When the Collector of Internal Revenue requires employers to supply employees with receipts for all taxes deducted from wage payments, the requirement will facilitate checking the annual record which the Social Security Board will make available.

Unemployment Compensation—Beginning with January 1938, twenty-two states joined Wisconsin in the payment of benefits to qualified unemployed persons. Wisconsin has been paying since July 1936. By January 1939 all of the states will be paying benefits except Illinois and Montana which will begin paying with July 1939.

Experience in those states that have been paying unemployment benefits demonstrates need for immediate amendments of the basic law.

First: We must have a national system of compensation for loss of work—work insurance. The workers of this country are employed by industries organized nationally or dependent on markets organized nationally which in turn flow into world markets and commerce. The causes of unemployment are not within an industry or a locality, but are national and international in scope. Our plans for security of workers should, therefore, cover the largest area possible in order to assure equity through uniformity, simplicity and economical administration. A state boundary means nothing in business organization and employment. Workers must follow jobs and the administration of their rights should be just as flexible.

The American Federation of Labor never approved or concurred in the principle of state tax credits with no control over state standards. By repealing provisions for tax credits for state tax payments the Federal tax would become the source of revenue. Ninety per cent of the tax should go into Unemployment Reserves to be allocated to the states; 10 per cent into the general fund for administrative expenses. The unemployment provision of a federal law should be inserted in Title IX. Existing state administrations should become units in administrative machinery under Federal law. The Federal unemployment provision should be based on the following principles:

(1) BENEFITS SHOULD NOT BE BASED ON WAGES PAID.

We have seen benefit payments break down because of the complications growing out of benefits based on wages. The desirable plan would be one benefit rate for all but existing conditions complicate this suggestion. We, therefore, recommend wage classifications with contributions and benefits fixed by classification. We suggest the following:

Class (a)	Those whose wages are \$ 1—\$10.99,	a weekly benefit rate of \$ 8.00
" (b)	" " " " " \$11—\$19.99,	" " " " " \$12.00
" (c)	" " " " " \$20—\$29.99,	" " " " " \$16.00
" (d)	" " " " " \$30, and over	" " " " " \$20.00

Upon the employment of workers the union representatives or the workers concerned shall determine with management the appropriate classification for contributions and benefits. Following changes in compensation classification shall be reopened.

(2) Coverage. Employers of one or more in all covered industries. Extension to additional industries as soon as efficiency is developed in present field.

(3) COLLECTION.

Stamp system of collection which would also provide receipts to workers.

(4) WAITING PERIOD.

Benefits shall be payable for each week of unemployment after the first week of continuous unemployment.

(5) DURATION OF BENEFITS.

Twenty weeks in benefit year. Additional benefits for workers who have not previously drawn upon their credits but who happen upon a long period of unemployment. We recommend the English formula:

Three weeks of additional benefits for every five weeks of contributions accruing during the previous five years against which no benefits are charged.

(6) LABOR DISPUTES.

Unemployment benefits should be payable in any labor dispute in which the workers agree to arbitration by a properly constituted authority and should be paid during the process of arbitration and withheld only in event the workers reject the decision of the arbitrators.

Disqualification for benefits because of other labor disputes should not be indefinite but should be paid after a fixed period of time in addition to the waiting period. Payment of wages during strike would involve regulations by the administering authority which should be avoided in the interests of Labor and the public.

(7) No system of merit rating, reserve plan, or substitution of assured income or employment should be injected into an unemployment compensation plan.

(8) In order to keep unemployment compensation within its legitimate field, there must be a definite and additional provision for those workers who exhaust their benefits and still cannot find jobs. They should not be subjected to a means test but should have some form of extended benefits. Such provisions should be under separate administration but apart from relief.

(9) EMPLOYMENT SERVICE AN INTEGRAL PART.

Employment offices are the administrative mediums of unemployment compensation. They make the test of unemployment and certify claimants for benefits. The U. S. Employment Service is located in the Department of Labor and under the Wagner-Peyser Act promotes state cooperation on a Federal subsidy basis. Under the Social Security Act, the Federal Government pays the administrative costs of unemployment compensation through these offices. Not only accounting but responsibility is hazy and complicated in the Employment Service. This lack of unification of authority is a major administrative problem for unemployment compensation. There is no way to get efficient service and prompt action on claims for benefits except through a unified administrative staff. The local office must be able to make prompt and equitable decisions on claims. By placing unemployment and old age insurance in the Department of Labor under the same Assistant Secretary responsible for the Employment Service, unified administration could be secured.

(10) REASSURANCES.

A Federal fund should be available to maintain the solvency of state funds under all conditions without lowering of standards. Some states have serious special problems such as the seasonal character of many industries. A Federal fund should be available to protect the rights of all workers even under such special conditions. A reinsurance Federal fund would spread the costs of special drains over the whole country and would enable all states to weather special problems including cyclical unemployment.

During the first half of 1938, unemployment compensation put \$180,000,000 into the hands of the workers without jobs. Such an amount has obviously helped to sustain service industries and those producing consumer goods, but it falls into insignificance in comparison with payments of \$1,532,984,000 for direct relief. Unemployment compensation is not intended to replace relief but when properly developed will protect many self-dependent persons from the humiliation of going on relief. During the past year our office has had many letters asking how workers could transfer from relief to benefit status where benefits awaited them but for which a three, four or five week waiting period must be weathered before checks arrived. Also checks could not be depended upon to arrive regularly as long as eligibility continued. The administrative machinery was too new and complicated. Many workers have stayed on relief jobs rather than make the change because benefits were lower than relief payments and less dependable. Some states arranged relief for workers serving a waiting period of two, three or four weeks and then waiting through the next week which was compensable and until such time as claims were allowed and check sent. Such relief arrangements were conditioned on signing a statement to repay out of benefits when received—thus drastically reducing the margins for

living standards. This is in sharp contrast to English practice. England has a waiting period of one week which may be reduced to three days.

Workers everywhere say that unemployment compensation would be more satisfactory if checks could come on time and regularly thereafter. But due to complicated records and dependence upon these records even in those states where administration is best checks are sent from three weeks to three months after eligibility is established. This means that workers must live on savings or use capital investments, relief or charity. Unemployment compensation is intended to prevent this result—not to encourage or maintain it. Unemployment benefits are to provide security—not to undermine the results of industry and thrift before aid is available.

Under present law a worker's claims to benefits involve wage record keeping by the employer and requisite reporting with the social security number of the worker. Mistakes or omissions in any of the possible details by the employer or within the administrative machinery may result in delays or invalidation of claims. A less complicated law such as we recommend would eliminate some of the causes of delay.

On the other hand it is imperative that social security be kept out of partisan politics. The first step in this direction is Civil Service requirement for personnel including experts.

In the table, on the page following, are figures showing the solvency of state funds and average benefit payments. In considering the figures on solvency of funds—that is the relation of benefit payments to current income and to total amount available with reserves—it is important to remember that in the case of Indiana payments only recently began while in the case of the District of Columbia the provisions for benefits are perhaps the least liberal of all laws. California is one of the slow states in paying benefits as are Minnesota, Massachusetts and Virginia. Average benefits in Maine, Indiana, District of Columbia, New Hampshire, Louisiana, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia and Alabama are very low. They are little above those minimum rates generally prescribed. The average duration of benefits is between eight and nine weeks.

Appeals—The meaning of any law develops through administration. In determining the eligibility of persons making claims for benefits administrators determine whether persons leave work voluntarily for a good cause; whether they were discharged for misconduct—that is, what constitutes misconduct; whether they failed to accept suitable work—that is, what is suitable work for each claimant; whether positions refused existed because of strike, lockout or other labor disputes, etc. These illustrations show how administrative decisions may concern union policies and principles. When decisions are unfair the claimant has the right of appeal.

Obviously the workers affected may not be in a position to realize the consequences of an unfair decision or may not be able to make presentation of case with arguments if they should make appeal. They are more concerned with finding some source of immediate income than with establishing sound principles for the administration of unemployment compensation. But all workers are affected by precedents established through such decision. Workers in other countries have found it desirable to establish a division in their national head-

STATUS OF STATE UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FUNDS SHOWING RATIO OF BENEFITS CHARGED TO COLLECTIONS AND INTEREST DEPOSITED SINCE CLAIMS WERE FIRST ACCEPTED, AND TO CUMULATIVE COLLECTIONS AND INTEREST, AS OF JUNE 30, 1938, CORRECTED TO AUGUST 3, 1938

	Ratio of benefits charged		Average Benefit Payment	
	To collections deposited since claims first accepted (Per cent)	To cumulative collections and interest (Per cent)	Total	Partia
States on monthly contribution basis, total....	84.8	27.3		
District of Columbia....	25.6	8.9	\$9.19	\$5.77
Louisiana.....	34.2	12.3	7.82	6.29
Mississippi.....	59.1	9.7	6.41	.....
New Hampshire.....	127.8	29.7	9.18	5.01
New York.....	86.9	30.7	.....	.....
North Carolina.....	102.6	33.6	.....	.....
Oregon.....	137.0	44.0	11.97	6.42
Rhode Island.....	165.0	54.0	.....	.....
Texas.....	34.6	12.1	8.85	5.56
Vermont.....	80.8	25.9	8.19	5.16
West Virginia.....	184.1	54.5	.....	.....
Wisconsin.....	63.1	18.1	10.20	4.44
States on quarterly contribution basis.....	90.1	24.7		
Alabama.....	140.3	33.7	7.33	4.70
Arizona.....	125.1	34.3	11.66	.....
California.....	39.2	10.6	9.68	6.23
Connecticut.....	136.4	35.9	.....	.....
Indiana.....	81.1	6.8	13.26	5.85
Maine.....	206.7	51.3	9.22	5.07
Maryland.....	122.9	41.6	.....	.....
Massachusetts.....	76.1	21.7	10.74	.....
Minnesota.....	95.8	28.4	10.12	.....
Pennsylvania.....	110.2	35.4	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	121.5	31.5	7.35	6.40
Utah.....	186.8	44.9	.....	7.42
Virginia.....	73.4	21.7	8.19	4.01

quarters to serve unions and individuals concerned with getting favorable decisions and for the purpose of accumulating the necessary technical information to protect and advance the interests and rights of workers under social security.

The problem of service for wage-earners in this field is much more important and complicated in this country than in most other countries because of the area and numbers covered, the difficulties of Federal-state jurisdictions, and the differences between the laws of the various states and other jurisdictions. Only

by some central clearing agency concentrating in this field and promoting exchange of information and experience can we develop any unity in policy and procedure with reference to social security issues. Even with simplification of law in this field a central service with a research agency is necessary for the protection of workers by the interpretation of social security legislation in the light of rights of workers.

NATIONAL HEALTH CONFERENCE

Two separate developments in the past year have directed attention to need for provisions for better medical care.

The United States Public Health Service made public its National Health Survey. This survey, financed by the Works Progress Administration, begun in the winter 1935-6, included 2,800,000 persons in eighty-three cities and twenty-three rural areas in nineteen different States. This survey related sickness to the economic and social background of the families included, with confirming evidence on every score that sickness and physical disability increase as family incomes decrease. Inability to pay for medical care permits disease to develop and sickness to be prolonged. Disability reduces the income still further and dependency follows. Disability in low income families is double that of higher income families. Chronic diseases are nearly twice as numerous in small income families as in higher ones. Days of disability in the low income families are three times more than in higher income families. These facts point to an important national problem.

The second development came from the administration of unemployment compensation. One of the tests for eligibility for benefits is "able to work." A worker who lost his job through sickness and an unemployed person who became sick are not eligible for benefits—though their need may be greater than that of a person who lost his job and retains his health. Workers generally are questioning why this gap in social security. Social insurance plans of other countries include health insurance.

When the Social Security Act was drafted it was not deemed wise to include health insurance. However, in 1936 the President created the Interdepartmental Committee to coordinate Health and Welfare Activities of the Federal Government. In reviewing this field the Committee found need for a national health program which report was submitted to the President. The President directed the Committee to call a National Health Conference to consider proposals. That conference was composed of several hundred persons representing groups concerned with health problems. The conference considered first the need for a program and then the recommendations of the Technical Committee of the Interdepartmental Committee. These recommendations included: Expansion of Public Health services; expansion of existing Federal-State cooperative plan for maternal and child health; improved hospital facilities with federal grants for construction and operation; medical care for the medically needy through federal grants in aid to states; expansion of tax supported public medical services; for persons of moderate incomes compensation for income loss through unemployment caused by sickness and a choice between health insurance or a plan of public medicine.

President Green submitted to that conference the following proposals:

(1) Extension of the work and activities of the U. S. Public Health Service, adding to its preventive and research functions responsibility for planning for adequacy of local health facilities.

(2) Hospital facilities should be brought up to adequate standards through Federal grants. The resulting construction work would provide employment.

(3) Expansion of our program for maternal and child welfare services.

(4) Legislation to enable families with low and medium incomes to meet the costs of sickness. The National Health Survey showed that 80 per cent of all families covered had incomes less than \$2,000 (minimum income that will provide standards of health and decency is \$2500!) The insurance method of pooling funds to meet pooled risks offers the only practical way out. Only a compulsory plan is practical. President Green proposed a plan which involved adoption of no new policies—expansion of workmen's compensation legislation. Workmen's compensation provides for medical care and compensation for loss of wages in times of industrial injury by accident or occupational disease. By amending these laws to include medical care for workers and their families during sickness in addition to industrial injuries with compensation for loss of income to the income earners, security of workers would be greatly increased. Federal grants to help such an extension of workmen's compensation legislation would be conditioned on incorporation of prescribed Federal standards, making all state laws uniform and bringing them under the Federal social security program. Workers also should contribute to such funds.

Under workmen's compensation legislation free choice of physicians is established so there is no regimentation of the medical profession. This principle should be retained. A second and indispensable provision is an exclusive state fund for the custody of all funds. This social service should be in no way connected with business for profit.

It is obvious that legislation making proposals to meet the costs of medical care will be under general discussion. The American Federation of Labor must develop a position on this issue. No social security program is adequate which ignores the insecurity due to sickness and costs of medical care.

HOUSING

United States Housing Authority—The slum clearance and low-rent housing program, enacted into law last year as the result of the initiative and aggressive leadership of the American Federation of Labor, began its operation on November 1, 1937 when Nathan Straus took office as the Administrator of the United States Housing Authority. The program was expanded when on June 21, 1938 the President approved the amendment to the Act increasing the original loan authorization of \$500,000,000 to \$800,000,000.

When the U. S. Housing Authority began its work, fifty-one low-rent housing projects constructed by the Housing Division of the P. W. A. were placed in the hands of the new Authority by the Executive Order of the President. Required by the Wagner-Steagall Act to sell or lease these projects as promptly as possible to

the existing local housing authorities in various communities, the Administrator promptly undertook negotiations to achieve the transfer. This involved the difficult task of arriving at terms satisfactory to the local authorities as well as to the U. S. H. A. and at the same time assuring the maintenance of the low-rent character and satisfactory operation of the projects. During the first ten months leases have been successfully negotiated of twenty-four projects in the following cities:

Birmingham
Boston
Cambridge
Chicago
Cincinnati
Columbia

Detroit
Lackawana (N. Y.)
Lexington
Louisville
Memphis

New York
Omaha
Philadelphia
Schenectady
Toledo

It was a notable achievement that the rents charged on these projects were the lowest ever established for low-rent public housing in America. For example, on the Birmingham, Alabama, project a two-room apartment with light and refrigeration rents for \$12.15 per month and a five-room apartment including these utilities rents for \$20.60. Although the rentals are somewhat higher in the North, they are also kept within the reach of low-income wage earners. Rentals on all projects average \$5.26 per room per month with a small additional charge for such utilities as light, heat and refrigeration.

Funds made available under the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act have been earmarked for allocations to 129 cities in twenty-six states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico. By August 18th, a total of \$517,081,000 had been set aside by the U. S. H. A. for the construction of new low-rent dwellings. Final loan contracts for \$154,528,000 have been approved by the President for twenty-eight cities. In a number of these cities the work has been begun on actual slum demolition and on construction of projects.

What is the U. S. Housing Authority program? It establishes a simple and economical method for providing good housing to low-income families—a method well tested in experience and solidly grounded in local initiative and responsibility. It provides \$800,000,000 for loans to local public housing authorities to finance low-rent projects. With this sum homes will be built for at least 150,000 families—more than 500,000 people—and thousands of slums will be cleared at the same time. For all new houses built an equal number of slum dwellings will be either repaired and improved or else demolished. The new homes will be simple but they will be solidly built, sanitary, well ventilated and well lighted. The projects, built as compact, well planned neighborhoods, will be attractive and livable and will provide ample play space for children. Federal grants made annually to each project together with local tax exemption will bring rents on these homes within reach of families earning from \$600 to \$1,200 a year.

What does the U. S. Housing Authority program mean to labor? It will do much more than provide good homes at low rentals. It will also furnish a powerful stimulus for employment of building mechanics and other wage earners in private industry.

Building trades mechanics and laborers will benefit most directly from

this program. It is estimated that 270,000,000 man-hours of construction labor will be created. More than a quarter billion dollars—a third of the total money available from the U. S. H. A.—will be paid in wages to the men who build the projects. For every ten men put to work on construction, fifteen men will be given employment in the mines, mills and factories producing building materials. About one-half of the money spent on the projects will be used to buy bricks, cement, steel, glass, electrical fixtures, etc. It will take 400,000,000 man-hours of labor to supply these materials. In all, the program will create about 670,000,000 man-hours of employment which means one full year's work for 350,000 workers.

Pursuant to the instructions of the Denver Convention, all State Federations of Labor and Central Labor Unions throughout the country have been directed to establish local labor housing committees which, working under the general direction of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, would enable organized labor in each state and community to share fully in the benefits of this important program.

By the end of August 1938, the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor had received detailed reports from more than 250 local labor housing committees regarding the progress made in each respective locality. Evidence that effective and aggressive organization of local unions for this purpose was well justified is seen in the fact that of the 180 local housing authorities, now in operation, more than fifty have direct labor representation from American Federation of Labor unions on their membership. The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor has encouraged and furthered active participation of our unions in this program by supplying the local labor housing committees with advice and information on the operation of the U. S. Housing Act and on the provisions of the state and local housing laws, by naming representatives to the U. S. Housing Authority on behalf of these committees and by otherwise coordinating and strengthening their efforts.

The Executive Council believes that to achieve these purposes the work of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor should be pressed with increased vigor. Appreciating the inadequacy of the loan funds thus far made available by Congress to fill the vast need for low-rent housing, we request the Housing Committee to formulate for submission to the next Congress proposals for further modification of the Wagner-Steagall Act which would enlarge the scope of the program.

Federal Housing Administration—Since the Amendments to the National Housing Act went into effect in February 1938, the volume of business handled by the Federal Housing Administration has risen to new high levels, showing an increasingly favorable comparison with the corresponding months of 1937. During the first eight months of 1938, approximately \$650,000,000 of small home mortgages were selected for appraisal, a gain of more than 50 per cent over the same period of 1937. July and August showed a rise of more than 100 per cent over the 1937 months. These figures do not include property improvement loans, which were revived by the amendments, or the insurance of large scale rental housing projects which also have shown a considerable increase over 1937.

Farm Security Administration—The Farm Security Administration has constructed approximately 12,000 new living units for agricultural and industrial wage earners in projects ranging from suburban "Greenbelt towns" to sanitary quarters for migratory farm workers. A majority of these new houses have been farm residences built in rural sections where the need for new housing is acute and in rural areas near manufacturing centers where workers are given an opportunity to live in spacious and healthful surroundings.

LABOR STANDARDS UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

The application of prevailing wage standards has been further expanded under the Walsh-Healey Act during the past year. Since the inception of the Act, minimum wage determinations have been made by the Secretary of Labor in the following sixteen industries:

- Men's Work Clothing
- Cotton Garments and Allied Industries
- Leather and Sheep-Lined Jackets
- Work Gloves
- Seamless Hosiery
- Men's Neckwear
- Men's Raincoats
- Men's Hats and Caps
- Men's Welt Shoes
- Men's Underwear
- Dimension Granite
- Handkerchief
- Envelope
- Vitreous and Vitrified China
- Luggage and Saddlery
- Plate Glass.

The lowest wage determination fixed by the Division was 32½ cents an hour in the South in Men's Underwear, and Dimension Granite; and the highest wage determination is for 67½ cents an hour in Men's Hat and Cap Industry.

Since the Act became effective, 9,754 contracts from 11,402 sources subject to the Act were awarded for the purchase of commodities needed by the Government. They were valued at approximately one-half billion dollars (\$549,180,355.03).

In the majority of inspections violations that have been found in the field have been rectified through instructions of the Division of Public Contracts. There have been eighty-six legal hearings for alleged violations and fifty-seven of these were settled without an appeal. Restitutions in the amount of \$69,393 have been received from employers by the Public Contracts Division and distributed to employees.

The 8-hour day and the 40-hour week with an overtime rate of time and one-half for all hours in excess of all daily and weekly limits set by the law, constitute the standards already set by the Act for all those subject to the jurisdiction of the Act. Only minimum wages call for administrative determination.

To furnish a basis for minimum wage determinations, the Research Section of the Division of Public Contracts surveyed sixty-four industries or groups of

related industries during the past year. In these studies Machinery and Allied Products, Electrical Machinery, Apparatus and Supplies, and other industrial groups, each with a number of large divisions, have been considered as single units.

Wage determinations have been scheduled for nineteen industries. Panel conferences and hearings have been held for thirty-one other industries. The Public Contracts Board has proposed wage determinations for seventeen of these industries, which are being currently studied. During the next two months panels and conferences are scheduled for thirty-three industries.

It is estimated that over 2,000,000 workers have been directly affected and almost 28 per cent of the total number of manufacturing employees in the United States have received the benefits of the Act.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The special and regular sessions of the 75th Congress were most unusual.

Notwithstanding the many complications encountered the American Federation of Labor succeeded in securing the passage of laws that will greatly benefit the wage earners of the country.

The Wages and Hours Bill does not contain all the principles for which we contended. However, in the main it gives good effect to the fundamental principles fought for so courageously and tenaciously by the American Federation of Labor. The outstanding feature of the Act is that it prohibits differentials in wages and hours in different sections of the country.

The Big Navy Act provides that the construction of all naval vessels shall be in accordance with the Government Contracts Act.

Amendments to the Longshoremen's Compensation Act, the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act and strengthening the law providing for the organization of credit unions will be of great benefit to those who come under the laws.

Among the objectionable proposals submitted to Congress was the Equal Rights Amendment which we are pleased to report suffered defeat. It is the general impression of members of Congress that such an amendment will never pass Congress.

The legislation beneficial to Labor that was enacted follows:

1. Important amendments to law prohibiting transportation of strike breakers in interstate commerce.
2. Appropriation of \$2,580,000,000 for relief purposes.
3. Prohibiting the introduction or delivery in interstate commerce of any food, drug device or cosmetic that is adulterated or misbranded.
4. Appropriation of \$115,000,000 for highway construction.
5. Protection assured for pilots and co-pilots in the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938.
6. Small Claims Court in the District of Columbia.
7. Beneficial amendments to Longshoremen's Compensation Act.
8. Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act.
9. Strengthening the law providing for the organization of credit unions.
10. Providing for the promotion of laborers, watchmen and messengers in the Postal Service to the next higher grade.
11. Extending five-day week to watchmen and messengers in the first and second class post offices.

12. Fair Labor Standards Act, which provides for specific minimum wages and maximum hours and no differentials.

13. Protecting salaries of rural letter carriers who transfer from one rural route to another.

14. Providing additional compensation to rural letter carriers serving short, heavy routes.

15. To create a stenographic grade in the rural mail service.

16. Providing that the construction of all naval vessels shall be in accordance with the Government Contracts Act.

17. Creation of boards to regulate barbering and the practice of cosmetology in the District of Columbia.

18. Providing payment to Government employees for all legal holidays and such days when the establishments of the Government are closed by Executive Order.

19. Compelling persons engaged in foreign propaganda to register with the Secretary of State.

20. Eight-hour day for tugboat employees on the Great Lakes.

21. Maritime Labor Board created to use its good offices in the mediation of labor disputes.

22. Amendment to the National Housing Act reducing down payments to only 10 per cent and decreasing interest rates on loans.

23. Appropriation of \$800,000,000 for low rent housing and slum clearances.

Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938—When the Wages and Hours Bill, S. 2475, was introduced by Senator Black May 24, 1937, the American Federation of Labor insisted that certain fundamental requirements be embodied in any such legislation which might be adopted. We proposed that a ceiling for hours and a foundation for wages be incorporated in the Act with no differentials; that wages and hours should not be determined by a board and that prosecution of violators should be by the Federal Department of Justice.

The Senate bill was very objectionable as it contained provisions directly opposed to those contended for by the American Federation of Labor. No effort was made to amend the bill as it could not be done satisfactorily. It was decided that after the bill had passed the Senate and it reached the House that the House Labor Committee would be asked to prepare a real bill that would be along the lines favored by the American Federation of Labor.

President Green conferred with President Roosevelt on the provisions that he should submit to the House Labor Committee. On August 6, 1937, the House Labor Committee reported amendments to S. 2475, which were unsatisfactory. Congress adjourned before any action was taken on the bill.

This objectionable bill was up for passage in the House December 17 in the special session. In the meantime President Green had sent a telegram to all members of the House of Representatives urging them to vote for its recommitment in order that proper amendments could be made to the bill. The C. I. O. opposed recommitting the bill. The House, however, despite opposition recommended recommitment of the bill by a vote of 216 to 198.

President Green then resubmitted the American Federation of Labor bill to the House Labor Committee. It provided for a uniform minimum wage of 40 cents an hour and a maximum 40-hour week for workers in substandard industries engaged in interstate commerce, with child labor and convict labor prohibited. Violations were to be punishable by a fine of \$100 and prosecutions to be

made by the Federal district attorneys through the Federal Justice Department. No boards or differentials were recognized. In explaining the American Federation of Labor bill President Green said:

The great advantage in the measure we propose is its straightforward simplicity. It carries out in full the letter, the spirit and the objectives of President Roosevelt's recommendations to Congress.

Its provisions are clear-cut. There is no possibility of escaping or twisting out of them by any manner of interpretation. The law stands on its own feet. It is uniform throughout the Nation. It requires no administrative board or machinery to make it effective. It provides for quick punishment of any violation.

We are unalterably opposed to a complex system of Federal wage and hour regulations and their administration by a new Federal board, as contemplated by the Black-Connery Bill. Labor, industry and the public are fed up with Federal boards. We have had extremely disappointing and disillusioning experiences with the National Labor Relations Board. Nor do we believe that the creation of a Federal Administrator with district wage boards under him would serve any purpose but to complicate and confuse enforcement of any wage and hour measure.

Finally a bill carrying out to a great extent the recommendations of the American Federation of Labor was reported by the House Labor Committee. Up to this time no matter how objectionable a proposed wage and hour bill might be the C. I. O. leaders favored it. They were willing from the beginning to accept the very objectionable Senate bill which provided that wages should not exceed forty cents an hour and hours not less than forty a week. This would permit a minimum wage of anywhere between 1 cent and forty cents an hour and the number of hours anywhere from forty hours up.

Injection of objectionable tactics by the C. I. O. inflamed the members of the Rules Committee and they refused to grant a rule. However, at the request of the American Federation of Labor on May 6 a petition was placed on the Speaker's desk and in a little more than two hours the necessary 218 signatures were obtained. This permitted action on the bill. President Green had sent a telegram May 3 to all members of the House urging them to sign the petition as the bill had been approved by the American Federation of Labor. On May 24, 1938, the bill was passed by a vote of 314 to 97. It was then sent to conference.

Owing to the fight being made by Southern members of Congress against wage and hour legislation the Senate Conference Committee was increased to seven to permit two Southern Senators to be added to prevent a filibuster. The conference report was submitted June 13. It did not comply fully with the wishes of the American Federation of Labor, but was approved by both Houses June 14 and signed by the President June 25. Section 6 provides:

Every employer shall pay to each of his employees who is engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce wages at the following rates:

- (1) during the first year from the effective date of this section, not less than 25 cents an hour,
- (2) during the next six years from such date, not less than 30 cents an hour,

(3) after the expiration of seven years from such date, not less than 40 cents an hour, or the rate (not less than 30 cents an hour) prescribed in the applicable order of the Administrator issued under section 8, whichever is lower, and

(4) at any time after the effective date of this section, not less than the rate (not in excess of 40 cents an hour) prescribed in the applicable order of the Administrator issued under section 8.

This section shall take effect upon the expiration of one hundred and twenty days from the date of enactment of this Act.

Subdivision 3 of Section 6 undoubtedly provides that if an industrial committee can convince the Administrator that not more than thirty cents an hour can be paid at any time within the seven years, then the wages for that industry would never reach forty cents an hour. They could remain at thirty cents. This would permit wage differentials between industries, but whatever wages are determined for an industry they will not be regional. They will be universal.

It will depend on the Administrator, who can veto any decision of an industrial committee, whether the wages will be permitted to remain at thirty cents an hour.

Section 4 creates in the Department of Labor a Wage and Hour Division under the direction of an Administrator to be known as the "Administrator of the Wage and Hour Division". The Administrator is appointed by the President. The Administrator shall, as soon as practical, appoint an industry committee for each industry engaged in commerce or in the production of goods for commerce. Such committees shall include a number of disinterested persons representing the public, the employees and employers. In the appointments the Administrator shall give due regard to the geographical regions in which the industry is carried on.

These committees will determine the wages to be paid after the second year. During the first year employees shall not work longer than forty-four hours and the second year forty-two hours. After the second year none shall work longer than forty hours unless paid for overtime at the rate of one and one-half times the regular rate.

The industries committees and the Administrator shall consider among other relevant factors the following:

(1) competitive conditions as affected by transportation, living, and production costs;

(2) the wages established for work of like or comparable character by collective labor agreements negotiated between employers and employees by representatives of their own choosing; and

(3) the wages paid for work of like or comparable character by employers who voluntarily maintain minimum wage standards in the industry.

No classification shall be made under this section on the basis of age or sex.

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor at least 250,000 employees in substandard industries will have their wages increased on October 24 to 25 cents an hour.

It is the intention of the Executive Council to seek amendments to the law as soon as the insufficiency of some of its provisions has been shown.

The Executive Council has prepared an analysis of the law in pamphlet form which will be sent to all labor organizations upon request.

We are opposed to that portion of Section 14 of the Act which provides for a lower rate of pay for learners, apprentices and handicapped workers. We maintain that all these workers should be paid the minimum rate of pay provided for under the Act.

Relief Legislation—For the purpose of continuing relief, work relief and loans and grants for public works projects the following sums were appropriated by Congress:

For the WPA \$1,425,000,000. Of this sum \$484,500,000 is for the building of highways, roads, streets, etc., and \$655,500,000 for public buildings, parks, public utilities, electric transmission lines for rural areas, sewer systems, water supply and power systems, airports and other transportation facilities; flood control, drainage, irrigation, conservation, eradication of insect pests and miscellaneous construction projects; for educational, professional, clerical, cultural, recreational production service and other miscellaneous non-construction projects including training for domestic service, \$285,000,000.

The sum of \$75,000,000 is allocated to the National Youth Administration in addition to other unexpended balances for the purpose of aiding needy young persons no longer in regular attendance at school to obtain part-time work and training, and to aid others in continuing their education in schools, colleges and universities.

The Secretary of Agriculture is authorized to expend up to \$175,000,000, together with unexpended balances previously allocated to the Farm Security Administration, such sums to be available for administration loans, relief and rural rehabilitation to needy persons.

Persons employed on projects operated under appropriations for the WPA are to be paid not less than the prevailing rates of pay for similar work in the same locality. Each relief worker is required to sign a quarterly statement of his earnings from outside sources and no person who refuses a bona fide offer under as favorable conditions as prevail on relief projects shall be retained on relief project rolls during such period that such private employment would be available. Any person who accepts private employment and loses same through no fault of his own shall not be discriminated against, but shall be entitled to immediately resume his previous employment status if he is still in need.

The Public Works Administration under Title II is continued until June 30, 1941, and the sum of \$965,000,000 is appropriated for carrying out the purposes of this legislation.

Funds will be used in making allotments to finance Federal projects; the making of grants or loans to states, territories and political subdivisions or other public agencies, and the construction and leasing of projects with or without the privilege of purchase to any such public agency. Not more than \$200,000,000 may be allotted to Federal agencies for Federal construction projects which are confined to the following classes:

- (1) Projects authorized by law;
- (2) An enlargement or extension of existing Federal plants, facilities, etc.;

- (3) Hospitals and facilities for veterans;
- (4) Correctional or penal institutions under the Department of Justice.

Grants for non-Federal projects are limited to 45 per cent of the cost and not more than \$750,000,000 of this fund may be used for grants to defray estimated non-recoverable portions of costs of projects constructed for lease to public agencies.

Only \$15,000,000 can be used for administrative purposes. In order to hasten the beginning of work relief the Act provides that no fund may be allotted for any project which cannot be commenced prior to January 1, 1939, or can be substantially completed prior to June 30, 1940. Nor shall new applications for loans or grants to non-Federal projects be accepted after September 30, 1938, unless amendatory to applications received prior to October 1, 1938.

Under Title III of the Act the authorization for construction of public buildings outside the District of Columbia is increased from \$70,000,000 to \$130,000,000 and the sum of \$25,000,000 is appropriated for this purpose.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation is authorized to make loans to the Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration to the extent of \$100,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1939. In addition \$700,000 is appropriated for administrative expenses, including printing and binding, for the fiscal years 1938 and 1939.

Title V provides for an appropriation of \$212,000,000 to enable the Secretary of Agriculture to make parity payments to producers of wheat, cotton, corn, rice and tobacco in accordance with the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938.

Under Title VI the United States Housing Authority is authorized to enter into contracts for contributions amounting to \$28,000,000 per year. The Authority is permitted to issue and sell its notes and bonds or other obligations in an amount not to exceed \$800,000,000 for the purpose of carrying out its objectives.

Another law enacted which will be helpful is Public No. 479 which authorizes the RFC to promote the economic stability of the Nation and to encourage the employment of labor, to make loans to or contracts to states or their subdivisions, public agencies, public boards and commissions to aid in financing projects authorized under Federal, state or municipal law.

Loans may be made through the purchase of securities and the corporation is authorized to bid for them. In addition the corporation is also authorized to purchase the securities of or make loans to any business enterprise when capital or credit is not otherwise available at prevailing rates for the character of the loan desired.

A further appropriation of \$250,000,000 was made to permit greater employment in the WPA until June 30, 1938.

According to statistics submitted by Administrator Ickes of the PWA for every employee at the site of PWA work two and a half times as much indirect employment is created in factories, mines, mills and forests producing, fabricating and distributing necessary construction materials and equipment. Heavy industries are stimulated and consumers' goods are given encouragement.

Credit Unions—Public No. 416 amends certain sections of the Federal Credit Union Act approved June 26, 1934. It provides that Federal credit unions shall be under the supervision of the Governor of the Farm Credit Administration and shall make such financial reports to him as he may require. Each Federal credit union shall be subject to examination by, and for this purpose shall make its books and records accessible to, any person designated by the Governor.

The Governor shall fix a scale of examination fees to be paid by the Federal credit unions, giving due consideration to the time and expense incident to such examinations, and to the ability of Federal credit unions to pay such fees which shall be assessed against and paid by each Federal credit union promptly after the completion of such examination.

The Governor is authorized to make investigations and to conduct researches and studies of the problems of persons of small means in obtaining credit at reasonable rates of interest and of methods and benefit of cooperative saving and lending among such persons. He is further authorized to publish reports of such investigations.

Section 18 provides that Federal credit unions organized under the Act, their property, their franchises, capital, reserves, surpluses and other funds and their income shall be exempt from all taxation now and hereafter imposed by the United States or any state, territorial or local taxing authority; except that any real property and any tangible personal property of such Federal credit union shall be subject to Federal, state, territorial and local taxation to the same extent as other similar property tax.

Provision by an employer of facilities for the operations of a Federal credit union on the premises of such employer shall not be deemed to be intimidation, coercion, interference, restraint or discrimination within the provisions of Sections 7 and 8 of the National Labor Relations Act.

Federal Housing—On November 29, 1937 President Roosevelt addressed a message to the special session of Congress proposing changes in the National Housing Act of 1934. These changes were designed to stimulate private home construction on a broad scale and to assist families of moderate means in obtaining adequate housing on most favorable terms. To carry out this proposal Senator Wagner introduced S. 3055 amending the 1934 law under which the Federal Housing Administration had been created.

The bill revived, with some changes, the provisions of the original Act, which had lapsed on April 1, 1937, authorizing the FHA to insure loans for alterations, repairs, and modernization. The amendments also created in effect a revolving insurance fund making a larger volume of mortgage insurance available for new construction. The amendments made Federal insurance available for loans on construction of individual homes up to \$16,000, on multi-family dwellings or groups of private homes up to \$200,000, and on large-scale rental housing projects up to \$5,000,000, and at the same time created an adequate machinery to meet the special requirements of each type of housing. While under the original Act insurance of mortgages for the construction of new small homes was limited to 80 per cent of the appraisal value, the amendments permitted the insurance of as much as 90 per cent of the value. This change reduced the requirement for

the initial down-payment from 20 per cent to 10 per cent, making home ownership more readily available to families of moderate means. The amendments also limited the interest rate and service charges to a total maximum annual carrying charge of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, thus reducing the cost of home financing.

The marked lag in construction activity in the winter of 1937-38, which severely aggravated unemployment in the building industry, emphasized the need for this legislation which received strong backing from the American Federation of Labor.

Two phases of the pending legislation were causing Labor much anxiety. First was the pressure for wage reductions on construction work under the guise of an annual wage plan. The unequivocal opposition to the application of an annual wage formula on a national basis voiced by President Green and Harry C. Bates, Chairman of the A. F. of L. Housing Committee, at the Senate hearings, caused the advocates of this proposal to abandon it. The other source of concern to Labor was the fact that the law under which the FHA operated did not require the payment of prevailing wages on projects built with loan money insured by the Federal government. A prevailing wage amendment to the bill was introduced by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts at the close of the special session and was passed by the Senate by a vote of 51 to 17. When the bill went to conference this amendment was stricken out and under the pressure of administration forces the bill was finally approved without a prevailing wage clause, by a vote of 42 to 40. The measure, known as the National Housing Act Amendments of 1938, was signed by the President on February 3, 1938.

Slum Clearance and Low Rent Housing—Pursuant to the action of the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor enlargement of the low-rent housing program was again made a major item on the Federation's legislative program. The amendments to the United States Housing Act formulated by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor were designed to enlarge the lending power of the U. S. Housing Authority and to increase the amount of annual Federal contributions which are paid after the projects have been completed. S. 3911 embodying these amendments was introduced by Senator Wagner on April 26, 1938. A companion bill, H.R. 10417, was introduced by Representative Steagall on the same date. The House Committee on Banking and Currency to which the House bill had been referred began the consideration of the bill on April 28. When the vote was taken to report the bill it secured the approval of the committee by a narrow majority. The bill was then referred to the Committee on Rules which promptly voted to bring the measure before the House in its original form.

While the House debated the legislation, the Senate bill, instead of being considered as a separate measure, was incorporated in the Work Relief Appropriation Bill as Title VI, and passed by the Senate without a single opposing vote. As the other portions of the Work Relief Bill, of which the housing measure was only a part, had been previously passed by the House, the final decision on the housing bill rested with the conference committee of both Houses, which was appointed on June 6.

In the final draft of the bill agreed upon by the conference committee, the

U. S. Housing Authority was authorized to increase its loans for construction purposes to \$800,000,000, and annual contributions to \$28,000,000. The bill also removed some of the restrictions of the original Act making it possible for the U. S. Housing Authority to accelerate the pace of its low-rent housing and slum clearance activity.

While the amendments were moving toward final adoption an unexpected attack on the program developed in the House when the appropriation for the administrative expenses of the U. S. H. A. was cut in half. The final amount was increased by \$1,250,000 above the amount authorized by the House, largely as a result of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor in the interest of this important program.

As was the case with the original Act organized labor throughout the country threw its entire weight in support of the expansion of this important program. More than two thousand endorsements by local Labor Housing Committees and Building Trades Councils, as well as thousands of endorsements by local unions, were reported to the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor before the final enactment of the bill.

The importance of the enlarged housing program to Labor may be gauged by the fact that it offers direct employment at the site of the projects for more than 200,000 building trades mechanics and laborers as well as to some 450,000 workers employed in the production of building materials and their transportation. This addition of some 700,000 full time jobs will make employment and purchasing power available where it is more critically needed.

Merchant Marine Act of 1938—Congress enacted many amendments to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. These amendments authorized the purchase of ships, merchant marine training, maritime service, differentials between the foreign and domestic construction of ships, subsidies to offset foreign subsidies, directing the Maritime Commission to hold hearings with respect to changes in manning scales, wage scales and minimum working conditions, and the 8-hour work day for Great Lakes tugboat men.

A new Title "X" was added to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936 providing for the creation of a Maritime Labor Board which is authorized in regard to maritime labor matters to insist on the maintaining of agreements and the interpretation of agreements in existence.

It is also to use its good offices in the mediation of maritime labor disputes except unfair labor practices and questions of employee representation, which will remain under the jurisdiction of the National Labor Relations Board.

It provides that maritime employers and employees shall exert every reasonable effort to make and maintain agreements and to settle their differences in conferences, but no penalties are prescribed. The mediation machinery provided is of a purely voluntary character.

The Executive Council unsuccessfully sponsored an amendment to the National Labor Relations Act which aimed to create a special board of three members to whom shall be given exclusive authority to administer the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act in the shipping industry including seamen, longshoremen and other maritime workers. It would take from the National

Labor Relations Board the supervision of labor relations in the maritime industry.

Bills providing for an extension of social securities laws to seamen could not be moved from the House Ways and Means Committee notwithstanding approval by the Secretary of Labor and the Social Security Board.

S. 2580 was introduced to give effect to the terms of the treaty for promoting safety of life at sea. It provided greatly improved quarters and sanitary accommodations for crews on American ships. The bill passed the Senate but could not be pried out of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

An amendment to have all ships constructed by the Maritime Commission come under the Walsh-Healey Act passed the Senate, but was eliminated in conference.

Small Claims Court—The Executive Council reported to the 1937 convention that a bill providing for a small claims court in the District of Columbia had passed the Senate but had failed in the House because the Chairman of the District of Columbia Committee refused to report the bill.

The bill was approved by the House in the last session of the 75th Congress and signed by the President March 5, 1938. The object of the law is to effect the speedy settlement of controversies in which the amount of the plaintiff's claim does not exceed \$50 exclusive of interest, attorneys' fees and costs. No judge, officer or other employee of the Municipal Court shall receive any fee or compensation in addition to his salary for services performed in acting as referee or arbitrator.

During the first month the law was in effect 1,344 cases were filed. The greatest number of suits, 381, were for amounts ranging from \$10 to \$20. Suits ranging from \$1 to \$10 total 268. More than 300 cases were filed by plaintiffs without the aid of an attorney and of these 262 were prepared by the clerk of the court. Most of the complainants had never been in a court of law before. The \$1 fee was waived for 84 persons who were too poor to pay that amount to take their case into court.

Twenty-three judgments totaling \$7,322.46 were entered, while the total amount of claims filed was \$35,713.34.

Judge Nathan Cayton, who fought for two years for the creation of the court, declared the benefits gained for the complainants were sufficient evidence of the practicability of the Small Claims Court.

The Executive Council believes that all central labor bodies and state federations of labor should do everything possible to create small claims courts in their localities.

Walsh-Healey Act—Amendments to the Walsh-Healey Government Contract Act were introduced in both houses of Congress which would have been of the greatest benefit to Labor if adopted. The present law does not apply to contracts under \$10,000. An amendment reduced this to \$2,000.

Furthermore, they provided that any violators of the law would be prohibited from getting contracts for three years. When the Walsh-Healey Act was before Congress it included vessels, but this was eliminated before passage

of the bills. One of the amendments proposed in the bills was to include the word "vessels" including "floating equipment and services." This is similar to the amendment made to the Big Navy Bill and is very important.

No person under sixteen years of age shall be employed nor under eighteen in hazardous employment. Subcontractors shall be liable to the United States for violations or breach of contracts. Violations shall be penalized at the rate of \$10 a day for each minor or convict employed in violation of the Act. The "kick-back" of wages is prohibited. If any employees receive less than the legal wages due them or less than the overtime rate the United States shall have the right to recover for the employees the sum they should receive. For the second violation, double the amount will be charged, and for any subsequent offense, triple the amount. In addition the United States shall have the right to cancel the contract and make open market purchases.

The bill passed the Senate but the House failed to consider it.

Strike Breakers' Transportation, Prohibiting—Public No. 779 prohibits the transportation of certain persons in interstate or foreign commerce during labor controversies. The law is intended to clarify the provisions of the Act of June 24, 1936, prohibiting the transportation of strike breakers in interstate commerce.

The law makes it clear that interference with peaceful picketing and interference with the exercise by employees of any of the rights of self-organization or collective bargaining are both included. The old law was not clear on this point.

The new law provides that any person who transports or causes to be transported in interstate or foreign commerce any person who is employed or is to be employed for the purpose of obstructing or interfering by force or threats with (1) peaceful picketing by employees during any labor controversy affecting wages, hours, or conditions of labor; or (2) the exercise by employees of any of the rights of self-organization, collective bargaining, shall be deemed guilty of a felony and shall upon conviction thereof be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned not more than two years or both.

Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938—The law provides for the appointment of a Civil Aeronautics Authority composed of five members appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate.

There shall be in the Authority an Administrator who shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The Authority may purchase and exchange modern aircraft completely equipped in such manner that such aircraft can be used in testing and checking every phase of flight operation; and may purchase and exchange for the use of the Administrator and the Air Safety Board modern aircraft similar to aircraft used or suitable for use in air transportation completely equipped in such manner that they can be used in testing and checking every phase of flight operation in air transportation.

The Authority is empowered to make and amend such general and special rules and regulations and procedure as it shall deem necessary to carry out the provisions of the Act. The labor provisions provide:

Every air carrier shall maintain rates of compensation, maximum hours, and other working conditions and relations of all of its pilots and copilots who are engaged in interstate air transportation within the continental United States (not including Alaska) so as to conform with decision numbered 83 made by the National Labor Board on May 10, 1934, notwithstanding any limitation therein as to the period of its effectiveness.

Every air carrier shall maintain rates of compensation for all of its pilots and copilots who are engaged in overseas or foreign air transportation or air transportation wholly within a territory or possession of the United States, the minimum of which shall be not less, upon an annual basis, than the compensation required to be paid under said decision 83 for comparable service to pilots and copilots engaged in interstate air transportation within the continental United States (not including Alaska).

Nothing herein contained shall be construed as restricting the right of any such pilots or copilots, or other employees, of any such air carrier to obtain by collective bargaining higher rates of compensation or more favorable working conditions or relations.

It shall be a condition upon the holding of a certificate by any air carrier that such carrier shall comply with title II of the Railway Labor Act, as amended.

The Air Line Pilots had to fight every inch of the way to protect themselves in this legislation. The American Federation of Labor did everything possible to secure the proper amendments to the bill.

Longshoremen's Compensation Act (Public No. 727)—The 75th Congress made a number of amendments to certain sections of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act in order to clarify the provisions.

Among them are amendments redefining the term "child"; authorizing the deputy commissioner to waive the requirement, under which a physician furnishing medical treatment, in order to recover the cost of such treatment from the employer, to make a report of the injury and treatment; providing for the construction of the term "wage-earning capacity" as applied to certain cases of partial disability and to remove the ambiguity with respect to the applicability of the provisions for additional 20 per cent compensation when there is a default in the payment of compensation under the terms of an award.

More teeth are put into the penal provisions for the failure to secure the payment of compensation. Under the amendment it is possible to enforce the penalties for such failure against certain officers of a corporation, who are made jointly and severally liable with the corporation, for any compensation or other benefit that may accrue under the Act. In particular, liability with respect to fine or imprisonment is imposed upon such officers. Also, it is now an offense to transfer, sell, encumber, assign, or in any manner dispose of, conceal, secrete or destroy any property by an employer with an intent to avoid the payment of compensation under the Act after one of its employees has been injured.

Subcontractors on Public Buildings—H.R. 146, to require contractors on public-building projects to name their subcontractors, passed both Houses, but was given a "pocket veto" by the President.

The objective of the proposed legislation was to eliminate or curtail a vicious practice variously known as "bid shopping" or "bid peddling" in connection with Government contracts.

It is the practice of a general contractor in making up his successful bid to utilize figures submitted by several subcontractors in each phase of the contract, such as foundation, plumbing, electrical fixtures, etc. The contractor would use the lowest bids of the subcontractors in obtaining the contract. The contractor then informs the other subcontractors who bid on the various phases of the work that he will give them the subcontract if they are willing to shave the low figure presented.

According to a report made by the Public Buildings and Grounds Committee the cut-throat competition between the several concerns makes the cost of the work much lower to the general contractor than he figures in his bid, the difference being additional profit. It was found by the committee that these conditions often brought about the failure of the subcontractor.

The bill will be reintroduced in the next session of Congress as it is of great importance to the building trades workmen that the bill become a law.

Copyright Union, International—S. 7, to amend the Act entitled "An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts respecting copyright", approved March 4, 1909, failed of passage in the 75th Congress.

Organized labor vigorously opposed the bill, the reason being that it would permit the printing of books in foreign countries that are now printed in the United States.

According to an investigation made by the International Allied Printing Trades Association, more than 70,000 printing trades workers would be seriously affected as it would deny them employment.

Section 15 of the 1909 Copyright Law provides that all foreign books sold in the United States shall be printed from type set within the United States either by hand or by the aid of typesetting machines or from plates made within the United States, or if the text be produced by lithographic, mimeographic, photo-gravure, or photoengraving, or any kindred process, then by a process wholly performed within the limits of the United States. The printing and binding should also be done within the United States.

The elimination of Section 15 of the 1909 Copyright Law would open the American market to a flood of books produced in foreign countries to be sold in this country under the protection of the Copyright Treaty, but without the requirement that they be printed within the United States.

The Executive Council will continue to oppose the copyright amendment unless it contains provisions for the protection of the printing trades in the United States.

Profiteering in Time of War—Opposition to the May-Sheppard Bill to take the profits out of war became so emphatic that Congress apparently dared not pass the bill. There is nothing in the bill to take the profits out of war.

The bill would conscript labor in industry in the same manner as is now followed in Germany. Japan enacted a similar law shortly after the Chinese conflict began but only recently put it into effect.

The American Federation of Labor conventions have repeatedly advocated

financing war through taxation as was done in the Great War and also in the sale of Federal bonds.

During the Senate hearing on S. 25, a bill to prevent profiteering in time of war and to equalize the burdens of war and thus provide for the national defense, a representative of the American Federation of Labor submitted a brief in which the following questions were asked:

In case labor was industrially conscripted during wartime, would they be conscripted only for certain industries manufacturing war munitions or something used in war? If so, how would this conscripted labor be paid? Would it be at the same pay as soldiers, who receive \$30 a month and expenses? Would there be any difference in the treatment of labor conscripted for certain industries? Would a situation arise where on one side of the street civilian employees would be paid adequate wages by private employers and on the other side of the street those conscripted, engaged in manufacturing of war munitions, receiving a soldier's pay? Would those conscripted for industrial purposes be paid different scales because they were single, married, or in consideration of the number of children or other dependents? Or would all labor be conscripted, and if so, how paid?

This was the first time those questions were submitted and they were given earnest consideration. Another objection to the bill was that it would give the President full power to control business, industry and Labor in a dictatorial manner. Virtually every provision of the measure would centralize governmental power in the hands of the President during war time. The bill would favor the road to Fascism and Congress would become a useless part of the Government.

As similar bills undoubtedly will be introduced in the next session of Congress the Executive Council recommends that a vigorous protest be made to the proposed legislation.

Government Employees Legislation—Of the nineteen bills introduced in Congress in the interest of Government employees seven became laws, four were vetoed and eight were left pending in either the Senate or the House.

Bills that became laws benefited laborers, watchmen and messengers in the Postal Service in determining eligibility for promotion to the next higher grade; pertaining to the eligibility for promotion to the next higher grade of a regular clerk, garageman-driver, driver-mechanic or general mechanic in the motor vehicle service; extending the five-day week to watchmen and messengers in the first and second class post offices; protecting the salaries of rural letter carriers who transfer from one rural route to another; providing additional compensation to rural letter carriers serving short, heavy routes and to create a stenographic grade in the Railway Mail Service.

The most important bills vetoed provided for an increase in pay to carriers and substitutes in the village delivery service; an increase in wages of charwomen and charwomen in the custodial service of the Post Office Department, and the measure authorizing travel allowance to railway postal clerks after beginning duty at the initial terminal within eight hours, and the experimental bus distribution bill.

Among the bills held up in the Senate Post Office Committee were those that provide for annual and sick leave with pay to postal substitutes in proportion to

the time served; to increase overtime and night work pay of regular employees; establishing an additional salary grade for watchmen, messengers and laborers above the present maximum and provide an increase in pay for char people throughout the Government service.

Equal Rights Amendment—For the past fifteen years an organization of society women has sought to have Congress adopt an amendment to the United States Constitution providing "equal rights" for women. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate cast a tie vote on the amendment and so reported to the Senate. The proposed article is as follows:

Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

When the amendment came up for passage, Senator Borah, who had voted against its approval, asked that it be recommitted to the Judiciary Committee. This was done. No further action was taken.

Representatives of the American Federation of Labor appeared before the committee and opposed the amendment.

Workmen's Compensation—S. 531, a bill to provide compensation for disability or death resulting from injury to employees of contractors on Federal public buildings and public works was introduced in the United States Senate, reported favorably and passed March 25. The House referred the bill to the Judiciary Committee, but no report was made to the House.

At the present time in many of the states the workers on Federal public buildings are not protected by state workmen's compensation acts. The bill provided that contractors on Federal public buildings shall, before commencing work on the contract, provide for securing the payment of compensation and the furnishing of other benefits to employees under provisions of the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act. The contractor shall maintain in full force and effect during the term of his contract, and while employees are engaged in work performed under such contract, the security for the payment of such compensation and other benefits. It also provides that where the contract is to be performed within a state having a workmen's compensation law and employees are eligible to such benefits, the contractor shall be deemed to have satisfied such conditions if before beginning work he secures the payment of workmen's compensation benefits under such state workmen's compensation law. Failure to comply with such conditions shall be deemed a breach of contract and a violation of the Act. Contractors must also require subcontractors to provide and maintain protection of the employees to the extent provided in the Act. Any violation on the part of the subcontractors or other person to maintain such protection shall be deemed a breach of contract. Penalties for violation of the Act shall be a fine of \$1,000 or imprisonment for not more than one year, or both.

The Executive Council will endeavor to have the bill introduced in the next Congress, as it is of the utmost importance to the building trades.

Immigration—Only one major immigration bill was introduced in Congress. This bill passed the House, but failed in the Senate. It was known as H. R. 6391 to authorize the prompt deportation of criminals and certain other aliens.

The bill was amended in such a manner in the Senate that the American Federation of Labor could not give it support. Instead of a bill to strengthen deportation laws, its provisions would liberalize those laws.

Quite a number of individual bills to permit persons illegally in the country to remain here failed of passage. The Executive Council is insisting on the policy of the American Federation of Labor to oppose any immigration legislation that will be injurious to the welfare of the wage earners of the United States.

Whiskey Tax—Congress increased the revenue tax on each proof gallon of newly distilled liquor 25 cents after July 1, 1938. It then developed that arrangements were being made to manufacture great amounts of liquor so that when the law went into effect they would be exempt from the increased tax on all liquor manufactured before July 1. This would have thrown many thousands of the workers out of employment after July 1.

Therefore, a bill was introduced in Congress to place a floor tax of 25 cents on each proof gallon. This would prevent holders of whiskey from taking advantage of the original law taxing only newly manufactured whiskey 25 cents per gallon after July 1.

In order to protect the distillery workers the American Federation of Labor urged the passage of the floor tax bill and it was signed June 16, 1938.

Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act—While this law was approved by the President June 25, 1938, it does not become effective until July 1, 1939.

The law provides that a qualified employee should be paid benefits for each day of unemployment in excess of seven during any half month. The benefits payable to any such employee for each such day ranges from \$1.75 to \$3.00 per day, according to the wages he received.

The employer contributes 3 per cent of the amount of wages paid to the employees not in excess of \$300 for any calendar month and the employee contributes 3 per cent of his wages not in excess of \$300 per month. The contributions are paid to the Secretary of the Treasury, who shall maintain an account to be known as the "Railroad Unemployment Insurance Account." The law is administered by the Railroad Retirement Administration.

Government Printing Office—Two bills were introduced in Congress which if passed would have thrown several hundred printers, pressmen, bookbinders and others out of employment in the Government Printing Office.

One of them provided that contracts for certain Patent Office reports be given to private employers. The proponents of the proposition said it would save the Government \$100,000 a year. The Public Printer, however, showed that such saving by a private concern would be impossible.

The other provided that testimony and arguments before a Federal court in Washington be taken down by sound equipment. If the plan was satisfactory then sound equipment would be used in all Federal courts in the country.

Very strong lobbies kept fighting for the bills. Therefore hearings were held by the Joint Printing Committee on the Patent Office proposal and the Senate Judiciary Committee on the sound equipment plan. The Executive Council aided in opposing the bills and after hearings were held both were pigeonholed.

Barbers and Cosmetologists Legislation—Public Law No. 580 was sponsored by the Journeymen Barbers' International Union and has given to the District of Columbia legislation to regulate barbering, to provide minimum standards of sanitation and to require a health certificate from each barber showing that he is free from contagious and infectious disease. This much needed law for the District of Columbia is similar to forty-three state laws covering the same subject. Only five states are without laws regulating barbering.

Public Law No. 575 provides for the examination and licensing of those engaged in the practice of cosmetology in the District of Columbia. This law is also based on similar state laws and affects beauticians, manicurists, etc.

Asiatic Exclusion Law Attacked—Although thousands of American Seamen are unemployed, CIO representatives in Washington, D. C., strongly urged changes in existing law to permit the naturalization of Filipino seamen who can no longer qualify for jobs on American merchant vessels because of recent changes in the law requiring that a substantial percentage of the crew must be American citizens. American Federation of Labor representatives successfully opposed these C.I.O. proposals, first, because there are more than sufficient citizen seamen available to man all American ships and, second, because the grant of naturalization to Filipinos would open the entire question of Asiatic exclusion. Under the terms of the law of 1924, persons ineligible for citizenship are excluded. If Filipino seamen should be granted special rights of naturalization, the Japanese, Chinese and other Asiatics would again complain about discrimination. The American opponents of Asiatic exclusion would then have a new alibi for a campaign to modify our present effective exclusion laws.

Holiday Compensation—Public 127 provides that all government employees who are paid by the day, hour or on the piece-work basis shall receive pay for all legal holidays, as well as for such days as the departments and establishments of the Government are closed by Executive order.

They shall receive the same pay for such days as for other days on which an ordinary day's work is performed.

Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act—Public No. 717 enacted by Congress prohibits the movement in interstate commerce of adulterated and misbranded food, drugs, devices and cosmetics.

The old Food and Drug Act was never competent to carry out what was desired in stopping the sale of adulterated food and drugs. Among the acts forbidden are the introduction or delivery for introduction into interstate commerce of any food, drug, device or cosmetic that is adulterated or misbranded; or to manufacture within any territory any food, drug, device or cosmetic that is adulterated or misbranded. Violators of the law shall on conviction be subject

to imprisonment for not more than one year, or a fine of not more than \$1,000 or both; but if the violation is committed after a conviction of such person under this section has become final, such person shall be subject to imprisonment for not more than three years, or a fine of not more than \$10,000, or both.

Highway Construction—Public No. 584 has for its purpose the carrying out of the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to provide that the United States shall aid the States in the construction of rural post roads." The sum of \$100,000,000 was appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940 and the sum of \$115,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941. All sums authorized and apportioned to the states shall be available for expenditure for one year after the close of the fiscal year for which said sums are authorized.

Hereafter the construction of highways by the states with the aid of Federal funds may include such roadside and landscape development, including such sanitary and other facilities as may be deemed reasonably necessary to provide for the suitable accommodation of the public, all within the highway right-of-way and adjacent publicly owned or controlled recreational areas of limited size and with provision for convenient and safe access thereto by pedestrian and vehicular traffic as may be approved by the Secretary of Agriculture.

The employment of workers on highway construction is of the greatest benefit as it is estimated that 80 per cent of the funds appropriated goes to Labor.

Foreign Propaganda—Public No. 583 requires the registration of certain persons employed by agencies to disseminate propaganda in the United States and for other purposes.

The law provides that every person who is now an agent of a foreign principal shall, within 30 days after June 8, 1938, and every person who shall hereafter become an agent of a foreign principal, forthwith file with the Secretary of State a registration statement under oath on a form prescribed by the Secretary.

Each agent must submit a copy of all contracts, if written, of employment or a full statement of the terms and conditions thereof, if oral; the period during which such contract is to be in effect; and the name of every foreign principal or other person or organization which has contributed or which has promised to contribute to the compensation provided in such contract.

The Secretary shall retain in permanent form all statements filed under the Act and they shall be public records and open to public examination and inspection at all reasonable hours. Any person who willfully fails to file any statement required under this Act or makes a false statement of a material fact, on conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$1,000 or imprisonment of not more than two years, or both.

Filipino Emigration—The First Deficiency Appropriation Act for the year 1937 appropriated \$150,000 for all authorized expenditures necessary to enable the Secretary of Labor to provide means by which certain Filipinos may emigrate from the United States.

This law was amended to extend the time to December 31, 1938. Under the provisions of the law about two thousand Filipinos have returned to their native country.

Naval Construction Law (Public No. 528)—All contracts for the construction of naval vessels shall be in accordance with Public Law No. 846, the Walsh-Healey Act. The law provides:

The construction, alteration, furnishing, or equipping of any naval vessel authorized by this Act, or the construction, alteration, furnishing, or equipping of any naval vessels with funds from any appropriation available for such purposes, contracts for which are made after June 30, 1938, shall be in accordance with the provisions of Public Law 846, Seventy-fourth Congress, approved June 30, 1936, unless such course, in the judgment of the President of the United States, should not be in the interest of national defense.

Government Reorganization—The first session of the 75th Congress passed a bill providing for the reorganization of 133 Government activities. Among them were the Civil Service Commission and the United States Employees' Compensation Commission.

The Senate passed a bill, S. 3331, which provided that the law creating the non-partisan Civil Service Commission should be repealed and one administrator appointed to carry out the Civil Service laws. The Government employees objected strenuously to the change in the Civil Service Commission because it would become a political instead of a non-partisan branch of the Government.

It is also provided that the United States Employees' Compensation Commission should be placed in some other activity of the Government. This would move the Commission from its independent status and place it under political control. Both bills were finally recommittees to the Select Committee on Government Organization which had held extensive hearings on the question of reorganization.

Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Schools—S. 3549, to prevent discrimination against graduates of certain schools in the making of appointments to Government positions, the qualifications for which include legal training or legal experience, failed of passage. It was favorably reported to the Senate, but no action was taken.

The Civil Service Commission approved the bill. In a letter to the committee the commission stated:

The proposed bill as drawn would prohibit the Commission, in announcing examinations for positions in which legal training or experience is desirable, from setting up as a prerequisite for eligibility in such examination (1) graduation from a particular law school, (2) graduation from a law school or particular class or one which has been approved or accredited by any association, organization, or group, or (3) college training in addition to law-school training. Appointing officers of all departments and agencies in which attorneys are expected from the regular competitive provisions of the civil service would similarly be restricted by the above-named provisions in establishing requirements of persons proposed for appointment.

The legislation would prevent the discrimination that is being practiced through the influence of the American Bar Association. The bill will be reintroduced in the next session of Congress and every effort will be made to have it passed.

Age Limit—H. J. Res. 453, proposed to determine the nature and effect of economic conditions or statutory provisions tending to produce unfair discrimination on the basis of age in obtaining or retaining employment in public service and private industry, failed of passage.

It provided that the Secretary of Labor investigate and report to Congress upon the nature and effect of any economic conditions or statutory provisions which may tend to produce unfair or inequitable discrimination on the basis of age in obtaining or retaining employment in public service or private industry; the extent to which age is a factor in determining the efficiency of men and women and the effect of the pension systems and group and workmen's compensation insurance upon the employment of the older worker.

The question of discharging workers after reaching a certain age or of refusing them employment because they had an objectionable age has been the cause of great concern for many years.

The Executive Council favors such an investigation and it is the intention to have the resolution reintroduced at the next session of Congress.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION

Only nine state legislatures met in regular session in 1938 compared to forty-three in 1937. Consequently the volume of labor legislation this year cannot be compared to last year. But in spite of 1938 being an off year, a number of significant measures were passed, many of them in states that are striving to overcome their backwardness in labor legislation. The state legislatures that met this year are: Kentucky, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia.

State Labor Relations—While no further enactments of state labor relations bills are to be recorded this year, New York passed a law which considerably tightens the State's regulation of private detectives and detective agencies, and attempts to restrict their espionage, strike-breaking and union-smashing activities. The required surety bond has been raised to \$10,000, and persons injured by an action which violates the law are permitted to bring suit against either principal or employer. Specific acts which are forbidden include: inciting to strike, inciting to do unlawful acts, interfering with peaceful picketing during a strike, interfering with the exercise of the employees' right to join or to assist a labor organization, interfering with collective bargaining, procuring reports on lawful union activities, circulating lists of union members, recruiting advertising for, or furnishing armed guards or strike-breakers, and tear gas or munitions. The business of detective agency may not be combined with that of employment agency. All detectives and detective agencies are required to hold licenses from the Department of State, which must be renewed biennially and may be revoked after a hearing. The Industrial Commissioner is given the right to inspect all applications and records connected with the administration of the law. The names of licensed detective agencies are to be published annually, and lists of applicants for license, licenses issued, and licenses revoked are to be posted weekly in the office of the Department of State.

In Kentucky the appointment of deputy sheriffs has been regulated by two laws, one setting up certain personnel qualifications, and the other prohibiting compensation by private parties. These regulations are not as stringent as those adopted last year in Pennsylvania. Rhode Island has prohibited the use of tear gas in labor disputes by any individual, firm, or corporation.

State Wage and Hour Legislation—Two more minimum wage laws for women and minors were adopted in 1938, both of them in southern states—Kentucky and Louisiana. This brings the number of state minimum wage laws to twenty-five in addition to the District of Columbia. Louisiana also adopted the 8-hour day, 48-hour week for women in certain employments in place of 9 and 54. Both of these laws exempt small towns—in one case those under 10,000; in the other case those under 6,000. In view of the well-known tendencies of substandard employers to seek out places where they will escape regulation, this may prove an unfortunate exemption. A certain number of intrastate industries, for instance laundries and dry cleaning establishments, are sufficiently mobile to take advantage of geographical differentials within a state. South Carolina has recently put into operation a law enacted in 1936 providing a 40-hour week in textiles by removing the proviso that that law should not take effect until similar legislation had been adopted in two neighboring states. South Carolina also passed a law fixing the maximum hours of all employees in a number of occupations—the standard varying from 40 to 60 a week, and from 8 to 12 a day. Night work for minors under eighteen is prohibited after 10 p.m. Virginia lowered the maximum daily limit for women's work from 9 to 8 hours, and for the first time set a weekly limit of 48 hours. Women and minors employed in beauty parlors in New York were brought under the coverage of the hours and weekly day-of-rest laws, and the required one day's rest in seven was extended to watchmen, janitors, and superintendents.

Two unfavorable decisions by State Supreme Courts are to be noted this year, but in all probability neither of them will constitute more than a temporary check. In Oklahoma the minimum wage law was declared invalid in respect to men, on purely technical grounds—an error in the title of the bill. In Pennsylvania the 44-hour law applying to all workers was declared unconstitutional, not because the court disapproved of the legislature regulating hours, but solely on the grounds that the act granted too much administrative discretion, without indicating standards and limits that should govern the administrative body.

Wage Payment and Wage Claim Collection—Disappointingly little progress was made this year in legislating against the practices complained of by workers who fail to receive the wages due them, or who are not free to spend the wages they earn because they are not paid in full in cash, or because they are not paid at sufficiently frequent and regular intervals, and are thus forced to draw credit from their employers, at a discount, or to trade at high-priced company stores with coupons. Actual cases of refusal to pay the agreed wages still occur, and in the absence of legislation the unorganized worker, and sometimes the organized worker as well, is without redress.

It should not be difficult to persuade legislatures to set up the few simple requirements that would enable these workers to enjoy an elementary right, the

right to receive and freely spend wages earned. Yet only South Carolina this year adopted an incomplete measure which, moreover, exempts some of the very industries in which the worst abuses are found. While omitting the requirement that wages be paid on regular prearranged pay days at specified intervals, the law requires the notification of all newly hired employees of their rates of pay, and of the time and place when payment would be made—provisions which should do something to establish the pay-day habit and to eliminate certain frequent causes of dispute in wage claim cases. The law requires prompt payment of employees on leaving (whether they quit voluntarily or are discharged); and empowers the Labor Commissioner to hear wage claim disputes and to assist employees in settling claims, but does not give him the right to take assignments of claims.

Legislation authorizing labor commissioners to take wage claim assignments and to sue for their collection may assume new importance for wage earners in connection with the administration of the new Federal Wage-Hour Law. In those states where the labor commissioners are so empowered, it will be possible for workers either individually or collectively to assign claims for back wages due them under this Act for immediate collection right in the state where the deficiency has occurred, without moving through Washington. Local unions seeking to enforce the claims of their members can also avail themselves of this machinery. A drive for wage claim legislation in the twenty-five states still lacking such a provision should start gathering momentum now for the 1939 state legislative sessions.

State Labor Departments—Effective labor legislation cannot progress any faster than the process of building up an agency to administer the laws passed. In recent years a number of states where agencies administering labor laws were weak, scattered, or non-existent have adopted legislation consolidating and strengthening scattered bureaus and creating state labor departments. A number of states that have in recent years established labor departments have followed up that step by revising and enlarging their labor laws. All of the nine states meeting this year, except Mississippi, already have established labor departments. In Mississippi a bill passed one house with organized labor backing, but was defeated in the Senate. Louisiana this year added new powers and duties relating to boiler inspection, regulation of private employment agencies, minimum wage, and apprenticeship.

Compensation for Industrial Accident and Disease—With industry still exacting annually a toll of 16,000 deaths, 66,200 permanent injuries, and 1,325,000 accidents which totally disable workers for some days, weeks, or months—not counting the disabilities and deaths resulting from occupational diseases—the question of compensation is still one of our most important issues. Many improvements in state compensation laws are still needed, which the legislatures meeting this year have almost entirely overlooked; unlimited medical care is still the exception and not the rule; workers' claims to medical care and compensation payments are still rigorously contested and whittled down by insurance company lawyers; pressure is brought by insurance companies on employers to discharge workers who are

suspected of being, or becoming, poor risks on account of age, prior injury, or merely because of long exposure to certain employment hazards. These same interests continue to fight against the establishment of state funds, which have been urged by organized labor for many years as the simplest and best way of providing fair benefits to the injured worker at low cost to the employers. In Indiana where hearings upon a proposal to establish a state fund were held this summer, the State Association of Insurance Agents boasted of building up a \$10,000 war chest to finance a lobby to defeat the proposal should it get beyond the hearing room to the legislature. Neither this year nor last has any progress been made with the establishment of new state funds.

Furthermore, occupational disease compensation scored no new victories this year, though last year five new laws were passed.

Apprenticeship—The setting up of state machinery for promoting apprentice training along the sound lines worked out by the Federal Committee on Apprentice Training, will be furthered by laws adopted in three states this year—Louisiana, Massachusetts, and Virginia.

The Dilemma of the Older Worker—The 1937 Convention of the American Federation of Labor directed the Executive Council to request the Secretary of Labor to make a study of the problems of those workers who, in increasing numbers, in their fifties, forties, and even their thirties, were being denied employment. A committee composed of representatives of employers, of organized labor, and of the public was appointed by the Secretary, has held several meetings and has appointed subcommittees which are now preparing their conclusions and recommendations on various topics, such as age limits in civil service, the effect of pension plans, group insurance, and compensation for accidents and disease on employment policies, and the relative efficiency and susceptibility to accidents of younger and older workers.

Meanwhile a legislative committee in New York State has been holding hearings at different points throughout the State, and has issued a preliminary report. Funds have been voted to continue the inquiry another year. The International Labor Office, at the instance of the American labor delegate, has moved to launch an international study of the question.

Whatever reasons these studies may disclose for the difficulties that older persons experience in regaining employment once they have lost their footing in the present highly competitive labor market, the great loss in productive manpower through this discrimination is fully apparent. Whatever individual employers think they may gain from refusing to hire those who have passed an arbitrary age limit, it is clear that society is losing the services of many experienced and competent workers, and that the families of these workers are foregoing their earning power just when it should be at its prime.

Among the proposed legislative remedies, the laws enacted this year by New York and New Jersey merit attention. These laws attempt to eliminate all maximum age barriers from civil service examinations and appointments, whether state or municipal, except for certain positions having unusual physical requirements—for instance, firemen, policemen, and prison guards.

Workmen's Compensation—Through a complication of misunderstandings, the Mississippi Legislature failed to pass a workmen's compensation law. The bill exempted employees of railroad organizations. However, the report was circulated that it would not protect the interests of the railroad men and they refused to support the measure. This caused its defeat. When a bill of that nature is introduced in the Mississippi Legislature again copies should be sent to the various railroad organizations in order that no such misunderstandings as occurred on the bill introduced this year will occur.

Arkansas is the only other state that has not yet adopted this meritorious legislation. The Constitution of Arkansas prohibits the legislature appropriating funds for death or injury from accidents. On account of this clause it was necessary to initiate a petition in order to place on the ballot this fall the question of a change in the constitution which will make such a law possible. Sufficient signatures were obtained and the people will vote upon the question in November.

Both employees and employers are earnestly seeking compensation legislation. The opposition appears to come from persons who are securing larger terms for so-called damage suit cases. These persons are known as "ambulance chasers." It is hoped that the petition for a change in the constitution will succeed and the next legislature will pass a workmen's compensation law.

Incorporation of Trade Unions—The agitation for the incorporation of trade unions did not make any progress in the state legislatures that met in 1938. No bills were introduced in Kentucky, Virginia, Mississippi, New York, South Carolina or Louisiana.

A bill was introduced in the Massachusetts Legislature in 1937 which was sent to a recess commission which reported the bill unfavorably. The legislature took no action.

A bill was introduced in New Jersey, but through the opposition of the State Federation of Labor it failed of passage.

A bill was introduced in the Arizona Legislature which required all "associations" to incorporate before they could do business in the State. However, it was not introduced under that title. It was covered by the pretext of being a measure to keep out certain types of insurance companies who are bitterly fought by Labor. The trick was discovered and when the information was given the Senate Labor Committee no report was made on the measure.

A petition was in circulation in California to be voted upon in November which would not only compel unions to incorporate but to radically curtail many of their activities. An organization in California called the "Women of the Pacific" was behind the petition. Through the efforts of the trade unionists the women failed to secure sufficient signatures and have decided to postpone getting them until 1940. The labor officials charge that the women are being used by unfair employers.

Another petition which will go on the ballot is sponsored by the California Committee for Peace in Employment Relations. This is said to be a camouflage name for the Associated Farmers. It would regulate picketing, forbid boycotts and other activities of Labor.

The latest reports from Oregon state that a sufficient number of signatures have been secured for a similar petition to that postponed in California until 1940. If the Legislature should enact the provisions recommended by the petition into law trade unions would be practically outlawed.

Washington Labor is also disturbed by a petition circulated in that State. It prays that the Legislature will enact a law compelling any labor unions that take a strike vote to submit the ballots to the County Auditor for investigation as to their correctness. The plan is to give a public official complete authority to regulate trade unions.

Convict Labor—Thirty-one states have adopted the state-use system in the employment of convicts. Two of them have partially carried out the policy of the American Federation of Labor. Indiana and Maine enacted laws prohibiting transportation into those states of convict made goods to sell on the open market. They neglected, however, to enact the state-use law, which makes the law enacted inoperative.

The regulations relating to the transportation of prison made products have been completed and distributed to all freight agents throughout the United States. The regulations contain the Hawes-Cooper Act and the Ashurst-Sumners Act, and then gives the laws of every state pertaining to the sale of convict made products. The publication of the regulations will immediately prevent the transportation of convict made products into states which do not permit its own convict made products to be sold on the open market. The result will be that the seventeen states that have not yet enacted the proper laws will be forced to do so as their markets for prison made products are slowly being taken away from them.

The problem has been to impress the legislatures of the southern states that they must arrange for establishing the state-use system or otherwise they will not be able to sell any of their products anywhere in the United States.

Child Labor Amendment—Forty-four state legislatures will meet in 1939 and it is hoped that eight of them will have sufficient interest in protecting children from industrial exploitation to ratify the Amendment. Twenty-eight states already have given approval to the Amendment. The several states that met this year were requested to consider ratification, but none of them complied.

The Executive Council will urge the twenty states which meet next year and that have not yet ratified to take favorable action on the Amendment.

Warning to Affiliated Organizations—It has been the practice of a number of organizations inimical to the American Federation of Labor to have bills introduced in Congress and then sent to various labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor requesting them to approve of the measures and notify the members of Congress who introduced them to that effect. This has complicated the work of the American Federation of Labor to an alarming extent.

The Executive Council recommends that any affiliated organization receiving copies of the bills which they are asked to support should submit them to the American Federation of Labor for information as to whether they are acceptable.

By complying with this request any bills that now conflict with the policy of the American Federation of Labor will not be given support by affiliated organizations.

LEGAL COUNSEL ENGAGED

With the enactment of social justice legislation in the last few years, such as the Bacon-Davis Act, Walsh-Healey Act, National Labor Relations Act and the Wages and Hours Act, it became necessary to have available legal counsel at Headquarters. Because of this need we engaged the services of Hon. Joseph A. Padway as Counsel for the American Federation of Labor. Immediately upon accepting this appointment, Judge Padway established an office in Washington, D. C., with a trained legal staff, and ever since March 1st, 1938, has rendered legal services of the highest order in advising and counseling with the Executive Officers of the American Federation of Labor, its Departments and various international, national and federal labor unions and in appearing before Congressional Committees on legislation requiring a legal presentation.

Judge Padway is a lawyer of high standing and recognized legal ability. For almost twenty-five years he served as General Counsel for the Wisconsin Federation of Labor and in addition to his vast experience in labor legislation and labor law he is possessed of wide knowledge of the problems, aims and purposes of organized labor. He has fought numerous labor cases in the highest Appellate Courts and through his efforts beneficial precedents of vital importance to organized labor have been established.

There are cases of great importance to the American Federation of Labor pending in the courts and before Governmental boards. These will be handled by Judge Padway under the direction of the officers and the Executive Council and decisions of great consequence to our movement will be rendered in the coming year. We are gratified to have acquired the services of a lawyer so well-equipped and so able to understand our legal and legislative problems.

CREDIT UNIONS

Government chartered credit unions, when properly operated and adequately safeguarded, have in many cases given important service to trade union members. In considering the credit union however, it should be recognized at the outset that its function is different from that of the trade union and that it may be a useful adjunct to the trade union only when its operations in no way interfere with those of the trade union.

The trade union is concerned with improving wages and working conditions through agreement with employers, and maintaining the rights of their members as citizens. In order to carry out these functions, officers must have the loyal support of members and must be elected for their merit and ability in carrying on the business of the union. Trade union members look to their union officers to negotiate with employers and handle all matters concerned with improving their income and working conditions, and all other union business. The credit union must not divert them from this essential function.

The credit union on the other hand, in its business of granting loans at low rates, providing a safe investment for members' savings and earning enough income to pay good interest, has functions distinctly separate from those of the trade union. To protect members' savings, credit union officers must pass on requests for loans with scrupulous care and good judgment; they must collect loans which have become delinquent with exactness and fairness. Such action is not concerned with trade union business. Credit union business should be handled in such a way that the trade union member does not confuse his relation to the credit union with his relation to the trade union. Action necessary for the credit union must not be permitted to impair his loyalty to trade union officers or to influence his participation in trade union affairs.

In order that credit union officers and members fully understand the function of a credit union, careful instruction will be necessary. It must be understood that the credit union is a business organization, and must be operated on sound business principles; that political considerations cannot enter in without impairing its operation; that the credit union treasury is separate from the trade union treasury and its business separate from trade union business. The requirements for making loans and repaying loans must be fully understood by members so that they will see the relation of their personal transactions to the business of the credit union as a whole.

The proper functioning of a credit union depends upon the character, vigilance and judgment of its officers. Federal laws provide for a supervisory committee and a credit committee. Members of the supervisory committee, which examines the affairs of the credit union and audits its books, must be constantly on the watch to see that its affairs are in order and sound business practices are followed. The credit committee, which passes on loans, must have both patience and firmness in helping members to a constructive solution of their credit problems and safeguarding the investment of others by refusing loans which could not be collected. The Treasurer and Board of Directors, who have final responsibility, must be persons of character and ability, capable of handling credit union business and ready to spend the time necessary for efficient management. Unless there are at least eight capable persons ready to take responsibility, a credit union cannot be properly managed.

We emphasize these points because we feel they are vital to the successful management of credit unions by trade unions. We also recognize the valuable service credit unions may give to trade union membership. By furnishing ready money at times of emergency, helping members to pay off old debts, freeing them from loan sharks, teaching habits of saving and thrift, sometimes by helping them to buy their own homes, credit unions have lifted many a member from the brink of despair, restored his self-confidence, helped him to a better and richer life. All of us meet emergencies we cannot foresee. An account with the credit union gives that spirit of independence which is vital to trade union growth and basic to all human development.

Our study of credit unions has not yet proceeded far enough to provide a basis for complete analysis at this time.

The Amalgamated Association of Street and Electrical Railway Employees has started twenty-four credit unions in Chicago within the last year, covering

its entire membership of more than 20,000 on the Chicago elevated and surface lines. Before organizing these credit unions the Association carried on a campaign of education through its weekly paper, "The Union Leader." This was effective in establishing a thorough understanding of the credit union among the membership before the credit union offices were opened for business. We emphasize again the importance of such education for any union undertaking to operate a credit union.

The Federal Credit Union Section of the Farm Credit Administration gives careful and exacting supervision to credit unions operating under Federal charter. All Federal credit unions are examined once yearly by the bank examiners of the Farm Credit Administration, and in addition are given assistance at the start and frequent supervision thereafter by the field men of the Credit Union Section. These examiners and field men insist that the affairs of all Federal credit unions be kept in order and that the regulations of the charter and by-laws under which they operate be strictly observed. Any credit union failing to live up to these regulations is given every possible assistance by field men to put its affairs in order. If it still fails to do so its charter may be revoked.

This strict supervision is a most important safeguard and a great benefit to unions operating credit unions. It strengthens the hand of credit union officers in dealing with difficult situations.

In closing we make the following recommendations: that your committee continue to study credit unions; that the committee take up with the Federal Credit Union Section of the Farm Credit Administration the question of granting credit union charters to central labor unions covering membership of affiliated locals; that local unions operating credit unions observe the above mentioned safeguards.

CONSUMERS' COOPERATION

The past year has been a time of growing sales volume in consumers' cooperatives in the United States and of growing interest in cooperatives on the part of trade unions. The sales of six leading cooperative wholesalers, which supply products to retail cooperatives, increased 22 per cent in 1937 as compared with 1936. It is significant that such an increase should have occurred in a year when serious business recession reduced sales in business generally in the last quarter and when wholesale trade in general increased its volume by only 12 per cent and retail trade by only 5 per cent.

Federation headquarters has had requests from 122 union offices for literature and information on cooperatives in the past year, calling for 20,220 pieces of literature. Some of these requests have come from localities where retail cooperatives were already established, indicating that union members are taking part in cooperative activities and benefiting by cooperative services.

Other requests were from groups interested in studying cooperative enterprise with a view to starting buying clubs or other cooperative activities. In such cases, we have put local groups in touch with the cooperative wholesalers serving their localities so that they might obtain advice and assistance in starting and operating on sound business principles. There are eleven cooperative

wholesalers operating on Rochdale principles and affiliated with the Cooperative League of America which serve retail cooperative groups in practically every part of the United States. These wholesalers are ready to help local groups develop their activities along practical lines and avoid the pitfalls and mistakes which have caused failure in the past. Some of the wholesalers have field men which they send to local groups for this purpose.

Consumers' cooperatives when efficiently operated may perform an essential service for union members by protecting them from price exploitation and helping them to secure quality goods at reasonable prices. We wish, however, to reiterate the warnings given in our report of last year, that all local labor groups undertaking cooperative enterprise adhere closely to Rochdale principles and make sure that their cooperative is capably managed and that sound business principles and practices are followed. We urge them to keep in touch with the branch offices of the Cooperative League of America and to make use of the assistance offered by cooperative wholesalers which are members of the League.

Unions must also recognize the fact that a cooperative is separate and distinct in function from the trade union and must not be permitted to interfere in any way with union business. The treasuries of the two organizations must be kept separate, and the cooperative must stand on its own feet and earn its own way if it is to give service of any value to the union membership.

In countries where a large portion of the Nation's business is transacted by cooperatives, they have been an important factor in stabilizing distribution and employment and lessening business booms and depressions. In Sweden and Finland, for instance, unemployment has been practically eliminated, due to the prevalence of consumer cooperatives and to other methods of controlling business activity. In this country, although as yet only 1 per cent of our retail business is transacted through cooperatives, sales of cooperatives, as noted above, have been better maintained than sales of wholesale and retail stores in general during the present business recession.

By giving back to the consumer the profits accumulated in doing business, cooperatives equalize the distribution of income and increase buying power, thus helping to prevent the economic unbalance of large wealth accumulated in the hands of a few.

It is important that consumers' cooperatives in America recognize the necessity of trade union organization and encourage their employees to become members of trade unions. If the cooperative movement is to become a vital force in our national life it must go hand in hand with trade union organization.

EDUCATION

Early in the year the President's Advisory Committee on Education made its report. It is a comprehensive examination of our public education institutions as a whole with recommendations for the advancement of an integrated national education program.

With the changes through which our Nation grew from world colonies to a

world power together with unparalleled technical change revolutionizing our work customs and standards of living, have come need for adapting our practices in dealing with public and social problems. A nation even with far-spread boundaries has been able to integrate its public life by rapid transportation and quick communications even with mass groups. A nation functioning as a unit naturally thinks of its educational problems as of national concern and is mindful of the necessity for maintaining equal educational opportunity for all the citizens of this democracy. Education lays the basis for overcoming economic and social handicaps in backward states. Only Federal grants can overcome existing obstacles in those areas where average incomes are lowest. With this fundamental thesis the American Federation of Labor is in full accord. We are equally convinced that Federal grants should in no way interfere with local determination of local educational policies. The Advisory Committee's recommendations rest upon this premise also, leaving to the states the determination of what is a public education institution as well as control over educational policies. Regular and prescribed accounting to the Office of Education together with conferences for discussion of experience are reasonable and practicable safeguards for such expenditures of Federal funds.

The Committee report summarizes the present education situation thus:

I. The Present Situation in the Schools

The history of the United States affords no more dramatic and significant spectacle than the growth of its educational system. It is a story of the determined struggle of a free people to advance their standards through the improved education of succeeding generations. American education is a phenomenon of American democracy; and the present strengths and weaknesses of American democracy are in large part the result of the strengths and weaknesses of the educational system.

As an enterprise in mass management, public education is one of the largest of all public businesses. Its plant, its personnel, its annual expenditures all rank it among the largest governmental functions. By 1930 the total value of the property and endowments of the public schools had reached the impressive sum of \$6,674,445,000. Their annual expenditures, including interest and capital outlay, were at a level of about \$2,300,000,000. Drastic reduction in expenditures, followed by partial recovery, has occurred since 1930; in 1935-36 the schools were maintained with enrollments substantially above those of 1930 through the expenditure of about \$2,000,000,000.

As an enterprise in human relations, the schools deal in the human lives of the future Nation. Enrollments in all public elementary and secondary schools reached a total of 26,367,098 in 1935-36. Enrollments in elementary schools reached their peak in 1930 and have since declined slightly because of the smaller number of children in the total population. In 1935-36 enrollments in public elementary schools were 20,392,561. High-school enrollments continue to expand as a larger proportion of all youth enter the high schools. Youth to the number of 4,399,422 were enrolled in public high schools in 1929-30; by 1935-36 the number had increased to 5,974,537.

The Committee formulated the following objectives for public schools:

What the schools should provide—The citizen has the right to expect that the public school will bring both to his children and to his community

real opportunities for individual and social development. The following services are among those that should be universally available:

1. A well-planned program of general education for all children and youth, and also suitable preparation for particular vocations in accordance with the needs of the children and youth.

2. Instruction by carefully selected teachers who are competent and well prepared, and who are interested in the development of community life.

3. Safe and sanitary school buildings adapted to a modern program of instruction and related services.

4. Suitable school equipment and instructional materials, including books and other reading materials adequate for the needs of the children.

5. Student aid when necessary to permit able young people to remain in school at least up to age 18.

6. Suitable opportunities for part-time and adult education.

The community facilities for educational and related services should include:

1. Adequate school and community libraries.

2. A broad community program for the protection of the physical and mental health of the children.

3. Adequate provision of educational and related services for handicapped children.

4. Well-organized and competently staffed educational and vocational guidance services for all children and youth.

The organization of the local school system should be adapted to democratic methods and needs:

1. The school district or other local administrative unit, whether urban or rural, should be large enough to permit economical organization, effective supervision of schools, and a broad base for local taxation.

2. The board of education should be broadly representative of the entire community

3. There should be competent supervision of instruction and other services through a staff with supervisory capacity and social vision.

4. The teachers should be encouraged and given opportunity to participate actively and intelligently in the development of educational and administrative policies for the school system; they should also be encouraged to participate in community activities appropriate for public servants.

5. There should be definite cooperative arrangements for the coordination of the work of the schools with that of other community agencies concerned with the health, education, welfare, and guidance of children and youth.

6. In rural areas, the school system should be as efficiently organized and as well supported as in urban areas; so far as feasible school attendance areas should follow community lines.

7. Where separate schools are maintained for negroes, they should be as well adapted to the needs of their pupils as are the schools for white children and youth.

For putting such a program into effect, the Committee recommends Federal grants for public schools in addition to those now provided for vocational education, vocational rehabilitation, and land grant colleges. The full program of Federal support for educational services would be as indicated in the following table:

TABLE 1—Amounts of existing and proposed Federal grants for educational services

[In thousands of dollars]

Fiscal year	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
Existing grants:							
Vocational education.....	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785	\$21,785
Vocational rehabilitation of the physically handicapped.....	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983	1,983
Land-grant colleges:							
Resident instruction.....	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030	5,030
Agricultural research.....	6,860	7,477	7,500	7,512	7,525	7,537	7,542
Extension service.....	17,936	18,333	18,373	18,413	18,453	18,493	18,533
Total existing grants.....	53,594	54,608	54,671	54,723	54,776	54,828	54,873
Proposed grants:							
General aid to elementary and secondary education.....		40,000	60,000	80,000	100,000	120,000	140,000
Improved preparation of teachers and other educational personnel.....		2,000	4,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Construction of school buildings to facilitate district reorganization.....		20,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000	30,000
Administration of State departments of education.....		1,000	1,500	2,000	2,000	2,000	2,000
Educational services for adults.....		5,000	10,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000
Library service for rural areas.....		2,000	4,000	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Cooperative educational research, demonstrations, and planning.....	1,250	2,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000	3,000
Total proposed grants.....	1,250	72,000	112,500	142,000	162,000	182,000	202,000

A bill was drafted incorporating the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee. The American Federation of Labor approved the general purposes of the measure and drafted amendments to those sections of the bill dealing with vocational education which we hope to have incorporated. We believe further that control of the allocation of these Federal grants should follow the traditional democratic principles that are educational tradition inseparable from our public school system. Decisions on policies should be in the hands of representative agencies. Citizens should decide fundamental policies through their representatives.

Vocational Education—The Advisory Committee had been originally created to inquire into vocational education and its shortcomings. In performing this task it found conclusions impossible unless it considered the whole educational program into which vocational education fitted. Vocational education functioned in agriculture, home economics and specialized industrial fields. In some of the industrial courses, the educational purpose shifted from giving the student "All those experiences whereby one learns to carry on a useful occupation" and preparation for the duties of citizenship, to training persons for specific jobs with specific employers, thus facilitating exploitation. The degree to which bad administration had perverted the purposes of vocational education, varied from locality to locality, depending upon the intelligent vigilance of those groups concerned with keeping vocational education in accord with best concepts. The basic condition for satisfactory and progressive administration of vocational education is advisory committees of employers and workers of every administra-

tive level participating in the formulation of policies, in touch with the teaching, and contributing to the evaluation of results.

After the President placed the Board of Vocational Education in the Office of Education, the principle of advisory committees was submerged. Failure to maintain the principle of advisory committees to guide and check on vocational educational work is one of the reasons why many bad practices developed. However a graver responsibility rests upon those Federal administrators responsible for approving grants and keeping in touch with developments and policies. Without responsible administrators devoted to the cause of education and careful to avoid all exploitation of students, both as students and as workers, we cannot lift vocational education from the morass into which it has fallen.

The Advisory Committee felt that vocational education in the past twenty years had outgrown our legal provisions. While Federal aid had raised standards in home economics, agriculture, trade and industry and training of teachers, the Committee recommended general grants instead of ear-marked grants in order that the locality might be freer to plan its local program.

The Committee found these objections to present provisions for vocational education:

- (a) Type of training for younger pupils too narrowly conceived without adequate introductory guidance and exploratory courses.
- (b) Abuses in plant training programs led to exploitation of "students" and sale of products of unpaid workers on open market.
- (c) Federally aided schools have arranged for employment of pupils in private industry at wage rates below acceptable minimum, and in some cases pupils have worked twenty hours per week without pay.
- (d) Some vocational schools disavow any concern for labor standards of trainees.
- (e) Excessive number of pupils recruited for highly specialized trade training classes.
- (f) Some trade training classes sell products on open market, sometimes at prices below market prices.
- (g) Committee found general lack of understanding of labor and industry problems related to vocational education.
- (h) Intensive types of trade and industry training given at too young an age—should be above eighteen years.
- (i) Vocational education for negroes inadequately provided.

The Committee thought that much of the difficulty was due to excessive Federal control of local vocational undertakings and recommended amendment of existing law setting up specific requirements and suggested that Federal grants be conditioned on the acceptance and maintenance of adequate protection against the exploitation of children and youth in vocational education courses. Special grants for vocational education had a tendency to foster dual administration whereas education of individuals requires unity in planning and in administration.

The American Federation of Labor believes that in the field of vocational education where the relationship to industry is so close it is necessary to retain the standards written into existing law in order to provide adequate protection for trainees. Industries are organized nationally and Federal minimum labor and educational standards are necessary.

We propose a National Advisory Committee to be appointed by the Commissioner of Education consisting of three representatives each of Labor, employers, and vocational educators, nominated by the groups represented. Upon the recommendations of this committee Labor shall fix minimum standards to govern vocational education and teacher training for each respective field. The committee shall set up additional committees, similarly constituted for special fields to make recommendations to the National Advisory Committee.

The recommendations of such committees, made the condition for Federal grants, will do much to create sound educational training and prevent utilization of vocational trainees for private profit.

Advisory committees of workers and employers at every administrative level within the state could see to the enforcement of existing standards as well as be helpful in recommending needed changes and improvements.

Every central labor union should be responsible for securing labor representation on its local board of education and board of directors of its public library; and should secure establishment of the practice of an advisory committee for each of the occupations or industries for which vocational courses are provided. This advisory committee should participate in planning the course and should also keep in touch with both training and related educational and industrial plans.

Youth—The consequences of the recent depression and consequent and recurring unemployment, have fallen heavily upon young persons—depriving them of those growth opportunities which should be the right of every young person and a place in the work world in which to earn a living—a right necessary to self-dependence. It is a serious matter when boys and girls are made to feel there is no place for them in our social system. It was to meet this situation that the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps were created as emergency measures.

The Civilian Conservation Corps is headed by a Director who has the co-operation of Federal and state agencies. The War Department is responsible for clothing, feeding, housing, transporting and demobilizing those enrolled for the camps; for health, welfare and educational services; for discipline within the camps, and their general administration. These are functions for which the War Department has most competent personnel. Work projects of the camps are supervised by the Forestry Service, the National Parks Service, and the Soil Conservation Service. These camps have demonstrated their value as training and adjustment agencies for young men.

The National Youth Administration is under the Works Progress Administration. It was designed primarily to maintain morale for unemployed youth without incomes. For boys and girls in school it provides financial aid through jobs. For the unemployed out of school, youth rehabilitation and stimulation of educational interests are the main objectives of the work projects provided. Vocational guidance and registration in employment offices are major factors in the service.

These emergency undertakings have shown up permanent needs and have developed constructive methods. It is our social duty to provide more equal educational opportunities for all and to do this we must face the fact that the

greatest cause of inequality in educational opportunity is economic. During past years efforts of radicals to direct and warp the minds of youth have been more serious and more determined than ever before. Propagandists seek control over the education of the next generation, as short cuts to establishing theories or to gaining control.

The Advisory Committee recommended that these two agencies be merged under the title National Youth Service Administration and placed under the Office of Education. This proposal, in addition to making the services permanent, would provide for the integration of this work with that of governmental agencies normally concerned with the duties involved. Youth should have opportunities but it should also be made conscious of its obligations to home, community and the heritage left by past generations.

Federal Committee on Apprentice Training in the Department of Labor—This Committee develops the standards to be followed in all apprentice training. In addition to determining general standards it organizes committees representative equally of management and workers to develop the standards for jurisdictions which they represent—in conformity, of course, with the general standards.

The United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada have agreed upon standards for the employment and education of apprentices with the Master Plumbers Association and the Heating, Piping Air Conditioning Contractors National Association. Standards for other building trades are in process of making.

To bind apprenticeship standards permanently into state practice, we are urging the enactment of state apprentice laws. Massachusetts, Louisiana, and Virginia have laws providing for apprenticeship councils consisting of equal representation of workers and employers.

The work of this Committee has to do only with standard-making for the education and the work-training of those who are to be our skilled workers. It is a task of fundamental importance in a machine civilization.

During the past year the Committee with the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor increased its appropriation by \$73,000. This will make possible greater service in the educational field.

Workers Education Bureau—During the past twelve months the Workers Education Bureau has continued its activity in the field of workers education and has made the following contributions:

1. *Institutes for Organizers*—To meet the need for training in organizing, the Bureau set up, in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, a series of regional institutes in Atlanta, Georgia, Chicago, Illinois, and Washington, D. C., following the initial institute in Boston. In each of these regional institutes organizers were brought in for conferences of two or three days, during which an opportunity was given for a factual presentation of some of their local difficulties and future problems, together with guidance in meeting the manifold duties of the organizer. In these regional institutes—and in more localized meetings held at Columbia, South Carolina, Cincinnati, Ohio, Albany, New York, and Newark, New Jersey—all of the organizing staffs in the North, East, South, and Middle

West were reached. In connection with these institutes a set of charts was prepared showing in graphic form the legislative and executive functions of the American Federation of Labor.

The Bureau has been called upon and has conferred with the officers of a number of national and international unions about setting up similar training programs for their membership.

2. *Labor Institutes*—For the eighth successive year the Rutgers Labor Institute, which has been one of the pioneer projects of its kind in this country, held a successful session on the campus of Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey. The topic this year was "Labor and Public Policy" and distinguished authorities in the fields of labor and economics and international relations, as well as officials of the Department of Labor, the Federal Housing Authority, and the National Labor Relations Board, participated in the discussions. An institute was held during the annual session of the Pacific Coast School for Workers, which is held each year at the University of California.

An experiment was carried out by the Upholsterers' International Union in June of this year, which set up an institute for organizers with the cooperation of the Bureau. This institute demonstrated again the effectiveness of this technique as a typical approach to a current labor problem, provided the assistance of competent leaders can be assured. In the case of the Upholsterers' International Union the two topics for consideration which were of special importance to its membership were (1) the Wages and Hours Act and (2) the Social Security Program.

The New Jersey and Ohio State Federations of Labor have carried out plans for labor institutes in connection with their annual conventions.

3. *State Federations and Workers' Education*—The Portland Convention in 1923 recommended that "each State Federation of Labor establish a permanent educational department and provide an educational director to cooperate actively with the Workers Education Bureau in providing adequately for the educational needs of the organized workers in every state in the United States." A number of the state federations of labor have followed the recommendation. During the past year four state federations in particular have given very generous support to the workers' education movement. California, with its Director of Workers' Education appointed in 1923, has continued its work and has been one of the sponsors of the Pacific Coast School for Workers, which concluded its sessions in August. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, as a result of its program of cooperation over the years with the state university, has succeeded in securing a grant in aid of Workers Education. The Ohio State Federation of Labor has employed the services of a Director of Workers' Education. The New Jersey State Federation of Labor has given active support to workers' education in the annual program of the Rutgers Labor Institute in June of each year.

In Ohio an active and comprehensive program of labor institutes, meetings, exhibits, radio programs, and lecture series has been set up in connection with the central labor bodies in the following cities: Canton, Cleveland, Chillicothe, Columbus, Dayton, East Liverpool, Elyria, Ironton, Lancaster, Marion, Newark, Portsmouth, Toledo, Youngstown, and Zanesville.

4. *Radio Programs*—On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union the Bureau cooperated in the preparation of a sketch of the history of that organization and collaborated in its presentation over a nation-wide network.

This year the Workers Education Bureau cooperated in a project of the Columbia Broadcasting System, a new radio series entitled "Americans at Work," to be presented each week over a nation-wide network, which seeks to present in a vivid and arresting manner both the dignity of Labor and the importance of skill in carrying on the many and diverse duties of this Machine Age. The national and international unions very generously responded to requests for assistance. The list of programs already presented includes the following:

Sandhog
Engineman
Telegrapher
Milk Driver
Longshoremen
Department Store Buyer
Steel Workers
Baker
Railway Expressman

Aviator
Cowboy
Postman
Submarine
Filling Station
Dynamiter
Beautician
Policeman
Newspapers

5. *Affiliations and Support of the Bureau*—During the year the Bureau registered the affiliation and cooperation of national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, and federal and local unions. The present total affiliated membership of 631, while not as large as it is hoped it will become, does represent the active interest of a good percentage of the membership of the Federation.

As the support of the Bureau today depends almost entirely upon the trade unions, it is encouraging to report progress in securing a wider basis for the financing of the Bureau, through the inclusion among its affiliated members of a larger number of federal and local unions.

CHILD LABOR

The American Federation of Labor since its organization has demanded the prohibition of child labor. As long ago as 1888, the American Federation of Labor was urging a constitutional amendment to prohibit the employment of children under 14 in workshops, mines, and factories. In 1917 it demanded still higher standards by adopting the resolution "That the American Federation of Labor is unalterably opposed to the employment of children under sixteen years of age." The Federation has led in the fight for legislation, both Federal and state, to prevent the exploitation of child life for private gain. It supported the Palmer-Owen Bill before Congress in 1914, the First Federal Child Labor Law which passed in 1916, and the Federal Child Labor Tax law enacted in 1919. When that law was declared unconstitutional in 1922, the Federation entered the fight for a constitutional amendment placing beyond dispute the power of Congress to act in this field. It was the President of the American Federation of Labor who headed the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor, composed of more

than twenty national organizations, that worked for the favorable consideration by Congress of a child labor amendment. When the pending amendment was submitted to the States in 1924, the Federation began its active work for ratification which has been unceasing ever since. Four states ratified the amendment in 1937, bringing the number of ratifications up to twenty-eight, but no state has ratified this year. Eight additional ratifications are needed before the amendment becomes part of the Constitution.

Two issues which opponents of the amendment have repeatedly urged to defeat ratification will soon be passed upon by the United States Supreme Court. These are, (1) whether a state may validly ratify after a resolution to ratify has been rejected by a previous legislature, and (2) whether the lapse of time since the amendment was submitted to the states has precluded the possibility of ratification. Conflicting decisions on these issues have been handed down during the past year by the highest State Courts of Kansas and Kentucky. The Kansas Supreme Court decided on September 16, 1937, that the amendment is still before the states for ratification and that a state in which the legislature has affirmatively rejected the amendment can reverse its former action and ratify. In Kentucky, the Court of Appeals on October 1, 1937 handed down a contrary decision. Both cases were taken to the United States Supreme Court on petition for a writ of certiorari, and the court has taken jurisdiction. While the petition for review was pending, the Governors or Attorneys General of 10 States¹ communicated with the Attorney General of the United States, urging the importance of Supreme Court review of the two decisions, and a letter pointing out the public concern in the status of the amendment was sent by the United States Attorney General to the Court.

Neither of these questions has as yet been definitely passed upon by the Supreme Court. Constitutional authorities have supported the right of a state to ratify an amendment even though the legislature has previously rejected. As to the time that must elapse before a proposed amendment can be considered dead, the Supreme Court has set up the criterion that the time within which ratifications may be valid must be reasonable, but it has not passed on any case where no time limit was set up in the amendment itself, as is the case with the Child Labor Amendment. The case will be argued early in the October term, and we are hoping for a favorable decision that will enable the American Federation of Labor to push to a successful conclusion in 1939 the fight for final ratification.

The twenty states that have not yet ratified the amendment are: Alabama, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia. Of these, all except Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia will hold regular legislative sessions next year. The amendment should be made a definite issue by labor organizations in all campaigns for members in state legislatures by questioning candidates as to their vote on the question if elected, and organized labor should refuse to support

¹ Arkansas, California, Illinois, Indiana, Minnesota, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

candidates who will oppose ratification. After the legislatures meet, aggressive action in every one of these states should be taken to bring the amendment before the legislatures and obtain a favorable vote. If this is done, we believe that ratification by the necessary eight states can be obtained in 1939, making the amendment part of the Federal Constitution.

A great step forward for the children of the country has already been taken this year through the enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. Under this act employment of children under 16 is in effect prohibited in any occupation covered by it, i.e., all industries producing goods for interstate commerce, and in addition employment of boys and girls of sixteen and seventeen may be prohibited in occupations found and declared by the Chief of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor to be particularly hazardous or detrimental to their health or well being. Goods produced in establishments in which children have been employed contrary to these standards within thirty days prior to the removal of such goods are prohibited from shipment across state lines or to any foreign country. The law goes into effect in October of this year, and the child labor provisions are to be enforced by the U. S. Children's Bureau. Although this legislation is not as extensive in scope as could be enacted under the pending Constitutional amendment, since it applies only to industries producing goods for interstate commerce, it will reach a substantial portion of the harmful child labor now existing.

This new law will remove the objection often used against raising state child labor standards, that states with high standards may be at a competitive disadvantage with states having lower standards. It should encourage the enactment of state laws that will bring the state standards up to those of the Federal law or higher. Experience during previous periods when Federal regulation of child labor was in effect, both under the early Federal laws and under the NRA, has shown that more advances are made in state child labor legislation during such a period than when only state laws are operative. Only ten states now have a basic sixteen year minimum age; only five have maximum weekly hours as low as forty or forty-four for minors up to eighteen years of age. The Executive Council urges State Federations to demand the enactment of laws that will make state standards at least as high as those of the Fair Labor Standards Act, for intrastate as well as interstate industries.

The State Federations also should work for adequate appropriations and qualified personnel to administer these laws, for a law on the statute books is worse than no law at all if it is not enforced. The strengthening of state systems for administration of child labor laws is particularly important in view of the fact that the Fair Labor Standards Act contemplates cooperation with state labor officials and the utilization where possible of the state machinery for labor law enforcement in carrying out its provisions.

Organized labor has a continuing responsibility in this coming year for achieving higher standards in state legislation and for giving the local support which is essential for the effective enforcement of the child labor provisions of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

Since the United States became actively identified with the International Labor Organization, in addition to legal affiliation we have had representatives in Geneva participating in the continuous work of the organization, with an arrangement for continuing services for the delegates representing Labor and employers. A representative of the American Federation of Labor, Robert J. Watt, was designated to represent Labor in the International Labor Organization for three years. He was elected a member of the Governing Body which meets four times a year. These arrangements make for better understanding of the I.L.O. within our country and better considered contributions to its work.

In addition, a citizen of the United States, John G. Winant, has been elected to be the third Director of this international agency. This development is especially gratifying to American Labor since the former head of our movement was Chairman of the International Labor Commission that drafted Section 13 of that Treaty which is the Constitution of the International Labor Organization.

Congress, in June, 1938, ratified five conventions of the I.L.O. as follows:

No. 53 concerning the minimum requirements of professional capacity for masters and officers aboard merchant ships.

No. 54 concerning annual holidays with pay for seamen.

No. 55 concerning the liability of the shipowners in case of sickness, injury, or death of seamen.

No. 57 concerning hours and manning.

No. 58 fixing the minimum age for the admission of children to employment at sea.

A representative of the American Federation of Labor, Paul Scharrenberg, participated in the drafting of these treaties in the Maritime Conference held in Geneva in October, 1936. The American Federation of Labor gave active support to these treaties and urged their prompt ratification.

The 24th session of the International Labor Conference convened June 2. In addition to the report of the Director which has come to be the most important economic document of the year, there were reports by the Governing Body upon the wording of Convention 23 concerning the repatriation of seamen; on Convention 20 concerning night work in bakeries; and on Convention 24 concerning sickness insurance for workers in commerce and industry and domestic servants.

Discussion of the report of the Director constituted a testimonial to the leadership which the Director has given the Organization. He has made the International Labor Organization the world center of economic information and has used those rich stores as economic measuring rods to disclose social progress. He has steadily widened the scope of I.L.O. activity by indicating that social betterment includes something in addition to wages and hours, basic as these factors are. In his work at Geneva and his contacts with the people of many nations. Dr. Butler has demonstrated the high order of service which a trained British civil servant may render. While the first Director, Albert Thomas, with rare genius created the I.L.O., Harold Butler has showed discerning boldness in developing its functions.

The fine service which Director Harold Butler rendered the International Labor Organization, is deeply appreciated by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. His rare qualifications and exceptional ability were constantly placed at the disposition of the International Labor Office and were reflected in all of his administrative work as the chief executive of the International Labor Office. We hope and trust that Dr. Butler may find his new position to be suitable and satisfactory and we wish him a full measure of success in whatever field of work he may be occupied and in whatever position he may serve.

In his report the Director, after analyzing world economic trends, pointed to the fact that present focus on armaments production was incompatible with social ideals and humanitarian labor standards. This fact was forcefully obvious in consideration of the shorter hours proposals. The subjects on the agenda for consideration by the Conference were:

1. Adopting the Convention on wage and hour statistics.
2. Placing the subject of technical and vocational education on the agenda of the 1939 Session of the Conference.
3. Placing the subject of regulation of contracts of employment of native workers on the 1939 agenda.
4. Placing the subject of the regulation of the recruiting, placing and conditions of labor of migrant workers on the 1939 agenda.
5. Placing the subject of hours of work in road transport on the 1939 agenda.
6. Placing the subject of generalizing the reduction of hours (so as to cover all industry and commerce) on the 1939 agenda.
7. Placing the subject of hours of work in coal mines on the 1939 agenda.
8. Requesting the Governing Body to convene one or more technical conferences to study the possibilities of international regulation of hours of work in rail transport, inland water transport and air transport.

The International Labor Organization began its work on the problems of indigenous workers by its study of forced labor which disclosed in many unsuspected quarters conditions akin to forced labor as well as calling attention to exploitation of backward peoples in the name of civilization. The proposal considered by this conference was concerned primarily with workers in tropical and sub-tropical territories employed in agricultural and industrial undertakings owned and managed by Europeans or worked in accordance with European customs. It was proposed for this type of labor that laws or regulations relating to written contracts of labor should be considered as (a) draft conventions concerning the regulation of written contracts of employment of indigenous workers; (b) draft conventions concerning penal sanctions in all contracts for employment of indigenous workers whether required in writing or not.

Written contracts required when covering or exceeding a minimum time or when conditions of employment differ materially from those customary in the region of work, contracts to include name of employer, undertaking and place of work, with the worker's name, place of origin, and other identifying data. Contract shall specify nature of employment, its duration and how calculated; wage rates and method of compensation, manner and period of payment, advances and manner of repayment; repatriation, etc. These contracts

would be registered and worker should retain a copy. All contracts to be terminable by the employee on one month's notice.

The whole subject was placed on the 1939 agenda. The similarity between the principles underlying this type of regulation and union agreements is interesting. It is obvious that regulations of such exploited field would raise the standards of fair competition in the world markets.

There was also placed on the 1939 agenda a proposal for international regulation of migratory workers. Such convention was to provide supervision of information and assistance to migratory workers and free information services; recruiting and placement under public control; applications from employers of foreign countries to be checked by state immigration service; rights of workers prescribed; union membership, with legal enforcement of contract repatriation; labor inspection in connection with immigration authority.

This proposal will extend protection of indigenous workers achieved through Convention on Forced Labor in 1930 and Convention on Recruitment, 1936.

The Conference adopted a Convention on Wage and Hour Statistics, looking toward uniformity and comparability of the statistics of the industries of all countries. There were one hundred and twenty-five votes in the affirmative and none opposed.

Under the question of reduction of hours of work, there was considerable discussion expressing dissatisfaction with policies of attempting to fix standards by industries. Opinion had veered to favor of a more generalized base. The Conference voted to put on the 1939 agenda the possibility of finding a basis for a general provision for reducing hours in industry and commerce. The Conference requested the Governing Body to convene technical conferences to study the possibilities of international regulation of hours of work of rail transportation; inland water, and air transportation. The subject of hours of work in coal mines was placed on the 1939 agenda. Hours of work in road transportation was also placed on next year's agenda. The votes on hours proposals were carried with about 20 per cent negative vote. In the fixing of wages and hours there is need for flexibility to adjust to changes. This fact is the real difficulty which the International Labor Organization conventions must meet.

The Conference adopted the report of the Committee on Technical Education and placed it on the agenda for 1939. This committee report is of immediate interest to American labor.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION TREATIES RATIFIED

On June 19, 1934, the Senate adopted a joint resolution authorizing President Roosevelt to "accept membership" in the International Labor Organization. On June 13, 1938, the Senate, for the first time, ratified a number of treaties designed to guarantee certain minimum labor standards in all nations holding membership in the I. L. O. The treaties ratified were adopted by the special maritime session of the International Labor Conference held at Geneva, Switzerland, in October, 1936. They had been pending in the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate since August 19, 1937.

Senator Thomas of Utah, as chairman of a special subcommittee on these treaties, personally sponsored immediate ratification. The Senate, without a record vote and without opposition from the floor and with scarcely any debate, accepted the favorable recommendation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and ratified the five treaties in behalf of the United States.

The five treaties, or "draft conventions", as they are called in the language of diplomacy, establish minimum standards with respect to the following:

Draft convention (No. 53) concerning the minimum requirements of professional capacity for masters and officers aboard merchant ships.

The minimum requirements of this treaty are much below established requirements on American ships but higher than prevailing standards on the ships of several nations. This treaty will take effect twelve months after two member nations have filed their ratifications.

Draft convention (No. 54) concerning annual holidays with pay for seamen.

This treaty will become effective six months after five member nations, each having more than one million gross tons of ocean-going merchant shipping, shall have filed their ratification. Minimum requirements are twelve days annual paid holidays for licensed officers, and nine days for the unlicensed personnel.

Draft convention (No. 55) concerning the liability of the shipowners in case of sickness, injury, or death of seamen.

This treaty takes effect twelve months after two member nations have filed ratification. Except in one instance this treaty does not give greater rights to American seamen than now provided by law. The exception is in Article 5 (1-b) as follows:

Where the sickness or injury results in incapacity for work the shipowner shall be liable:

(b) If the sick or injured person has dependents, to pay wages in whole or in part as prescribed by national laws or regulations from the time when he is landed until he has been cured or the sickness or incapacity has been declared of a permanent character.

Draft convention (No. 57) concerning hours and manning.

This treaty consists of twenty-nine articles with detailed provisions regarding hours of work and manning scales. Limitation of space forbids a more complete summary. It will suffice to say that American law now contains standards at least equal or superior to those provided in this treaty, except that our law does not limit the hours of work in the steward's departments, and purser's.

This hours and manning convention will become effective when ratified by five countries, each possessing more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping. While the Government delegates of Great Britain and Japan voted against the convention, it was strongly supported by other maritime countries such as the Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium, whose shipping approximates 1,000,000 tons.

Draft convention (No. 58) fixing the minimum age for the admission of children to employment at sea.

This treaty provides that children under fifteen years of age shall not be employed on vessels. American Federal law does not contain minimum age requirements (except for apprentices). As a matter of fact, however, the generally prevailing minimum age for employment on American ships is eighteen years. Therefore, it would seem desirable to eliminate the employment of minors under fifteen from the vessels of our competitors.

The only "draft convention" adopted at the special maritime session of the International Labor Organization in October, 1936, and not yet reported by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, relates to sickness insurance for seamen.

The official report of the American Government delegates, written upon return to the United States, referred to the desirability of "equalizing operating costs on merchant vessels in the competitive international trade", and added that "it was the unanimous judgment of the American delegation that if promptly ratified by the requisite number of member states to make them effective the conventions will go far to equalize operating costs as between American sea-going merchant vessels and the vessels of America's principal maritime competitors." The delegates also pointed out that the American representatives endeavored persistently "to raise international standards, particularly of hours and manning, to the level of American law and practice."

There is unanimous agreement that American ratification of these treaties will be a great stimulant in inducing other maritime nations to do likewise.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

The reaffiliation of the American Federation of Labor to the International Federation of Trade Unions was approved by the Denver convention. We have actively participated in the affairs of this organization ever since. Indeed, it is well we are again associated with the free trade unions of the world for in no other way can we contribute more to the defense of the democracies of the old world, as well as to those of our southern hemisphere now being challenged on every hand.

The International Federation of Trade Unions is representative of approximately twenty millions of workers organized in National Labor Centers and International Trade Secretariats. Membership includes twenty-six Nations and twenty-six Trade Secretariats.

The National Centers, affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions are Africa, Argentine, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dutch East Indies, Estonia, Finland, France, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, India, Luxemburg, Memel, Mexico, Norway, Palestine, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States of America, Yugoslavia.

The International Federation of Trade Unions is the one organization through which the workers of the world can and do make their influence felt within our democratic countries as well as against undemocratic governments. Through such a medium and agency we may fully and most effectively contribute of our

influence, prestige and encouragement in support of free trade unionism now menaced everywhere. More and more are the free peoples of the world coming to realize that the keystone of our democratic structure is the free and independent trade union movement. It is therefore well that we are banded on a worldwide scale to deal adequately and effectively with like movements designed to destroy liberty, freedom and democracy.

The management of the International Federation of Trade Unions is in the hands of an Executive Committee and a General Council, who are bound to act in accordance with the decisions reached by its Congresses.

The Executive Committee consists of a President, five Vice-Presidents and a General Secretary. All with the exception of the General Secretary have the right of the selection of a substitute. The Executive Committee is to meet periodically during the year or whenever special occasion demands, and all expenses of members are borne by the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The General Council consists of the members of the Executive Committee and one delegate from each of the affiliated National Centers. Meetings of the General Council are held once a year, the right being accorded the Executive Committee to convene extraordinary meetings if occasion demands. Expenses in attending these meetings are borne by the respective National Centers represented at such meetings. Voting is by roll call, one vote being accorded each Executive Committee member and one vote to each delegate of every National Center in attendance.

The Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions meets every three years. Extraordinary Congresses may be convened if extreme urgency or necessity requires. Representation is on the same basis as is provided for the General Council meetings. Expenses incurred by representation at Congresses are borne by the respective National Centers attending.

The International Federation of Trade Unions also encourages the formation and conferences of International Trade Secretariats. These Secretariats are made up of kindred trades and callings of the respective National Centers in affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions. Trade Secretariats now in affiliation are as follows: Bookbinders, Boot and Shoe Operatives and Leather Workers, Building and Wood Workers, Clothing Workers, Diamond Workers, Clerical and Technical Employees, Engine and Firemen, Factory Workers, Food and Drink Trades, Hairdressers, Hatters, Hotel Employees, Landworkers, Lithographers, Metal Workers, Miners, Painters, Postal Employees, Pottery Workers, Public and Civil Services, Stone Workers, Teachers, Textile Workers, Tobacco Workers, Transport Workers, Typographers.

While these International Secretariats act quite separate and apart from the International Federation of Trade Unions, nevertheless they are bound by custom and agreement to collaborate with the International Federation of Trade Unions in carrying out its decisions, in taking no action in conflict with or as may affect one way or the other either the International Federation of Trade Unions or any of its affiliated National Centers, and in confining themselves to questions wholly within the domain of their respective trades. They have merely fraternal repre-

sentation at meetings of the International Federation of Trade Unions with voice dependent upon consent but without vote under any circumstances.

The International Federation of Trade Unions also extends its coordinating work to the annual conferences of the International Labor Organization by convening labor delegates and their union advisors in attendance for conferences on labor policies and labor representation.

This year the General Council meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions convened at Oslo, Norway, on Tuesday, May 17, and remained in session until and including Saturday, May 21. There were fifty-four delegates in attendance from the following National Centers: Belgium, Denmark, Spain, United States Finland, France, Great Britain, Mexico, Norway, Holland, Poland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland.

In addition, there were present thirty-three delegates representing eighteen International Trade Secretariats: Building and Wood Workers, Employees in Public and Civil Services, Clothing Workers, Bookbinders, Diamond Workers, Factory Workers, Hairdressers, Hotel Workers, Landworkers, Food and Drink Workers, Leather Workers, Teachers, Lithographers, Painters, Enginemen, Postal Workers, Transport, Metal Workers.

The American Federation of Labor was represented by Vice-President Matthew Woll who has submitted to the Executive Council a most interesting, exhaustive and instructive report embracing not alone proceedings of this general meeting but including his observations upon current labor, industrial and national problems and developments in a number of countries abroad.

Briefly, the General Council meeting of the International Federation of Trade Unions itself considered a number of topics of world wide interest. It considered such subjects as the Spanish Relief Campaign, the China Relief Campaign, disarmament, supervision of arms and munitions, collective security, non-intervention in Spain, economic slumps, economic aims of the totalitarian countries, economic boycotts, Mexican oil and land situation, etc.

The two outstanding topics having attracted major attention related to the dangers of war and Fascism and the admission of the Soviet Trade Unions into membership of the International Federation of Trade Unions. A full day was devoted to the problem of war and Fascism. It was agreed all possible efforts should be put forth to fight this growing menace. It was further agreed that in so doing each National Center would necessarily have to be governed largely by opportunities presented and permissible in their respective countries. It was made clear by our delegate that this danger embraced likewise Nazism and Communism.

The most contested issue was that of the proposed affiliation of the Soviet Trade Unions into the International Federation of Trade Unions. Conferences between representatives of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions had preceded the holding of the General Council meeting by some few months. These conferences resulted in the submission of a proposal by the All-Russian Council of Trade Unions wherein they agreed to consider affiliation but with the definite and clear understanding that prior to such consideration the International Federation of Trade Unions would first amend its Constitution to provide for two Presidents and for two General Secre-

taries, with separate but equal authority. It was proposed that one of each of these respective officers were to be selected exclusively by the Russian trade unions and the other of each to be selected by general vote of the Congress and with the Soviet trade unions participating in such election.

The proposal further contemplated assurances that none of the monies contributed by the Soviet trade unions would or could be used in any way against the Soviet unions, the Communist Party of Russia or against the Soviet Government, while on the other hand the Soviet trade union delegates were free to act as they pleased toward all other governments and labor movements. These restrictions may be said to have applied likewise against freedom of discussion within the International Federation of Trade Unions. Then too the proposal required affiliated National Centers to join the labor fronts or unity movements in their respective countries. The proposal included lesser provisions but of like character.

The Executive Committee had recommended disapproval of this proposal. After several days of exhaustive discussion, upon roll call sixteen votes were recorded for the Executive recommendation, (Citrine, Jacobsen, Mertens, Kupers, Tayerle, Schevenels, Belgium, Denmark, United States of America, Finland, Great Britain, Holland, Poland, Sweden, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland), four against (Jouhaux, Spain, France, Mexico) and one abstention (Norway).

Because this vote left the question of future negotiations open, two additional motions were submitted, one by our delegate, Vice-President Woll, in cooperation with the Centers of Holland, Switzerland, Belgium and Poland, providing:

"The General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions assembled at Oslo on May 17-21, having regard to the conditions now existing in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and to the views expressed by the National Centres affiliated to the International Federation of Trade Unions, decides not to proceed further with negotiations with the Central Council of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics",

and a second motion by the French National Center as follows:

"The General Council invites the Executive of the International Federation of Trade Unions to pursue the discussions with the Central Council of the Soviet Trade Unions with a view to their affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions."

The vote on the two resolutions was then taken by roll call and resulted in fourteen votes for the American, Dutch, Swiss, Belgian and Polish motion, and seven for the French motion. The voting was as follows:

For the American, Dutch, Swiss, Belgian
and Polish Motion

Executive:

Citrine
Jacobsen
Mertens
Kupers
Schevenels

For the French
Motion.

Executive:

Jouhaux
Tayerle

National Centres:

Belgium
Denmark
United States of America
Finland
Great Britain
Holland
Poland
Sweden
Switzerland

National Centres:

Spain
France
Mexico
Norway
Czechoslovakia

The result of this decision precludes, of course, further consideration of any proposal or negotiations looking toward the admission of the Russian trade unions into the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The Executive Council hereby records its full approval in the representations, actions and decisions reached by our delegate and the General Council of the International Federation of Trade Unions. Indeed, we take occasion to commend Vice-President Woll most highly for his able, far-visioned and most constructive contribution to the cause of democracy and to the cause of free trade unionism as manifested at these meetings of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

The next Congress of the International Federation of Trade Unions will convene next year at Prague, Czechoslovakia. The General Council meeting is likewise scheduled to take place at that time. Vice-President Woll undertook in our behalf to extend an invitation to hold the next Congress, the General Council meeting or that of the Executive Committee here in the United States. This invitation has been referred to the Executive Committee for consideration and final disposition. As yet no decision has been reached. It is our urgent hope we may be accorded an early opportunity of welcoming the International Federation of Trade Unions to our shores and to hold one of its meetings or branches of management within our midst.

Vice-President Woll was also delegated to visit and to confer with Dr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labor Organization, and his successor, Mr. John G. Winant, for the purpose of considering and concluding arrangements under way for the redecorating of the Labor Assembly Room in the International Labor Office dedicated to Samuel Gompers, late President of the American Federation of Labor. We are pleased to record plans are proceeding most satisfactorily. We are confident when these plans and work are completed we will have contributed a most suitable and fitting commemoration in the International Labor Office in honor of and in tribute to the great service rendered by Samuel Gompers to the cause of Labor, not alone in America but throughout the world.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

We should consider the immediate advisability of reorganizing the Pan-American Federation of Labor, as an instrumentality of labor unity and best understanding among the peoples of the Western Hemisphere.

Many of the so-called free governments of Central and South America deny the laboring man freedom to organize and better his working conditions. Indeed these governments can claim very little of freedom and democracy, and in fact are no less oppressive than military dictatorships.

It is therefore imperative and necessary that the experience in labor problems, the principles and methods of the American Federation of Labor, be extended to our less fortunate brothers below the Rio Grande, even in those countries utterly revolutionary or reactionary.

Free labor movements cannot be distinguished by correspondence alone and therefore the Pan-American Federation of Labor should send an exploratory commission to ascertain where and which are the free labor movements in all these countries even in the lands of the most tyrannical of the dictators.

Then, when the commission becomes satisfied as to how many free labor movements there are and where they are, we should proceed immediately to call the Sixth Convention of the Pan-American Federation of Labor to band, strengthen and revive the labor movements of the three Americas.

Raising the standard of living of the workmen in all these countries to the American level is what the Pan-American Federation of Labor is striving for. However, before this can be accomplished, a strong and sane labor movement has to be organized in each country, in order that it may fight successfully its own labor problems.

The Pan-American Federation of Labor should render all possible and effective assistance, cooperation and guidance to these workers in the organization of their own labor movements.

RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS

The cloud of fear which hangs like a shadow over Europe creates feelings of deep apprehension in the minds of all classes of people and, particularly, the men and women of Labor in our own country. The threat of war which so seriously menaces the peace of Europe carries with it grave implications for all other countries. We in the United States still remember the tragic effects and consequences of the World War of 1914-1918. We recall the circumstances and events which drew our country into the conflict. We shrink from the very thought of a repetition of those distressing experiences through which the people of our country passed during the days of the World War.

The policy of rearmament which most all the nations of Europe are following at the present time will, if history repeats itself, lead to war. Nor can a war once started in Europe be limited to any one field or confined to subscribed territory. Starting as a flickering flame it soon becomes a conflagration. The people of America want peace. They seek to live their lives in a peaceful way and in conformity with orderly procedure because we are committed to the principles of democracy and to the preservation of individual freedom and liberty.

We demand that differences between nations shall be settled through the utilization of the agencies of peace. Our analysis of the situation abroad leads us to the conclusion that the threat to world peace which now exists in Europe grew out of the drift away from democratic rule and democratic procedure in the administration of government affairs to the establishment of autocratic and dictatorial governmental control. We believe that the people of European nations are as peace-loving and peace-minded as are the people of our own country. However, they are powerless to assert themselves because under the dictatorship

of the Communistic, Nazi and Fascist forms of government they have no voice in governmental affairs. They are controlled by a despotism and an autocracy more brutal and more firmly entrenched than any such form of government that has ever been imposed by any nation anywhere in all the history of the world.

If war is averted in Europe it will be because of the influence and power which the remaining democracies in continental Europe exercise. We are convinced that the hope of the world to prevent conflict and war lies with the democracies of Europe. The American Federation of Labor has through the officers and delegates in attendance at each convention expressed its unyielding opposition to Communism, Fascism and Nazism. In view of world conditions it seems most appropriate and fitting that the fifty-eighth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor again register its opposition to these autocratic and dictatorial forms of government. Justification for the registration of a protest against the persecution of minorities in practically all of the governments where dictators rule supreme is to be found in the continued discrimination against racial groups and helpless minorities in Germany, Italy and elsewhere.

The American Federation of Labor will strive for the preservation of world peace. We insist and demand that our own government follow a policy of strict neutrality. We shall resist with every power at our command attempts to involve our nation in a foreign war. The preservation of our democratic form of government, the protection of our free institutions, of free assemblage, free speech, free press and religious freedom are part of the principles, policies and philosophy of the American Federation of Labor. We cherish all those vital principles and democratic rights as a common heritage guaranteed us by the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of a free, democratic Government.

JAPANESE INVASION OF CHINA

The officers and delegates in attendance at the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor gave consideration to the war which Japan was waging against China. All were shocked at the recital of the atrocities which were being perpetrated. The information available showed that the cities of China were being bombed, thousands of civilians including women and children were being killed, property destroyed and Chinese territory invaded by Japanese armies. The tragedy still continues. War is still being carried on. Cities and towns in China have been laid waste, millions of dollars worth of property has been destroyed and thousands of people have been killed. The officers and members of the American Federation of Labor deplore the tragic events which are occurring daily in the Far East. All have definitely arrived at the conclusion that Japan is the aggressor nation and that no justification can be offered for its invasion of China or of Chinese territory. All information obtainable and all reports received since the adjournment of the Denver Convention regarding the cruel, relentless war which has been carried on against the Chinese people serve to confirm the opinion expressed at the Denver Convention that the Japanese Army has been guilty of conduct that outrages every sense of decency, fairness and humanity, and has violated every rule of International Law. The officers and delegates in attendance at the Denver Convention, in an effort to express

their opposition to the course which Japan was pursuing toward China, declared in favor of a boycott against Japanese goods and service until there is a termination of Japanese policies of conquest and aggression in China. The Executive Council feels justified, in view of all that has transpired during the past year, in recommending that the action of the Denver Convention in favor of the boycott, as herein referred to, be reaffirmed.

CONCLUSION

This concludes our report on major activities in various fields for which we are responsible. As the report shows, substantial progress has been made along all lines. We have indicated major problems and recommended methods of dealing with them.

The American Federation of Labor has more complex and responsible duties to perform as its membership grows and as unions become accepted public agencies performing services essential to their membership as well as to industries and to society.

The convention has the equally responsible duty of formulating policies for dealing with new problems and new phases of existing problems. Convention action determines the program for each succeeding year. We are particularly proud of this procedure for it reveals the essential democracy of our labor movement. Our records and reports are available to the public and upon them we base our claims to representative capacity. Our membership is disciplined to observance of decision by a majority, to prompt and regular payment of dues for the support of principles to which they adhere and to orderly and constitutional disposition of union business. These are qualities that make for continued and vigorous activity and growth.

Fraternally submitted,

WILLIAM GREEN, President.
FRANK DUFFY, First Vice-President.
T. A. RICKERT, Second Vice-President.
MATTHEW WOLL, Third Vice-President.
JOHN COEFIELD, Fourth Vice-President.
ARTHUR O. WHARTON, Fifth Vice-President.
JOSEPH N. WEBER, Sixth Vice-President.
G. M. BUGNIAZET, Seventh Vice-President.
GEO. M. HARRISON, Eighth Vice-President.
DANIEL J. TOBIN, Ninth Vice-President.
HARRY C. BATES, Tenth Vice-President.
EDWARD J. GAINOR, Eleventh Vice-President.
W. D. MAHON, Twelfth Vice-President.
FELIX H. KNIGHT, Thirteenth Vice-President.
GEO. E. BROWNE, Fourteenth Vice-President.
EDWARD FLORE, Fifteenth Vice-President.
FRANK MORRISON, Secretary-Treasurer.

Executive Council American Federation of Labor.

I will call upon Secretary Morrison to read the transfer of the different sections of the Executive Council's report to the various committees. Chairmen of committees will please take notice.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

SUBJECTS OF EXECUTIVE COUNCIL REPORT

Referred to Committee on Executive Council Report

Harry C. Bates, Chairman

Trade Union Benefits
Charters to National Unions
Granting of Charter to International Union
Progressive Mine Workers of America
Revocation of Charters

Jurisdictional Matters

Masters, Mates and Pilots—Longshoremen
Printing Trades—Lithographers
Journeyman Tailors
Extension of Jurisdiction over Gasoline Service Station Employees
Unemployment
Shorter Work Week
Research and Information Service
The Labor Press
Building and Construction Trades Department
Metal Trades Department
Railway Employees' Department
Legal Counsel Engaged
Conclusion

Referred to Committee on Resolutions **Matthew Woll, Chairman**

Introduction
Secession and Dualism
National Labor Relations Board
Social Security
Old Age Provisions
Unemployment Compensation
Appeals
National Health Conference
Labor Standards Under Government Contracts
National Legislation
Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938
Barbers' and Cosmetologists' Legislation
Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act
Walsh-Healey Act
Highway Construction
Foreign Propaganda
Filipino Emigration
Naval Construction Law
Credit Unions
Consumers' Cooperation
Child Labor
Relations Between Nations
Japanese Invasion of China

Referred to Committee on Organization **Frank Duffy, Chairman**

Extension of our Organizing Campaign
Special Organizing Activities
Office and White Collar Workers
Beet Sugar Workers
Cement Workers
Aluminum Workers
Flour, Feed and Cereal Mill Workers
Fabricated Metal Workers
Textile Workers
Lumber Workers
Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers
Chemical Workers
Distillery Workers
Communication Workers
Miscellaneous

Referred to Committee on Labels **Edward Flore, Chairman**

Union Label Trades Department

Referred to Committee on Education **E. E. Milliman, Chairman**

Education
The Present Situation in the Schools
Vocational Education
Youth
Federal Committee on Apprentice Training in the Department of Labor
Workers Education Bureau

Referred to Committee on State Organizations

G. M. Bugniet, Chairman

Free Federation of the Workmen of Puerto Rico
State Labor Legislation
State Labor Relations
State Wage and Hour Legislation
Wage Payment and Wage Claim Collection
State Labor Departments
Compensation for Industrial Accident and Disease
Apprenticeship
Dilemma of the Older Worker
Workmen's Compensation
Incorporation of Trade Unions
Convict Labor
Child Labor Amendment
Warning to Affiliated Organizations

Referred to Committee on Building Trades **Joseph A. McInerney, Chairman**

Housing
United States Housing Authority
Federal Housing Administration
Farm Security Administration
Federal Housing
Slum Clearance and Low Rent Housing
Subcontractors on Public Buildings

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

Referred to Committee on Legislation
L. M. Ornburn, Chairman

National Legislation

Relief Legislation
 Credit Unions
 Merchant Marine Act of 1938
 Small Claims Court
 Longshoremen's Compensation Act
 Workmen's Compensation
 Strike Breakers' Transportation
 Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938
 International Copyright
 Profiteering in Time of War
 Government Employees Legislation
 Equal Rights Amendment
 Immigration
 Whiskey Tax
 Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act
 Government Printing Office
 Asiatic Exclusion Law
 Holiday Compensation
 Government Reorganization
 Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain
 Schools
 Age Limit

**Referred to Committee on International
 Labor Relations**

Thomas E. Burke, Chairman

International Labor Organization
 International Labor Organization Treaties
 Ratified
 International Federation of Trade Unions
 Pan-American Federation of Labor

President Green: Tomorrow we will be privileged to hear an address by Chairman Straus of the United States Housing Authority. Please keep that in mind and be in attendance. He will be prepared to deliver a most interesting address.

After announcements of committee meetings, at 5:30 o'clock p.m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock a.m., Tuesday, October 4, 1938.

Second Day—Tuesday Morning Session

Houston, Texas,

October 4, 1938.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Ewell, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, J. M.; Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabee, Metzger, Miller, Moffett, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Ross, Rossano, Schneider, Sexton, Summers, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

President Green: All delegates and visitors will please be seated while our good friend Father Lane, of the Church of the Annunciation, pronounces the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

Rev. Father Lane: In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, Almighty and merciful God, look down we beseech Thee upon this assembly here gathered. With Thy wisdom and Thy strength guide the members in their deliberations. Let the Holy Spirit guide and enlighten them. May all that they do be done for the honor and glory of Thy name, Christ our Lord.

Our Father Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name. Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us, and lead us not into temptation but deliver us from evil. Amen.

President Green: Our friend Nathan Straus, Administrator of the Housing Authority, will address the convention this morning at 11:00 o'clock. I appoint as a committee to escort him to the hall, Vice-President Harry Bates, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union; Secretary Herbert Rivers of the Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, and Brother George Meany, President of the New York State Federation of Labor. I respectfully request that the committee just named call upon Mr. Straus at the Rice Hotel and escort him to the hall for the purpose of delivering his address at 11:00 o'clock this morning.

The Chair desires to announce the appoint-

ment of a Good Will Committee, composed of Brother Adam Adamski and Brother Frank Weikel.

May I ask if the Committee on Rules and Order of Business is ready to report?

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

Delegate Kugler, Brewery Workers, Chairman of the Committee: Your Committee on Rules and Order of Business met and elected as Secretary of the Committee, Delegate Alifas, of the International Association of Machinists, who will submit the report to you for your consideration and approval.

Secretary Alifas submitted the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Greetings:

In conformity with the instructions of your President and this convention, we, your Committee on Rules and Order of Business of the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, convened in Houston, Texas, October 3, 1938, beg leave to make the following report for your approval:

Rule 1. The convention shall be called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remain in session until 12:30 p. m. Reconvene at 2:30 p. m. and remain in session until 5:30 p. m. on the following days: Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. There shall be no session on Saturday of this week. This convention, however, will meet on Saturday of next week if the business of the convention is not completed.

Rule 2. Any delegate failing to fill in his attendance card within 30 minutes after the convention is called to order shall be marked absent, but in the event of unavoidable absence, he may so report to the Secretary and be marked present.

Rule 3. If a delegate while speaking be called to order, he shall at the request of the Chair take his seat until the question of order is decided.

Rule 4. Should two or more delegates rise to speak at the same time, the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

Rule 5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, except to raise a point of order.

Rule 6. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon a question until all who wish to speak have had an opportunity to do so.

Rule 7. A delegate shall not speak more than twice upon the same question without permission from the convention.

Rule 8. At the request of five delegates, the mover of a motion shall submit it in writing.

Rule 9. It shall require at least 30 delegates to move the previous question.

Rule 10. Speeches shall be limited to ten minutes, but the time of speaking may be extended by a vote of the convention.

Rule 11. A motion shall not be open for discussion until it has been seconded and stated from the Chair.

Rule 12. A motion to lay on the table shall not be debatable, except as limited by Robert's Rules of Order.

Rule 13. A motion to reconsider shall not be entertained unless made by a delegate who voted with the majority, and shall receive a majority vote.

Rule 14. All resolutions shall bear the signature of the introducer and the title of the organization he represents and shall be submitted in duplicate form.

Rule 15. No motion or resolution shall be voted upon until the mover or introducer has had a chance to speak upon it if he or she so desires.

Rule 16. The reports of committees shall be subject to amendments and substitutes from the floor of the convention, the same as other motions and resolutions.

Rule 17. When a question is pending before the convention no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide or amend, which motions shall have precedence in the order named.

Rule 18. When a roll call has been taken and all delegates present have had an opportunity to record their votes, the ballot shall be declared closed.

Rule 19. When a roll call ballot has been ordered, no adjournment shall take place until the result has been announced.

Rule 20. Robert's Rules of Order shall be the guide on all matters not herein provided for.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Reading of Minutes of previous session shall be dispensed with unless called for.
2. Report of Committee on Credentials.
3. Reports of Officers.
4. Reports of regular committees.
5. Reports of special committees.
6. Unfinished business.
7. New business.
8. Election of officers.
9. Selection of next meeting place.
10. Good of the Federation.

11. Adjournment.

Respectfully submitted,
A. J. KUGLER, Chairman
N. P. ALIFAS, Secretary
MRS. D. A. HOUCK
J. H. LYONS
GEORGE WILSON
E. LEWIS EVANS
JOHN B. ROBINSON
JOHN C. MacDONALD
MAX GOLDMAN
E. W. KEARNS
H. W. SULLIVAN
GEORGE W. JONES
THOMAS J. BURKE
FRANK FIELD
D. F. ALLEN
GEORGE A. MULKEY
H. E. GREENWALD
JOHN P. REDMOND
M. CARROZZO

Committee on Rules and Order of Business.

Secretary Alifas: I move the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Green: On behalf of the delegates, I wish to thank the Committee on Rules and Order of Business for their report and for the service rendered the delegates in attendance at this convention.

I want to present to you this morning, merely for introduction and acquaintance, the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada, and their wives who have accompanied them to this convention. I want you to know them. You probably know that they are here with us and you have observed that they have been on the platform; but I want to present them to you so that you may know them as you meet them in the hotel, in the convention hall, or other places throughout the city.

I present Alderman Joseph Jones. There are a great many titles attached to his name, and he can tell you what they mean. He is President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain. He comes here as a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress to this great convention of the American Federation of Labor. And then he has with him his very good and beautiful wife. I want you to know Mrs. Joseph Jones, whom I will present to you.

Now I want to also present our other fraternal delegates in regular order, Brother J. W. Stephenson, who has been in this country for several weeks. I met him in Atlantic City where he was attending the convention of the United Association of Plum-

ers and Steamfitters. While there my good friend John Coefield, who is the President of the United Association, introduced Brother Stephenson as "an honest plumber." I don't know why he emphasized that fact, because I had always understood that every plumber in Great Britain was an honest plumber. We are glad to have him here with us this morning, and I want to present J. W. Stephenson, who is the General Secretary of the Plumbers and Domestic Engineers of Great Britain and Ireland. And he has with him his wife, Mrs. Stephenson, who you can readily see is a very beautiful woman from Great Britain who has come with him to look after him while he is here with us.—Mrs. Stephenson.

Now I want to present to you the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. He is here representing the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. Many of you, no doubt, know him, but I know there are a number of you who have never had the pleasure of meeting him, so I present to you William J. Russell, fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

I now want to present to our fraternal delegates the special badges prepared by the American Federation of Labor. These are very beautiful badges, as you know, gold plated. They are for the special use of our fraternal delegates. I present this special badge to Brother Stephenson. And in like manner to our good friend Brother Jones, the other fraternal delegate from Great Britain.

Fraternal Delegate Jones: I understand we shall have an opportunity of addressing the Congress later in the week, but in thanking the President and the officers for this badge, I crave your indulgence while I ask President Green to accept a book written by me on the coal problems and wages. I ask him to receive it from a President of the Miners of Great Britain to an ex-Secretary of the Miners of America, and also as an expression of our continued confidence in President Green.

President Green: I want to thank our friend Joseph Jones for this book. I shall read it with great interest. I now present a special badge to Brother Russell, fraternal delegate from the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. The fraternal delegates will address the convention, perhaps tomorrow. I think tomorrow afternoon, beginning at half past two

o'clock, immediately after we convene. I wish you all to be here, and a general invitation is extended to the people of Houston, all who would like to come and hear these addresses and sit with us in our convention. Now we are all acquainted with the fraternal delegates, and I hope that as you meet them you will greet them and let them know they are here in the United States of America among very dear, loyal and devoted friends.

Supplemental Report, Committee on Credentials

Delegate George, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined the following credentials and recommends that the delegates be seated:

New Orleans, La., Central Trades and Labor Council—Edward Burns, 1 vote.

Sacramento, Calif., Federated Trades Council—George W. Stokel, 1 vote.

Studio Alliance of Seamstresses, Milliners and Beaders Union No. 20841, Los Angeles, Calif.—Bert Offord, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Morrison for telegrams and communications:

COMMUNICATIONS.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

San Diego, Calif.
October 2, 1938.

Leo E. George, President,
National Federation of Postoffice Clerks,
Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas:

The California Federation of Postoffice Clerks extend greetings and best wishes for a very profitable convention to the American Federation of Labor assembled in Houston. May your deliberations be instructive and constructive.

Fraternally yours,

WILLIAM C. PLACE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Salisbury, Penn.,
September 30, 1938.

Leo E. George,
National Federation of Postoffice Clerks,
Care of the American Federation of Labor
Convention, Houston, Texas:

My organization approved all joint resolutions you forwarded to me. We want to add one calling for approval of forty-hour five-day week for the rural service. Frank W. Meyer of Milwaukee is the delegate and will see you as soon as he arrives.

WALT D. WEISE.

Chicago, Ill.
October 3, 1938.

Frank Morrison, Secretary,
American Federation of Labor,
Care Convention Hall, Houston, Texas:

Regret being unable to attend and participate in the deliberations of this important 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. In behalf of the International Glove Workers Union of America I extend heartiest greetings to the officers and delegates to the convention and wishes for a most successful convention. Please accept our grateful thanks and appreciation for the very much needed assistance given to us at the most critical time in the life of our International Union.

THOMAS DURIAN, President,
International Glove Workers
Union of America.

San Francisco, Calif.,
September 22, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Exposition and Convention Hall,
Houston, Texas:

Please express on behalf of the San Francisco Labor Council, its officers and delegates as in years past, our unwavering loyalty, deepest attachment and well wishes to the American Federation of Labor. These times and conditions constitute momentous occasions for assemblage and consultation, when it will depend upon what we do today what the future for years thereafter will be able to guide and direct us.

May I, therefore, fervently express the hope and desire that the American Federation of Labor may continue to grow in manhood and wisdom, brush away the thorns and brambles in its path and lead its tried and true sons and daughters into a better economic, industrial and social existence. This is the aim of our Federation and we know that you will keep the faith and we feel confident, beyond any doubt, that whatever progress we shall make, it will be made through the American Federation of Labor.

Please accept our greetings and felicitations.

JNO. A. O'CONNELL, Secretary,
San Francisco Labor Council.

San Francisco, Calif.,
September 22, 1938.

Delegates, American Federation of Labor,
Houston, Texas:

San Francisco is to hold its Golden Gate International Exposition in 1939. It invites the world. And we of San Francisco take extreme pleasure in inviting the 1939 Convention of the American Federation of Labor to the city of San Francisco. We are commemorating the greatest engineering structures built by man, the two largest bridges in the world, the Golden Gate Bridge across the Golden Gate, with the largest span of

any bridge, 4,200 feet, and the San Francisco-Golden Gate Bridge, 12 miles from shore to shore. These bridges are the marvels of the age and must be seen to be properly described and understood. We have much to be seen and learned since the American Federation of Labor Convention was held here in 1915. We are anxious to serve as your hosts again. It will be worth your while to come. San Francisco desires to be your convention city in 1939.

Telegrams seeking the 1939 convention were received from William Morrison, Mayor of Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, and from Maurice J. Tobin, Mayor of the city of Boston.

President Green: The Chair takes the liberty now of presenting to you for just a moment or two a representative of a non-sectarian tubercular institution located at Denver, Colorado. When our convention was held in Denver one year ago a number of our delegates visited this tubercular institution and were so favorably impressed with it that they have stated to me in conversations that they thought it a very high-class institution. In order that you may know something about it, I am going to present to you Mr. M. R. Schwartz, supervisor of the institution.

MR. M. R. SCHWARTZ
(Supervisor, Ex-Patients Tubercular Home,
Denver, Colorado)

President Green, Officers and Delegates:

Permit me first to extend to you, Mr. Green, my thanks and appreciation for the opportunity and great honor you are giving me to address the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

I come to greet you in behalf of the Ex-Patients Tubercular Home of Denver, Colorado, which is a national free non-sectarian tubercular institution, founded in 1908. Within this time we of the institution were able to take care of the unfortunate victims of this dreadful disease, who come to us from the ranks of labor.

Last year, as you well know, the convention of the American Federation of Labor was held at Denver, Colorado. We of the institution availed ourselves of this great opportunity and invited as honorary guests the officers and many delegates to visit the institution which they have supported in the past.

About 125 delegates honored us with the visit and had the opportunity of acquainting themselves more closely with the humanitarian work being administered by the institution to those stricken patients coming to us in their great hour of trial. At that time several of your vice-presidents and many International officers promised their continued support and cooperation.

These delegates who come from the city of

New York and visited the institution have helped us to organize the National Trade Union Committee for the support of the institution. Appeals to the labor movement have brought in large contributions, for which we are very grateful. May we at this time, Mr. Green, officers and delegates, express our confidence that you will continue giving us your generous support, both moral and financial as heretofore and enable us to continue serving our brothers and sisters who are afflicted with this dreadful disease, tuberculosis.

We on our part will continue working untiringly and incessantly to relieve the suffering of those unfortunate patients coming to us from the ranks of labor, as we have done in the past.

In closing, I want to greet you again and wish you an abundance of health and happiness and a most cheerful future for the emancipation and betterment of the labor masses of our country.

I thank you very much for your kind co-operation and for the opportunity of addressing you.

President Green: I wish to thank you, Mr. Schwartz, for the information presented in your short address this morning.

Now I want to present to you Brother Robert J. Watt, who served as a member of the committee appointed by the President of the United States to investigate human relations in industry in Great Britain and Sweden. Only recently the committee submitted its report, and the President gave it the widest publicity, with a statement of comment. Brother Watt also serves as a member of the Governing Body of the International Labor Office, representing labor in the United States there.

He will present information that I know will be most interesting to you, regarding his experience as a member of the committee. Perhaps you will recall that when the President of the United States requested the American Federation of Labor to assign a representative to serve on the Presidential Commission to be appointed for the purpose of investigating labor and human relations in Great Britain, the American Federation of Labor responded promptly and with alacrity and assigned Brother Robert Watt to serve on that Commission. He served with distinction and with honor, and with credit to the American Federation of Labor, and joined with other members of the Commission in submitting a most interesting report of the investigation made.

It affords me a great deal of pleasure to present Brother Watt to you this morning.

In addition to the service rendered on this Commission he has served for many years as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

MR. ROBERT J. WATT

(Member of President Roosevelt's Commission to Study Labor Relations in Great Britain and Sweden)

Having been privileged to represent the American Federation of Labor as a member of President Roosevelt's Commission to study labor relations in Great Britain, and Sweden, I am glad to present to the delegates at this Convention a personal report on the activities of that Commission.

As you may know, my appointment was announced just as we were concluding the annual meeting of the International Labor Organization. This enabled me to reach Great Britain several days before some of the other members. Also I was aided by the assistance of my fellow delegates at Geneva, and especially by my associates on the Governing Body of the International Labor Organization with whom I have served since my election to that group last summer.

Our studies in Britain were factual. We were not instructed to seek any formula for use in the United States and we were not told to compare British or Swedish experience with the National Labor Relations Act. President Roosevelt wanted "an impartial report which will portray the real situation that prevails in British industries." Later he extended that study to include Sweden.

Before attempting to summarize those facts, I want to make a few personal observations, especially about the British system. The management of British labor relations evolved in substance before and during the World War. It developed at a stage of economic development which was far less concentrated and complicated than. The industrialists had waged bitter warfare against unions, but they did it at an earlier stage of development. They had exhausted that method and were reaching the truce stage in industrial relations before the tremendous production problems of the World War made it absolutely necessary to accomplish a better understanding.

Today militant trade unionism is demonstrated at the conference table rather than on the picket line. Basic economic reforms are being sought through the Labor Party and unions are concentrating upon wages, hours and conditions of work. Union leaders are patient, skilled negotiators, familiar with the precise details of intricate agreements.

But I give credit for the basic harmony which prevails not to the labor unions themselves alone. They created the basis for respect when they proved their mettle on the picket lines. They showed they would and could fight for their principles and objectives. But it takes two to create peace and in industrial relations the lead must come from the employers because they have the choice as to where the duel for progress is to be fought.

The British employer by and large has chosen to build his employment policies by negotiations and confidence. Time after time I asked the same question—"How do you try to settle disputes?" I would ask "Do you hire strikebreakers, bring in thugs with guns and gas, use stool pigeons or stooges?" And every time I got the same answer. That answer was "No. We prefer to have strong unions which truly represent our workers and can carry out agreements. When disputes arise, it is time for concentrating harder on finding a solution."

I was also told that the use of strike breakers in Great Britain does occur, and is causing much concern. But I was told that the employers concerned are American Corporations which haven't yet been brought to realize that in Great Britain, they don't do things that way!

So in stating my brief summary of our factual findings, please bear in mind that I am not recommending British or Swedish methods in the United States today. We cannot adopt their methods, because we confront conditions which England outgrew more than twenty years ago. We can I think, develop similar methods when we have completed the job of organizing, and have consolidated strong national unions. We can operate in peace when our strength has shown employers the wisdom of living in peace with us.

There is no single formula for labor organization in Britain nor any specific policy as to how labor relations shall be conducted. Unions exist on a purely local or regional basis as well as on a national basis. About 5,300,000 members are reported by unions in Great Britain and Ireland. That figure represents about 40 per cent of the eligible working population. These organizations have grown up over a period of years rather than from high pressure organization campaigns.

A characteristic feature is the administrative character of the unions' executives. They usually are appointed by elected executive councils to continue in office during good behavior. Pensions are payable upon retirement. These officials are charged with administering the benefit funds held by the unions as well as with negotiating contractual agreements and maintaining discipline.

The most striking difference between British and American policy is that the National Government seeks to encourage the establishment of strong national organization of employers and workers, and to interfere only where these organizations fail to establish or maintain a satisfactory relationship.

What impressed me most were the demonstrations of employers' efforts to induce workers to join these appropriate unions. Full page advertisements in the newspapers and bulletin board notices were used in several industries urging workers for their own advantage to join their unions. In this country we might suspect company unions, but in Britain the motive is to secure a maximum union membership so as to limit the effectiveness and scope of competition by employers outside of the trade association.

In this connection what I have reference to

are notices such as these which are posted in the factory after agreement has been signed. This one applies to the pottery industry, and you will note it says:

"The above Council has been formed for the advancement of the pottery industry and all connected with it, by the association in its government of all engaged in the industry."

"The Council recommends all operatives who are not already members to at once join the National Society of Pottery Workers."

Then that notice is signed by both employer and worker organizations.

Here is one which I gave to John Mara, the International President of the Boot and Shoe Workers Union. It is used in relation to the shoe industry and after an agreement has been signed. It is entitled, "Organization of Industry." It reads:

"This joint industrial Council for the boot manufacturing industry supports Clause 6 of the Preliminary Conference Agreement, September, 1913, viz.:

"For the more effective enforcement of any agreements, awards or decisions, as well as for the general advantage of the industry, the Federation and the National Union equally recognize the importance of their respective organizations being as numerically shown and as fully represented as possible of employers and operatives in all centers of the shoe trade."

"And is of opinion that the best interests of the industry will be served if all manufacturers can be encouraged to join the Boot Manufacturers Federation, and all operatives encouraged to join the National Union of Boot and Shoe Operatives."

Then the last one of a great many which I have is the more complicated of the industries there dealing on that basis. It represents the National Union of Blastfurnacemen, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, the Amalgamated Union of Building Trade Workers, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and the Electrical Trades Union, representing in all approximately thirty craft unions, but dealing on an industry basis with an organization of employers organized on that same industrial basis. This exhibit which I am now holding up emphasizes, and is signed by both employer and worker representatives, that "All workmen are strongly recommended, in their interests, to join the trade union appropriate to the department in which they are employed."

I place particular emphasis upon that set of exhibits because of the fact that in my opinion at least it represents a different kind of thinking.

I found that these same employers' associations were in many instances originally formed to combat labor unions. The World War brought a major change in attitudes. The Government decided to use the employer and worker organizations as the agencies for promoting industrial peace. The coming of peace in 1918 did not interrupt the growth of the practice. Many joint industrial councils were set up by organized employers and workers. Employers had found that stability could be maintained in this manner.

Today, in Britain, organized groups are working in accordance with the agreements

reached in conference between these groups. Strikes or lock-outs are not many. During strikes no effort is made to employ strike-breakers, spies or stool pigeons, and guns or gas is never used. Usually the plant stops production while negotiations are speedily conducted.

While the Commission, by instruction and with my whole hearted assent did not make any recommendations, I think the moral will be clear to anyone who reads our report. A fair measure of industrial peace rules, because organized employers and organized workers are actually working under a partnership on a business-like basis of mutual respect. Unions in Britain do not have to be fighting organizations struggling against constant sabotage.

While seeing the obvious moral, I confess I see little hope of translating this practice into our country at this time. If our report serves to make industrialists review their own labor policy, however, I think we may look forward to a rapid evolution in this country along the lines slowly developed in Britain.

In my opinion the government in Britain has been able to avoid taking an active part in industrial relations, because of the deep-seated habit of Britishers to rely primarily upon slowly developed rules of conduct. Their laws are in generalities with the details to be worked out by the fairly well balanced parties who have a mutual attitude of self respect. Some of the British laws might be used by American judges to root out trade Unionism, but in Britain their general terms are not perverted to partisan advantage.

The Trades Dispute Act of 1927 provides immunity to unions from lawsuit except when the dispute is for illegal purposes or to coerce the government, either directly or by inflicting hardships on the community.

Unions are not incorporated, in fact are not permitted to be incorporated. They may "register" or secure a "certificate." Registration provides concurrent evidence that the group is a trade union, and entitled to the immunities from suit granted by the acts of 1871 and 1906. Registration requires the filing of rules, objectives, and the availability of its books and membership for inspection by anyone having an interest in its funds. A limited exemption from taxation of its benefit funds is provided. Half of the unions with three-quarters of the total membership are registered. Some unions prefer the certificate which gives convenient legal proof of its status, but does not necessitate the filing of copies of rules or accounts except for political purposes.

Under the 1927 Act, civil servants, except industrial workers, are prevented from belonging to unions which are affiliated with the trade union movement.

So far as "peaceful persuasion" is concerned, picketing is authorized, the purpose being to peacefully persuade a person to work or not to work, except that it must not be in such numbers or in such manner as to intimidate the individual, or to cause a breach of the peace.

Such words can mean a lot or a little. In practice little violence exists. The reason is primarily because of the general practice of closing down the plant if a substantial

strike takes place, and to reopen only after the controversy has been settled by negotiation. Confidence exists that conference will bring amicable and prompt settlement. Strike-breaking is contrary to the general attitude that the "job belongs to the man," and in well organized industries because of the difficulty of obtaining replacements. The employers with rare exceptions choose to maintain decent relations with their workers in the belief that it will be best in the long run.

Collective bargaining is voluntary. Agreements cannot be enforced at law. If a local union stages an unauthorized strike, the national officers can and do interfere and discipline them. Replacement of workers may even be resorted to.

But the negotiations on local disputes are the regular procedure. Direct negotiations between the interested parties are referred to district and even to national unions and associations if not settled in the first instance. Then, the points at issue are settled by individuals not directly involved in the dispute. Basic changes in wages and hours are nearly always negotiated by the national unions with the national employers' associations.

Trade boards may be established by the Ministry of Labor in any trade in which "no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation of wages throughout the trade." These boards are appointed by the Minister of Labor from nominees submitted by employers and workers. These boards study and negotiate their decisions which then are submitted to Parliament. Fair wage clauses are put in Government contracts by the various Government departments. It will be noted that the Government intervenes only where effective voluntary collective bargaining does not exist.

This situation may explain the different concept of political action with the Government relying on voluntary bargaining for their basic industrial relations, political action is essentially a matter for social legislation. In Britain we found agreement that the social legislation is one of the basic causes for good industrial relations because of its influence on the lives of workers.

Aside from the shortening of the work week from 54 to 48 or even less hours per week, and the rise in the level of real wages by 16 per cent since 1924, the provisions for unemployment insurance, old age pensions, medical aid with compensation and improved housing have been mainstays in the existence of harmonious relations. Equal contributions by employers and workers plus Government aid are used to finance the insurance and pensions. Grants are used to cover the extra cost for decent housing between actual cost and what the tenant can afford to pay.

Labor in Britain DOES resent the limitations upon political activities contained in the 1927 Act because they view it as an attempt to impede the Labor Party. All trade unions must file an annual account of their political funds and since 1927, individual

members must sign and file with the trade union a written notice of his willingness to make a political contribution through the union. Previously such union donations were permissible unless the individual "contracted himself out" of the union donation.

It is more significant, I believe that in Britain the labor movement relies on peaceful negotiations with the employer group in an atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence so far as wages, hours and conditions are concerned. Political action is labor's expression of its interests in foreign relations, and in broad domestic problems as well as social legislation.

In Sweden a situation of largely similar nature has developed over a period of forty years. The greater part of the labor market is covered by collective agreements between employers' and workers' organization. Agriculture and forestry are not covered to any substantial extent as only about 40 per cent of the workers are so covered as against 60 to nearly 90 per cent in other industries.

These agreements in Sweden are legally binding and the employer is required to extend these provisions to unorganized workers. While the agreement is in force, direct action may not be taken by either side to force a change.

A central State Labor Court hears disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the agreement. Three impartial members are appointed by the Crown, plus two representatives each of employers and workers nominated by the respective organizations. No appeal is allowed. Redress is decreed rather than fines or imprisonment.

Direct negotiation is the rule with each side presenting full arguments and facts. Usually an impartial conciliator chosen from a panel provided by the state, is brought in before important negotiations can be concluded. He may intervene on his own motion if negotiations are deadlocked. His proposals are carefully studied and have great influence although not mandatory. Strikes or lock-outs may not be undertaken without one week's notice to the other party and the conciliator. Negotiation is the rule, both on collective agreements and on disputes. The clear right to belong to unions was guaranteed by an Act passed in 1936.

Strikes and lock-outs occur today in Sweden chiefly when efforts to attain a new collective agreement have failed despite the procedure provided. These strikes or lock-outs are usually free of violence partly because of respect for law and order and partly because efforts to use strike-breakers or other measures are seldom undertaken by the employer.

A tendency toward Government regulation is apparent in Sweden, but so far the intervention has essentially been on the side of negotiation. Good relations have increased also because of good social legislation, and the cooperative movement which plays an important part in the life of Sweden.

The character of labor leadership in both Sweden and Britain has marched with the

times away from the early eagerness to strike to an effort to conduct harmonious relations.

In Britain and Sweden, the law of the land and public opinion alike create a condition in which employers and workers bargain freely in a regular and orderly sort of way. And we shall be doing that, too, as soon as the stockholding owners of our corporations force their hired managers to respect the real interests of the owners. Organization of workers cannot be suppressed or evaded even if they disturb the dictatorial management habits of American business.

President Green: I am sure we all appreciate this scholarly and splendid report of Brother Watt. The address will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention. Thank you, Brother Watt, for your address this morning.

Now I have the pleasure and privilege of presenting to you our honored guest of this occasion. I extended an invitation to Mr. Nathan Straus, Administrator of the United States Housing Authority, to attend and address the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention as the guest of the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Straus accepted the invitation promptly and expressed his pleasure and satisfaction over the receipt of that cordial invitation.

We who know him have placed very great value upon his ability, his qualifications to serve in this very honored and important position to which he was appointed. His sympathetic and understanding attitude in the matter of housing challenges our admiration. We often wondered how he was able to acquire such a knowledge of housing. I know of no man in America who is better fitted to serve in this high position created by Congress than Mr. Straus, and I want to tell you delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention that he is a genuine and sincere friend of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor.

It affords me very, very great pleasure to present to you this morning Nathan Straus, Administrator of the United States Housing Authority.

(The audience arose and applauded Mr. Straus as he arose to speak.)

ADDRESS BY NATHAN STRAUS Administrator of the United States Housing Authority

A speaker often arises to say that he is unprepared. It is not customary for a speaker to do the opposite. Yet, I am going to say to you that, far from being unprepared, I have been preparing for this speech for at

least 18 years. For it was in the year 1920 that I first began to work closely with the problems of organized labor. In that year, I was elected to the New York State Senate. One of my first acts on arriving at Albany was to begin a long and sympathetic working relationship with the representatives of organized labor at the State Capitol.

For three successive terms, six years in all, I served in the State Senate, and I am proud of the fact that organized labor gave continuous and effective support to those measures which seemed to me sound, important, and worthy of enactment into law, while at the same time organized labor continuously and effectively opposed measures which seemed to me unsound, unworthy, and reactionary.

When, in 1934, I again was called to public service as New York State Administrator of the N. R. A., I continued to receive from organized labor aid and guidance in one of the most difficult tasks of my life.

During those years I often thought of how much I would appreciate an opportunity to meet with the American Federation of Labor, assembled in its annual convention. It is in that sense that I say to you that I have been preparing for this moment for many, many years.

But while my earlier activities in public life touched only indirectly on the actual work of organized labor, my present job brings us closer together because the goal which you are seeking, and the goal which we are seeking, is the same. That objective, that goal, may be simply defined. It is to wipe out the slums of America, to provide decent housing for every American family now living under slum conditions, and to achieve this by a program which will yield a maximum of steady employment, while imposing a minimum burden on the taxpayer.

People in this country have been talking about the evils of the slums for at least 50 years. But labor was the first to translate talk into action, to throw the mighty strength of its ranks in support of low-rent housing legislation. Labor's call for action brought instant and widespread response from every forward-looking organization and group of citizens in America. In the annals of Congress it is recorded that no other comparable legislative measure has been so strongly supported by groups representative of every walk of life and every line of endeavor throughout the nation. Yet there is profound significance in the historic fact that all these combined efforts had failed to overcome the legislative inertia and to override the determined opposition of a small minority until the need to remedy the plight of "one-third of the nation ill-housed" was dramatically brought before the people and before the Congress by Franklin D. Roosevelt.

To President Roosevelt and to labor's staunchest friend in Congress—Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York—the nation is indebted for placing upon statute books this legislation, unswervingly backed by labor.

Although you probably do not want to hear a detailed report on the achievements to

date of the United States Housing Authority, I do feel that you will be interested in knowing the essential facts. We were given by the Congress the right to loan \$800,000,000 to local housing authorities throughout the nation to clear their slums and rehouse their low income families. In the one year since I took office and the new program was inaugurated on November 1, 1937, \$573,723,000 have been earmarked for 142 authorities in 27 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico and the Territory of Hawaii. Actual loan contracts with 43 of these authorities for a total of 40,636 dwelling units have been made and signed. Actual advances of funds have already been made by the USHA to local authorities in 24 cities. More than 5,000 dwelling units are now under actual construction.

From now on, the number of dwelling units under construction will be increased monthly at the rate of not less than 5,000 additional dwelling units—5,000 new low-rental homes every month. The law provides that, for every new dwelling unit erected, at least one unfit slum dwelling must be eliminated. Therefore, when the entire \$800,000,000 now available under the USHA act has been put into construction, steps will also have been taken to eliminate 160,000 unfit, unsafe, and insanitary slum dwellings.

I cite these figures not as a cause for self-congratulation but to show you how far we have gone. The United States Housing Authority has only just begun its work. The close of the first year, a year in which much has been accomplished, should be a time for reflection and re-examination of our policies and our program. In that, I ask your help.

We all know that in every country in which a successful housing program has gone forward, organized labor has stood squarely in the forefront of the movement. In Great Britain, in Sweden as well as in Germany, and Austria in the days when they were republics, it was organized labor that provided the driving force which carried the housing programs of each of these countries to success. In the United States too, labor has a record of long-standing leadership in the housing movement. Of the 204 housing authorities, with which the USHA is now dealing, I can think of at least 50 that have labor representation in their membership, and I am informed that 250 local labor housing committees have been constituted pursuant to the resolution adopted last year at the convention of the American Federation of Labor. That is why I am confident that organized labor in the United States will be equally effective in our own housing program in the years ahead.

One of labor's biggest responsibilities today is the fact that there are still 15 States which have not enacted housing enabling legislation. There are other States where the State housing legislation needs perfecting amendments.

Even in those States with adequate enabling legislation, there are hundreds of sizable communities that cannot participate in the USHA program because they have not set up local housing authorities. That problem too is of importance for organized labor.

Speaking to you who have shown yourselves friends of the housing movement and friends of the United States Housing Authority, I ask you let me hear from you with that frankness which is the right and duty of a friend. How can we improve our efficiency? What can we do to guarantee a lasting and fruitful relationship between the local housing authorities, with whom we work, the public officials and citizens groups on whom they must rely for support, and our own organization in Washington?

I come to you with such fundamental questions, even though they may seem to be matters of primary concern only to the local authorities and ourselves, because I know of your effective participation in this movement.

I want to express, as I have many times before, my sense of appreciation for the action of the Executive Council of the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor when, in a fine spirit of co-operation with Mr. Walter V. Price, the USHA Director of Labor Relations, they adopted two epoch-making resolutions. As you know, these resolutions provide that wage rates at the time work is commenced on a USHA project shall remain constant until the project is completed, and that work on USHA projects shall not be stopped because of jurisdictional disputes. The Executive Council at the same time recommended to all local building trades councils that they take similar action. So far nearly 100 local building trades councils and 275 local unions have adopted these resolutions. That is a record of which we all can be proud.

You know that when the United States Housing Act of 1937 was passed, Congress wrote into that Act a section for the protection of labor standards. That section provides for the payment of prevailing wage rates. In determining prevailing wage rates, the USHA and the local housing authorities are giving every consideration to the wage rates your building trades unions have won through collective bargaining. We have made it a condition of every loan contract with a local authority that all employees of a contractor shall have the rights of organization and collective bargaining; that standards of safety shall be observed on all work; that hours of work shall not be lengthened; that overtime payment shall be made; that complaints shall be investigated and handled promptly, so that in every way possible, labor shall be protected.

May I state my definition of the aim and goal of the housing program. It has two parts: In the first place, we must eliminate the slums. In the second place, we must provide the maximum of useful employment for the workers of the country in the construction of decent healthful homes. I want to talk to you for a few minutes about this matter of employment.

Of the \$800,000,000 in the present program, at least \$600,000,000 will go directly into construction—into pay envelopes of men working on the sites. In addition this wave of re-employment will spread to all the industries which employ men in the production or the manufacture or the transportation of things

that go into the building of a home. These will all be real jobs under normal private employment conditions. The money now available under the USHA Act will provide work for 300,000 men for one year.

It is recognized by all in this country today that the well-being of the individual family is part and parcel of the well-being of the whole economic and industrial system. Our prime concern has therefore become stability of business, stability of employment. From every point of view there is nothing more important for America today than to free itself from the devastating ravages of alternating periods of prosperity and panic, alternating periods of hope and despair, alternating years of comparative plenty and years of want and discontent.

The best practical minds of the nation, in business, and in government, have sought to diagnose the basic cause of this economic disease. They have reached a common result. They agree that the disease of depression is always a disease of paralysis. Capital was paralyzed and idle. Machines were paralyzed and idle. Man power was paralyzed and men were idle.

From this diagnosis of the disease, thoughtful men have drawn the conclusion that, if the evil of a depression is paralysis and idleness, the remedy must be activity and work. By work, I mean the opportunity to work for all those who are willing and able to work. Good government must provide the opportunity for such productive work whenever the machinery of private industry bogs down. In the words of Abraham Lincoln: "It is the duty of the Government to do for the people what they need to have done but cannot do themselves, or cannot do so well, in their separate and individual capacities."

That program of action is the public works program which I believe must be the stabilizer of our whole economic system in the years to come. It will be a balance wheel, speeding up the economic machinery when private industry alone is unable to carry the burden, and reducing its speed when private industry gathers momentum, puts men back at work, and is able to carry on.

The United States Housing Act of 1937 establishes for the first time in the history of this nation such a balance wheel in the form of a long-range and carefully-planned public works housing program.

This housing program is, in fact, a public works program of the finest kind. It does not compete with private enterprise. Public housing under the United States Housing Authority program will serve only those low-income families for whom private enterprise will not build because it cannot build at a profit. The housing program is a program of construction, not of projects of temporary or doubtful value, but of permanent community assets which conserve and produce wealth. The housing program is a program of employment, not for jobs of an irregular or relief nature, but instead for useful employment under normal business conditions at fair and reasonable wages. Public works so planned and so conceived are, in my belief, the heart of any long-term program for economic stability.

One more thing I must say, that is on my mind and on my heart in speaking to this great Labor gathering. The first act of a dictator, wherever he arises, is to crush the organized labor movement. Dictators are moved to take such action because the principles of organized labor are a direct contradiction of that organized despotism which is called "dictatorship." If every dictator, as one of his first moves, seeks to crush the labor movement, it is fitting that labor understand the challenge implicit in that act.

Destruction of the labor movement carries with it the ruin of all those great institutions for the protection of individual liberties and the improvement of human living conditions which flourish under a democracy. Organized labor must assume the responsibility of maintaining itself by maintaining that democratic form of government under which alone it can continue to exist.

The staunchest barrier to protect civilized democratic countries from being engulfed by the tides of dictatorship, whether Communist or Fascist, must be organized labor. In its struggle to achieve and preserve the rights of the laboring man, labor will be preserving the rights and the liberties of the whole American people.

I was told this morning when I arrived in this town that we make a distinction between the United States Housing Authority and the Federal Housing Administration, of which Stewart McDonald is Administrator. The Federal Housing Administration insures loans to private builders to erect housing projects. The United States Housing Authority lends funds to public agencies, local housing administrations for demolishing slums and rebuilding houses for those formerly obliged to live in the slums. So far as I know, the United States Housing Authority has not built a single house except to house a slum dweller. We finance the rehousing of slum dwellers. The Federal Housing Administration assures loans to private builders to put up houses for those who can afford to pay the whole rent. It will interest the citizens of Texas to know that the cities in which construction is going ahead are New York and Buffalo, and I am told the bids will be open for Austin, Texas, soon, and it will be the third city in which construction will go on.

To criticize is the right and duty of a friend, and I ask you as friends of the housing movement to criticize freely and frankly what we have done and what we are doing. The law requires that the prevailing wage shall be paid in all these projects. We have in setting these prevailing wages the intention to pay fair union rates. We have made provision, in addition, that collective bargaining shall be provided for. We have made provision for safety of the workers, pay for overtime, and provided that complaints shall be investigated promptly.

If there is anything that we have not done wisely, I ask you as friends to let us have your criticism. What do you think of our efficiency? What do you think of the relationship that has been established between

the United States Housing Authority and the local housing authorities? Have we erred on the side of not giving them enough and not compelling them to conform to the sound building standards? Or have we erred on the other side and been guilty of that thing which to me is particularly objectionable, domination from Washington? Let me have your criticism as friends, because to you we must look for guidance and the continuing policies of education in the local communities.

But criticism is only part of your job. I want to urge you seriously to take your responsibilities as they should be taken. There are nineteen states that have not any legislation on their statute books to enable them to participate in the United States Housing Authority program. What are you going to do to put your shoulders to the wheel and have such legislation, so that when you meet again in convention, forty-eight states will have that legislative provision.

On November 1, 1937, there were forty housing authorities in this country. Actually only about twenty-two of them were alive and active. Today we are working with 205 housing authorities. How many will there be in another year? In England they have 15,000 local housing authorities. There should be a housing authority in every community that has slums and it is difficult to find a city that hasn't a slum area.

We have another job to do and that is to form an educated public opinion in every city to cooperate effectively and to plan slum clearance and rehousing on a ten-year basis. That is the only way you can plan to have cities that are fit to live in.

The well being of the family, it is coming to be recognized, is in the end what determines the well being of society as a whole, and therefore more and more men concerned with the national welfare have come to the belief that we must do something to end the alternating cycles of hope and despair, of production and idleness which have been the economic history of our country.

The cause of idleness here, as everybody agrees, is paralysis, paralysis of capital, paralysis of machines, paralysis of men. Capital is idle and unemployed, machines are idle and unemployed, men are idle and unemployed. If the cause is paralysis, the cure must be activity and the opportunity for every man to work who wants to work. We have got to provide for that activity in the future. Plan now so that our national industrial life will not be paralyzed by another depression. Translated into practical terms, that means a public works program. Plan carefully and be ready to shoot at the first sign of depression. Our program involves no competition with private housing, for the USHA will finance housing only for those families living in a slum for which private industry will not build because it cannot build at a profit. The United States Housing Authority has a program that is not a program of producing things of doubtful value, it provides for producing that most

needed thing in America, decent houses for slum dwellers.

And so we have a program launched and going. We have a great organization of labor which in the past has, in fact, been effective in launching the movement and upon which we must rely now to cooperate with us to render that program effective throughout the country.

President Green: I want to say to Administrator Straus just now while he is leaving us that we appreciate more than words can express his visit to us this morning and his scholarly and informative address. I know we will gladly respond to all the requests he made and to the suggestions he offered. We are willing, eager and anxious to cooperate with him and his associates in administering affairs of the Housing Authority.

I extended an invitation to Vice-President Garner, the outstanding citizen of this great commonwealth of Texas, to attend this convention and address the officers and delegates here. I received his reply. Unfortunately, he could not come, but he did send a very sweet, nice letter. I want Secretary Morrison to read it to you.

Secretary Morrison read the following letter:

THE VICE-PRESIDENT'S CHAMBER

Washington

Uvalde, Texas.

September 28, 1938.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Rice Hotel,
Houston, Texas.

Dear Mr. President:

Your kind invitation of the 26th instant is just received.

I have been honored with many invitations, but none has been more appreciated than yours. However, I have made it a policy to decline all public appearances while I am Vice-President and, having adhered to this course for the past five years, I hope to continue it to the end.

I wish you and your associates a very successful meeting.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) JOHN N. GARNER.

President Green: I extended an invitation to the President of the United States to attend and address this convention. I received from President Roosevelt a reply to that invitation. I regard his reply as a most pleasing and satisfactory communication. I will ask Secretary Morrison to read the letter I received from President Roosevelt to the

officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following letter:

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

September 22, 1938.

My dear President Green:

Will you be good enough to extend my warm greetings to those who attend the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor? I wish much that I could accept your very kind invitation to the Convention but in these critical days Houston is, for me, a little too far from Washington.

During your lifetime and mine a vast improvement in the conditions of labor and the pay of labor in many occupations in most parts of the country has been brought about. This has come about largely through the efforts of organized labor. But much still remains to be done.

Collective bargaining is one of the most useful devices for fair and constructive human relations and collective bargaining in the industrial field presupposes some kind of organization of employees to conduct their part of such bargaining.

I hope you will give attention to the matter which I am always concerned about, namely, finding ways for steady employment of labor and increasing the annual purchasing power. It is what a worker earns for himself and his family in the course of a year which is important, not only for his own economic plan for his life, but for the economic life of the nation. In many sections and in many occupations which fall under the general classification of labor, there are millions of Americans who suffer from inadequate pay or over-long hours, or both.

Because for more than a quarter of a century I have had so many associations and friendships with officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Unions which it represents, I venture to express the hope that the Convention will leave open every possible door of access to peace and progress in the affairs of organized labor in the United States. If leaders of organized labor can make and keep the peace between various opinions and factions within the labor group itself, it will vastly increase the prestige of labor with the country and prevent the re-

action which otherwise is bound to injure the workers themselves.

I commend to all representatives of labor and management the reading of the report on relations between employers and employees in England and in Sweden, which has been made by a number of prominent Americans during the past summer. The outstanding feature of this report is that in both these countries co-operation, compromise and labor peace seem to be the rule rather than the exception.

I hope the Federation will have a highly successful Convention and that you will ever keep before you the American ideals of greater social and economic security.

Very sincerely yours,
s/d Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Honorable William Green,
President,
American Federation of Labor,
A. F. of L. Building,
Washington, D. C.

President Green: I am sure I express your sentiments when I say we deeply appreciate this very fine message sent to us by the President of the United States. It will be incorporated in the proceedings of today's convention.

Now the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements for announcements.

Chairman Stokes: I heard a good many of the lady guests were worried because they did not have guest badges to attend the theater. I took the matter up with the manager of the theater, and he assures me that he will not only recognize any of the delegates or visitors at any of his four theaters, but they will be welcome up to 6:00 o'clock any week day.

The ball will be tomorrow night. We would like to have you here at ten minutes of nine.

In your program you notice that we say the San Jacinto trip is listed for the 11th. It has been found expedient and necessary to make it the 12th. The rodeo will be held at 2:00 o'clock Saturday afternoon. We are going to give you a real Southwest rodeo and I hope you will enjoy it. It will be carried on by real Southwest punchers with Southwest stock.

Galveston is a beautiful spot to visit. It is historic, has a beautiful beach and warm water bathing. I understand the fishing is

good and the tarpon are running. It is a lovely place to spend a day. Galveston has asked me to say they will be glad to have you come down there at any time.

Now for the colored delegates. The colored ball will be at the Pilgrim Hall tomorrow night. I have a local committee headed by a very energetic colored man and he will see that the colored delegates and their wives will have everything done to make them happy.

The ladies of the Machinists Auxiliary here are asked to get in touch with the ladies of the Machinists' delegates.

I would like to have the Chairman of the committees leave information as to where and when their meetings are to be held with our Information Bureau.

Immediately after adjournment tomorrow afternoon we would like to have the official convention picture taken. The photographer will be on the steps at the entrance to the Music Hall. We have made arrangements to have the World Series broadcast made in this hall. Those of you who wish to stay will hear it during the intermission between sessions.

President Green: I am going to present to you the young, sincere, vigorous President of the new miners' union chartered by and in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. I present to you Mr. Joseph Ozanic, of the Progressive Miners of America.

MR. JOSEPH OZANIC

President, Progressive Miners of America

President Green, Delegates to this Convention, and Friends of the American Federation of Labor—I am going to make my remarks here as brief as I can this morning, and at the same time give you a brief outline as to our experiences since the International Union of Progressive Mine Workers of America was chartered by the American Federation of Labor on last April 28. Those who were delegates at the convention in Denver a year ago will recall that I went to quite a great length telling of the atrocities that were committed against our membership since about 1932 until last year.

Since we have been chartered as an international union by the American Federation of Labor, we have launched membership drives in several of the coal-producing states of this country, and I want to say to this convention here that in spite of the most vicious tactics being used against our organizers and against the representatives of the American Federation of Labor, that much progress has been made and I am glad to announce to this convention now that within the last thirty days we have brought to the American Federation of Labor approximately 12,000 mine workers,

a large number of whom were heretofore members of the United Mine Workers of America.

I would like to say this in connection with our membership conditions. I want to say it because I know the delegates in this convention are interested in what our International Union is doing in order to bring back home to the American Federation of Labor the mine workers of this country, whom we know are anxious and want to come back into the fold of the American Federation of Labor.

We want this convention here to know that officials of the United Mine Workers of America who were on the pay roll of John L. Lewis and who, I assume, are being instructed by John L. Lewis, have stated publicly in the state of West Virginia that they could guarantee that no mass meetings would ever be held in any section of West Virginia by the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America. I am proud to state that in the face of that public declaration mass meetings have been held in West Virginia, and while those mass meetings were being held, every conceivable method imaginable was used by the leaders of the CIO and the United Mine Workers of America to prevent our meetings from being successfully held and to prevent the right of free speech and free assembly in those coal fields. We faced their agents, we faced their runmen, their thugs, and as I stated a moment ago, successful mass meetings have been held.

Not only are they attacking the representatives of our International Union, but I want you to know that they are attacking representatives of the American Federation of Labor. On several occasions within the past sixty or ninety days representatives of my International Union have been beaten into unconsciousness in several sections of West Virginia. I want you to know that representatives of the American Federation of Labor have been beaten into unconsciousness in several sections of West Virginia.

Even though that be the case, our representatives and your representatives carry on the fight day in and day out. They carry it on courageously. They carry on that fight because they know that the mine workers of that state do not want to belong to the CIO, but they do want to come back home to the American Federation of Labor and to our International Union.

There within the last ninety days three of the largest local unions in Kanawha County, West Virginia, have been organized in the American Federation of Labor. While it is true that they were organized, as yet the fight is to be decided, that is, in so far as recognition of those mine workers on the part of employers in that district is concerned. The employers so far have refused to recognize those mine workers as members of our International Union and of the American Federation of Labor. As a consequence the case had to be filed with the National Labor Relations Board. I will make a few comments on what I think about the Labor Board a little later on in my remarks.

So far, from our experience, we have never

been able to get any action from the National Labor Relations Board, such as we feel we are entitled to have. I feel the delay after our cases are filed is purposeful and that they delay hearing of our complaints for the sole purpose of giving those connected with the CIO and the United Mine Workers of America an opportunity to break down our majorities before elections are held under supervision of the National Labor Relations Board.

I want to relate just one little instance that should be of interest to the delegates to this convention. About a week prior to June 18th an official representative of the United Mine Workers of America made the public statement that I stated here a moment ago, that no public meetings would be held by our organization any place in West Virginia. The mine workers of West Virginia have consistently requested that we call meetings at which representatives of our Union and representatives of the American Federation of Labor could address these mine workers and bring them into our organization and into the American Federation of Labor.

Because of those numerous appeals a mass meeting was sponsored by the West Virginia State Federation of Labor and the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America, scheduled to be held on June 18th in Westdale, West Virginia. The ground upon which the meeting was to be held was private property. The speakers' platform was erected and an amplifying system installed. The meeting was properly billed and advertised over the radio and through the public press.

Mine workers from all sections of Kanawha County came to that meeting that afternoon to hear the speakers representing our organization and the American Federation of Labor.

Those leaders connected with the CIO and the United Mine Workers of America, sensing that the mine workers of that state would leave the CIO and come home to the American Federation of Labor, resorted to the usual tactics with which we are so very familiar. It was conservatively estimated, not only by ourselves but by public officials of Kanawha County in Charleston, West Virginia, that there were some 2,000 men imported into Westdale to break up that meeting. These men were imported from Virginia, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Ohio, shipped into West Virginia, if you please, to break up a peaceable mass meeting being sponsored by the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor of West Virginia.

When this mob marched into our meeting place and broke up that meeting they were intoxicated, the great majority of them. They were openly led by the provisional vice-president of District 17, West Virginia, and by the provisional Secretary-Treasurer of that District, who urged them to attack our speakers and to break that meeting up and not permit it to be held on the afternoon of June 18.

In spite of that imported mob, in spite of

their drunken tactics, in spite of the accusations they made against everybody, and in spite of the threats of murder, yes, and I will say, even in spite of the sawed-off shotguns that they had pointed at your representatives, that mass meeting on June 18th was held and the message of the Progressive Mine Workers of America was delivered to the mine workers of Kanawaha County.

I could go into great detail and tell you what happened there, but that is not necessary. We have documents, scores of documents prepared that we are going to present whenever a special congressional investigation is held, so that those guilty of these violations can be properly prosecuted.

Following that meeting of June 18th three more successful meetings were held in succession, and the three local unions I mentioned a moment ago in Kanawaha Valley were established and chartered by our International Union and made affiliates of the American Federation of Labor.

Then, seeing that in spite of their tactics much success was being had in West Virginia, they decided that other and more vicious steps would be necessary. In Logan, West Virginia, on last July 29, representatives of my International Union and representatives of the American Federation of Labor were attacked by a mob of some 70 or 80 men, men who were not known to the natives of Logan County, West Virginia, total strangers, and in the heart of Logan, West Virginia, they were beaten into unconsciousness. Those who committed the act stated to them, "This is only a sample of what you will get if you don't quit working for the American Federation of Labor and for the Progressive Mine Workers of America."

Twelve hundred mine workers at this time in West Virginia are members of the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America. In a large majority of the local unions throughout the State of West Virginia, very nearly an authentic majority is already signed to membership in our organization, and I am going to predict here that in spite of the vicious tactics being used by the agents of the CIO and those who represent the United Mine Workers of America, that before the fight of my International Union is finished, West Virginia is going to be a solid unit affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Leaving West Virginia I want to tell you briefly about Kentucky. Kentucky is another section where I know the mine workers want the American Federation of Labor and our International Union. Realizing what the sentiment of those mine workers was, we launched a membership drive in Kentucky, and within some five or six weeks after that drive was instituted we have established a self-sustaining district in Western Kentucky with 20 large local unions affiliated, having a membership of more than 4,000 working mine workers. In addition to that, on August 20th we chartered a district in Eastern Kentucky with more than 4,000 mine workers affiliated with the American Federa-

tion of Labor. Out of that total of approximately 8,000 mine workers in Kentucky, quite a number of them are in Harlan County, Kentucky. No doubt some of you have heard about Harlan County, Kentucky, where John L. Lewis not so very long ago fought very hard for what he termed was a violation of civil liberties and the right of free speech and free assemblage in Harlan County.

You will recall how he accused the operators in Harlan County of interfering with the rights of the mine workers in that county, and how, through his efforts a Federal investigation resulted. A number of operators there were charged with interfering with the rights of these mine workers. Just recently it was announced he had signed a contract with these operators in Harlan County, Kentucky, which involved some 15,000 mine workers of that county. The fact of the matter is that that contract in Harlan County was negotiated unknown to the mine workers of Harlan County, and those mine workers now want the American Federation of Labor and are clamoring for the unrestricted right to affiliate with the International Union, Progressive Mine Workers of America.

Judging from the progress we are making in the heart of Harlan County I am going to predict that before many months have passed and before we get through with our mission in Kentucky, Harlan County is going to be 100 per cent affiliated with our International Union and with the American Federation of Labor.

The same thing applies in Kansas, District 14. There every kind of tactic is being used by agents of the CIO, and in spite of it a local union has been established by unanimous vote of the mine workers, and the balance of the local unions almost signed to authentic majorities and ready to be chartered and established by our International Union.

Now we talk about the National Labor Relations Board. I want to refer to that just briefly. Every time we have a controversy in which is involved the rights of the membership of our union, and the rights of the American Federation of Labor in that particular locality, we have always been unable to get satisfactory service from the National Labor Relations Board. One instance was in Illinois where a controversy arose. We pled and we begged with the National Labor Relations Board to give us some action. Nine or ten months passed before the Board acted, and when they did the case was ours by practically a unanimous vote of 465 men involved.

Right here in Kentucky, where I stated we had established a district in Western Kentucky with more than 4,000 mine workers, and twenty local unions involved, each one of them chartered by our International Union, and where each and every one of the operators signed contracts with our International Union, we find that a representative of the National Labor Relations Board by the name of Clark, coming from Indianapolis, approached these operators in Western Kentucky and stated to them that if they signed a contract with

the Progressive Miners Union they would have no right to do so until they received that authority from the Board, and if they did not sign a contract he was warning them not to do it until the Board authorized them to negotiate such a contract.

The thing I am wondering about is where the mine workers themselves, voluntarily affiliated with our International Union and the American Federation of Labor, and where the operators negotiate a contract with our organization after those mine workers have joined our union, what right any individual member of the National Labor Relations Board has to call upon those individual operators and say to them, "You have no right to sign that contract, and if you haven't signed it, don't you do it until I authorize it." I don't think that is proper. I don't think that is within the meaning of the Act, nor within the rights of the National Labor Relations Board or any of its representatives, to interfere with the rights of the mine workers to join an organization of their own choosing.

Probably there are some Kansas delegates here and they will remember this case in Kansas, where the Allison mine is involved. The miners joined our organization by unanimous vote. The operator refused to recognize the rights of his employees. That case was filed with the National Labor Relations Board some ninety days ago, and up to this time we haven't received any action from the National Labor Relations Board, and while this delay is going on the employer of that mine is working in collusion with the officials of the United Mine Workers of America, trying to force our membership back into the United Mine Workers of America and into the CIO.

Speaking for my International Union, if there is anything we can do through Congress when it meets again to modify that act or to simplify the powers of the personnel of the Board, we certainly are going to do that thing, because we can't help but feel from our experience that certain members of the National Labor Relations Board are rabid CIO partisans and are working for the CIO to the exclusion of our International Union and the American Federation of Labor.

That is all I am going to say about the National Labor Relations Board. You are as familiar with it as I am. All we are asking for is our rights. We ask for no special favors from any court. We ask for no special favors from any locality in these United States. All we ask for is the rights that are lawfully ours without prejudice to our organization or any other organization in the field. I say treat them squarely, and if they will do that, I know John L. Lewis will be able to count his mine workers without an adding machine and it won't be many months from the time this convention adjourns.

Let me close my remarks by making this statement. I want this convention here to know that your representatives, our representatives are daily collecting evidence and data, and through this evidence and data it will be found that the officials of the United Mine Workers of America are directly involved, officials who come to your representatives and to our representatives and who say to them, "If you don't quit working for the American

Federation of Labor or for the Progressive Mine Workers of America we will get you."

And then we have evidence following those statements showing that within 48 hours after such statements were made they did "get" the representatives of our Union and the American Federation of Labor. I don't mind telling you that on two occasions your organizer of the A. F. of L. was severely beaten into unconsciousness, and the assailants thought they were beating Joe Ozanic, President of the Progressive Miners of America.

I don't mind telling you that on June 18th, in the heart of Charleston, West Virginia, they attacked another man from Illinois, who in this case happened to be my brother-in-law and who resembles me somewhat, and they beat him unmercifully, thinking they were beating me up, and they so admitted to the lieutenant of police when questioned. One of the assailants stated he was sorry he beat the man up by mistaken identity. I was the man he thought he was beating up.

I want this convention to know that we fought John L. Lewis from 1932 and regardless of what his tactics might be, he has never stopped us from fighting for the rights we are entitled to, rights that we know the mine workers of this country ought to have, and he certainly is not going to stop the fight of the Progressive Miners at this time. That I can assure you.

On April 28th a new international organization was established, chartered by the American Federation of Labor, chartered as the International Union, Progressive Miners of America. We immediately absorbed the Mine Workers of Illinois and made them District 1, Progressive Mine Workers of America, which gave to our International Union in a body some 35,000 working miners. Since that time, as I stated a moment ago, we have organized an additional 12,000 mine workers in other outlying territories, so that at this time our membership is composed of approximately 47,000 miners.

I am going to say now that it is not going to be but a short time until an International constitutional convention of my International Union will be convened, with as many delegates seated in it as there are in this convention, and I will predict when that convention is called to order somebody is going to have a headache. It will not be us, but it will be those who represent the CIO and the United Mine Workers of America.

I am glad I had the opportunity to be here. I want to assure you delegates and President Green that we certainly appreciate being affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Our fight is going to be only one fight, and that is to bring home to the American Federation of Labor the mine workers of America. I think we can accomplish the task. I thank you.

(The delegates rose and applauded.)

President Green: We appreciate this very interesting address delivered by President Ozanic, of the Progressive Miners of America. I know you gained the impression from the vigorous and sincere manner in which Presi-

dent Ozanic addressed you that he is unafraid, a man of courage. Wherever duty calls there he will go, and no violence or assaults that may be directed against him or his representatives will prevent him from doing his duty.

Here we have a phase of the hatred and bitterness and discord and dissension created within the ranks of labor by those who originated, organized, established and led a dual, rebel, secession movement. I wondered in the beginning if they possessed a sense of appreciation of what their actions meant and would continue to mean. I wondered if they realized that they were launching a movement that would make enemies out of life-long friends, that would substitute hatred and ill-will for cooperation and understanding. Can we regard any man or set of men who would launch a movement designed in the beginning and operating after being launched as a dividing, bitter, rebel movement, as a friend of labor? Will the man who divides our family knowingly and purposely be regarded as a real friend of labor?

And yet here they are, talking about civil liberties in one commonwealth, protesting loudly because they allege they are denied the exercise of civil liberties in one commonwealth, and yet they themselves organize violent forces for the purpose of preventing the exercise of free assemblage, free speech and free press. If civil liberties and the exercise of civil liberties are right in New Jersey and Texas, they are right in the mountain state of West Virginia. How can those who organize a force to prevent free assemblage and free speech and free press in the mountain state of West Virginia cry because they allege that they are denied it in some other section?

As for the American Federation of Labor, we are for free assemblage, free speech and free press in every state, in every community everywhere. While we may not like what men say, we will fight with all the vigor at our command to permit them to have their say.

But here is a man who tells you a story of violence, of assault, of attack, not made by employed operators' thugs, gunmen and the authorities of a commonwealth, but by men employed by a labor union—thugs, assaulters, mob rule, beating up our men, causing us to pay hospital bills; attacking them

nigh unto death, and then Pharasaically, loudly proclaiming for the exercise of civil liberties, free speech, free press and free assemblage.

Well, my good friend told you the story. We started out this infant union. We have chartered it. It is a part of the family of the American Federation of Labor. We are supporting it. We are going to continue to support it and through it endeavor to bring to the mine workers of the nation the enjoyment of democracy, of freedom, and of independence, and we care not how many assaults may be directed against our representatives. We care not how violent the battle may be or the character of the attack, wherever it may come from, we serve notice now from this platform here in Houston, Texas, that we are unafraid, we will not be stopped, we are going forward until we win.

I am speaking to you this morning as a man who spent more than twenty years in the coal mines of the nation. I think I know the miners, their sentiments, their vision and their points of view, and I am speaking as one who gave the best of twenty years in serving the mine workers of the nation. Now I am trying to serve them still, to make them free, to bring democracy and democratic rule in the affairs of the miners of the nation, to free them from the form of semi-pondage in which they now find themselves, to make it possible for them to elect their chosen representatives rather than to have them imposed upon them; to have a voice in the administration of their affairs, and to determine by majority vote what the policies of that organization shall be.

Come what may, we are going to fight on and on, with all of the resources at our command, until we win this fight for the mine workers of the nation.

Announcement

President Green: The Governor of Louisiana will attend and address the convention tomorrow morning at 11:00 o'clock. The fraternal delegates will deliver their messages tomorrow afternoon.

Please keep these addresses in mind and be in attendance at the morning and afternoon sessions tomorrow.

The convention will stand recessed until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

At 12:30 o'clock, p. m., the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock, p. m.

Second Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Ewell, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, J. M.; Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDewitt, Mabae, Metzger, Miller, Moffett, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Ross, Rossano, Schneider, Sexton, Summers, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

President Green: I extended an invitation to Senator Wagner, of New York, to attend and address this convention. He advised me that he would endeavor to arrange his affairs so as to be here. However, I am in receipt of a telegram in which he advises me that it is quite impossible for him to come to Houston. I will ask Secretary Morrison to read his message to the convention.

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram:

New York, N. Y.,
October 3, 1938.

William Green,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Houston:

Dear Bill: I regret exceedingly that the exigencies of the campaign require my presence in New York and compel me to forego the pleasure of addressing the convention this year. Please convey my most cordial felicitations to all my friends. We cannot but rejoice over the enormous gains made by labor during the past five years, through its increasing cooperation and participation in the councils of industry and government. In particular, may I take this occasion to express my gratitude for your support in expanding the United States Housing program at the last session of Congress and for the splendid statesmanship of the Building Trades Unions in furthering the progress of that program. I pledge to carry on the fight along the whole broad front of social progress, for the fullest recognition of labor's just right and the achievement of a stable and lasting prosperity for all groups of the population. With kindest personal regards.

ROBERT F. WAGNER.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following messages:

New Orleans, La.,
October 2, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Houston:

We extend to you and the convention our

sincere best wishes. We cordially invite and respectfully request that the 1939 convention meet in New Orleans, Louisiana.

NEW ORLEANS CENTRAL TRADES
AND LABOR COUNCIL,

ROBERT L. SOULE, Secretary.

New York,
October 1, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Houston:

Please accept our sincere greetings to delegates of American Federation of Labor Convention in the name of our more than sixty thousand members. Consumers Union will continue to serve organized labor by helping increase the purchasing power of the workers' dollar and by aiding consumers to understand labor's position and labor's needs.

ARTHUR KALLET, Director,
Consumers Union.

New York, October 1, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Houston, Texas.

Best wishes for a successful convention. From its inception the American Federation of Labor has steadily developed traditions of collective bargaining, erected a more liberal public opinion towards labor unions, raised standards of workers' health, brought about safeguards in factories and shops, and has raised the cultural standard of American labor by securing for it a larger return on the wealth it produced. In addition to this admirable work within American labor the American Federation of Labor has always been the bulwark of humane movements coming to the defense of all oppressed people, minority groups, and refugees from political, religious and racial persecution. In these days of totalitarian attacks upon democratic freedom it is gratifying to see the American Federation of Labor championing the cause of democracy. More than that, the American Federation of Labor has maintained this position from the time of its founding consistently and without wavering. The American Federation of Labor is doubly to be congratulated for continuing to uphold the principles of freedom and human dignity, since only upon these principles can a truly democratic labor movement be solidly established.

MORRIS C. FEINSTONE,
Secretary United Hebrew Trades.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman George, of the Committee on Credentials, for a supplemental report.

Supplemental Report, Committee on Credentials

Delegate George, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following:

In accordance with communication received from Juan Amalbert, Financial Secretary of Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 18198, San Juan, Porto Rico, we recommend the seating of Laura Iglesias to represent that organization, with one vote.

We have examined the following credentials and recommend that the delegates be seated:

Iowa State Federation of Labor--A. A. Couch, 1 vote.

By direction of F. H. Fljodzal, International President Maintenance of Way Employees, we recommend the seating of R. H. Smith in place of F. H. Fljodzal, who is unable to attend further sessions of the convention.

Chairman George moved the adoption of the report and the seating of the delegates.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison submitted the following resolution:

Endorsing Ramspeck Bill to Improve Wage Standards of Custodial Service Workers

Resolution No. 93--By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Classification Act of 1933, as amended, embraces certain trades and other workmen particularly in the Custodial Service, whose wages have not kept pace with those employees coming under the "Wage Board System"; and

WHEREAS, These employees were excepted from the general provisions of the Classification Act of 1923 which excluded the skilled trades from the operation of that Act; and

WHEREAS, It is now proposed to extend the Classification Act to the field service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that an effort be made to remove these employees from the purview of the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, and to have them placed under a schedule of wages not less than that prevailing in the navy yard service; and to confer upon them the benefits of the 40 hour week, without reduction in weekly earnings; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse the principles of the Ramspeck Bill, H. R. 2698 introduced January 12, 1937, and endeavor to secure its enactment.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Resolutions Submitted After Time Limit

President Green: The constitution and by-laws of the American Federation of Labor were amended at the Denver convention one year ago, relating to the introduction of resolutions. The amended sections referred to read as follows:

All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals to be considered by any subsequent convention of the American Federation of Labor must be received by the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor at headquarters in Washington, D. C., 30 days immediately preceding the opening of the convention; except in instances where such resolutions, petitions, memorials, appeals, etc., have been acted upon and approved at a regular convention of a National or International Union or State Federation of Labor, held during this 30-day period, in which event such proposals shall be received up to five days prior to the convening date of the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

All resolutions, petitions, memorials and/or appeals received or submitted after the time hereinbefore stipulated or during the convention shall be referred to the Executive Council and the Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the convention.

Now, in conformity with the sections of the constitution just read, a number of resolutions were submitted to the Executive Council. These resolutions were submitted to the Council because they arrived after the time limit for the introduction of resolutions had expired. The Executive Council has gone over these resolutions, and by instruction of the Executive Council, the Secretary-Treasurer will report the said resolutions to the convention. They will be submitted to you in consecutive order, and if any delegate in the convention objects to the introduction of any one of these resolutions, then the resolution cannot be considered by the convention. These resolutions can only be introduced now, even after the Executive Council has considered them, by the rule of unanimous consent of the delegates in attendance at this convention, and they may exercise their right, if they so desire, to object to the introduction of any one of these resolutions which will now be submitted by Secretary-Treasurer Morrison for your consideration.

Secretary Morrison then submitted the resolutions to the introduction of which no objections were offered, and they will be found at the end of this day's proceedings.

Objection was raised to the introduction of

resolutions enumerated as follows, and they therefore, in accordance with the law, were not received:

"Protesting attitude of A. F. of L. Officials Toward Candidates in Political Elections." Submitted by Trades and Labor Council, Fort Arthur, Texas.

"Proposing Elimination of Jurisdiction Questions In Organization of Furniture Workers." Submitted by Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

"Opposing RFC Loan to Kansas Pipeline and Gas Company to Construct Pipe Lines for Natural Gas in Northern Minnesota." Submitted by Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

"Upholsterers Request Executive Council to Call Conference with Iron Workers on Jurisdiction Questions." Submitted by Upholsterers International Union.

Delegate Woyner, Chicago Federation of Labor: Three resolutions were submitted by the Chicago Federation of Labor pertaining to Station WCFL. I haven't heard them read.

President Green: They will come up in the regular order. They are not included in this list, but will be included in a later list.

Substitution

President Green: The Chair desires to substitute the name of Michael Reilly, International Association of Plasterers, for that of John Donlin, of the same organization, as a member of the Committee on Legislation.

Opportunity was afforded at this time for announcements by chairmen of the several committees.

Delegate Bates, Chairman of the Committee on Executive Council's Report, in announcing that that committee would meet at 10:00 o'clock on Wednesday morning, requested the delegates interested in Resolution No. 89 to appear before the committee.

President Green: It would appear that the work of the convention for today is about completed, but before we take action upon a suspension of the rules and adjournment until tomorrow morning, I should like very much to emphasize the appointments we have made for addresses to the convention tomorrow. First of all, may I refer to the engagement at 11:00 o'clock tomorrow for Governor Leche, of Louisiana. Governor Leche comes to Houston as the guest of the

American Federation of Labor for the purpose of addressing the convention. I ask that all delegates, officers, visitors and friends come to the morning session of the convention tomorrow for the purpose of hearing the address which will be delivered by Governor Leche, of our neighboring State of Louisiana.

It occurred to me that I might appropriately announce also that the sessions of the convention are open to the public. If there are those in Houston or in this vicinity who desire to attend this convention as visitors, a cordial invitation is extended. We are glad to welcome any who may wish to come to our convention as visitors.

Now I want to supplement what I have said by referring to the addresses which will be delivered by the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada to our convention tomorrow afternoon at 2:30 o'clock. We listened with rapt attention to the address delivered by Robert J. Watt, a member of the Presidential Commission who participated in an investigation of labor and human relations in industry in Great Britain and Sweden. That address was indeed a most interesting and educational address.

Tomorrow these fraternal delegates will no doubt refer in their addresses to the very same subject dealt with by Robert Watt in his address this morning. In all probability they will expand and enlarge upon the presentation of the same subject. Furthermore, I know that they will give us a fund of information relative to the trade union movement in Great Britain.

Then I am sure they will refer in a most eloquent and convincing way to the international situation which prevails in continental Europe. They come from a country where the shadow of war has been constantly hanging over millions and millions of people. We, along with them, breathed a sigh of relief because the crisis apparently had passed. But we regret to see that a great, outstanding, patriotic, democratic nation in Europe was compelled to pay such a terrible price in order to maintain peace.

As we see the situation in Europe—and no doubt these splendid delegates will refer to it—a constant, apparently never-ending conflict for the present at least is going on between the totalitarian states in Europe and the democracies of that great country. For after all, the issue in Czechoslovakia as

against the dictator in Germany was an issue between democracy and dictatorship. How long can compromises be made and the tremendous price paid for peace at this time again be repeated? That is the question we are all asking.

So far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, we stand immovably with the democracies of Europe and against dictatorships there, let it be Fascism, Nazism, or Communism. It occurred to me that I might with perfect propriety make these remarks at this time when referring to the fact that our very dear friends, the fraternal

delegates from Great Britain, will address this convention tomorrow afternoon.

If there is no further business to come before the convention, the Chair will entertain a motion to suspend the rules and adjourn until tomorrow morning.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn until tomorrow morning.

The motion was seconded and carried, and the convention adjourned at 3:45 p. m. to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 5.

RESOLUTIONS

The constitution provides that resolutions received after the expiration of time limits shall be referred to the Executive Council and (Article III, Section 6) "The Executive Council shall refer all such proposal or proposals to the convention with the understanding that acceptance of such proposal or proposals is dependent upon the unanimous consent of the conventions."

The following resolutions were received after the expiration of the time limit and accepted by the convention:

Extension of the Civil Service System to Include the Special Delivery Messengers of the Postal Service.

Resolution No. 94—By Delegate: Geo. L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees; and

WHEREAS, The Special Delivery Messengers of the Postal service are unclassified, and it is the desire of the Brotherhood of the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers to obtain for their membership a civil service classification as Special Delivery Messengers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 58th Annual Convention unqualifiedly endorse such legislation as will give to the Special Delivery Messengers such civil service classification; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be

instructed to cooperate with the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers in their efforts to secure through legislation or executive order, such extension of the classified civil service.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Territorial Form of Government for Puerto Rico.

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court on various decisions has declared that Puerto Rico is a part of the United States as an organized territory, but that it is not an incorporated one; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a proper territorial form of government for the island should be initiated by Congress without further delay to the end that the people of the island be enabled to rapidly develop full and complete economic and political self-government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled believing Puerto Rico to be a full part of the United States, therefore makes the recommendation that an incorporated territorial form of government be initiated and established in Puerto Rico by the Congress of the United States without further delay and that the people of Puerto Rico be enabled to rapidly develop full and complete economic and political self-government by granting the right to elect its Governor and other high officials.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Formation of "Latin" Federation of Workers for Pan-American Countries.

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate Santiago

Iglesias, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workmen.

WHEREAS, A report from the City of Mexico has announced that a "Latin" Federation of Workers was organized by the CMT under almost the same principles and aims of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It has been established that the Pan-American Federation of Labor did not make differences between labor organizations from Latin or Saxon areas and believing that the "Latin" Federation of Workers appears to be a creation of racial prejudices and a dual organization against the Pan-American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this convention assembled of the American Federation of Labor, that we reject the idea of dividing the Western Hemisphere labor between Latin or Saxon federations and we call upon all the labor organizations throughout all America to maintain the principles and aims of the Pan-American Federation of Labor as it embodies the idea of a United Labor Federation regardless of the divisions of "Latin" or "Saxon" America.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Organization of Western Union Telegraph Employees.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Western Union Telegraph Company during its entire history has been bitterly opposed to organized labor, and

WHEREAS, With the active assistance of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates the Commercial Telegraphers' Union has signed up a large majority of Western Union employees in Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, The thanks of those Western Union members of the CTU, as well as other divisions of the CTU, is extended to the American Federation of Labor for its assistance, and

WHEREAS, Western Union employees in other cities are gradually swinging away from their company union affiliation and only require personal contacts with organizers to line up with the CTU, and

WHEREAS, The CIO affiliate, American Communications Association, heavily financed for the past year and a half by the CIO, and known to be led by Communists or Communist followers, is striving in every way possible to capture this important telegraph communication link for the Communist Party, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declares itself to be wholeheartedly in favor of continuing the work of organizing the Western Union Telegraph Company, and to that end pledges all possible assistance to the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation

of Labor urges that all affiliated organizations assist in this campaign by assigning organizers and co-operating in any other way possible with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

Referred to Committee on Organization.

Proposing Convention to Form an International Union of Seamen.

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Wm. R. Ross, Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama.

The necessity for proper organization of the Seamen plying their vocations along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts and Great Lakes is one of great importance, not alone to the men directly involved, but to the communities which depend in large measures upon the marine industries for their prosperity and welfare.

It is believed that if the men constituting the so-called "unlicensed personnel" were given the opportunity to express themselves in a general conference, some feasible and practical plan could and would be promulgated whereby those directly affected would be benefited and the wholehearted cooperation of the workers secured. Several efforts have in the past two years been made to revive the principles of the former International Seamen's Union, namely, a Union where the entire direction was under the control of the members. The most recent effort, that of organizing under a Federal charter, was productive of good results and it is believed that if the plan had been carried out and a convention held, the growth would have been rapid and the interests of those now holding aloof, secured. The Seamen want a permanent organization: an organization representative of their vocation, an organization with specified purposes and directed by men of their own choosing. It is believed that the present plan should be continued for a period of four months with the express understanding that at the end of that time (four months) a convention is to be held and a permanent International Union perfected, with officers to be elected by a referendum vote of the paid-up membership and a constitution adopted by the same manner. At present and as carried on in the past months, the Seamen are, so to state, "all at sea." One plan after another is proposed, tried and then discarded. This entails the expenditure of time, effort and money without permanent achievements and creates the thought in the minds of the workers of inability of leaders to cope and deal with problems as they arise. Uniform contracts cannot be made as at present operated.

In the interest of the Labor Union movement generally, that of the American Federation of Labor and the Seamen in particular, the Central Trades Council of Mobile recommends to the officers and delegates in convention assembled in Houston, Texas, that they go on record as favoring the holding of a convention of the seamen now members of Federal Union No. 21429, and such as may

become members between the present time and some definitely stated date, under the auspices and direction of the American Federation of Labor, to the end that an International Union of Seamen may be organized and the opponents of the American Federation of Labor Union movement kept from sowing seeds of strife and discord in the marine industry of our nation.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Protect Trade Union Agreements in U. S. Investigation of Fluid Milk Distribution Industry.

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John O'Rourke, George Wilson, F. W. Brewster, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The fluid milk distribution business in the United States employs approximately 200,000 workers, ranking it among the nation's leading industries; and

WHEREAS, Until the last several decades this industry was notorious for its sub-standard wages and excessive hours; and

WHEREAS, Affiliated Locals of Milk Wagon Drivers and Inside Dairy Workers of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America have been instrumental in organizing a substantial portion of the employers engaged in the distribution and processing of fluid milk; and

WHEREAS, Economic conditions in the industry have allegedly created an unstable state of chaos in the industry which in some sections of the country is rampant with unfair trade and labor practices; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice, pursuant to the exercise of its function, has seen fit to make a nationwide investigation of the operation of the fluid milk industry which at present is being conducted with a view of stopping any inequities in the light of the greatest public good; and

WHEREAS, Many employers both large and small, have been notorious for their anti-union attitude as evidenced by the low wages and long hours prevalent in the dairy industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled herewith goes on record as welcoming a study of this industry by the Government, in which study care ought to be exercised so as not to create conditions making it impossible to improve sub-standard wages and hours, as they now exist in some localities; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor goes on record as approving any instrumentality of the Government which will result in stopping any monopolistic practices on the part of any given industry in the United States and especially in the fluid milk business if the evidence shows such a monopoly exists in any given area; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President of the United States and Congress be petitioned to the effect that any proposed change in legislation, or voluntary marketing agreements contain no provisions which would be inimical to the welfare of the workers engaged in this vast industry which would lower wages or lengthen hours, or which would disturb the stability of conditions existing through trade union agreements.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Reduce Competition of Foreign Sugar for Benefit of American Beet Sugar Industry.

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Roy M. Brewer, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, At the present time only 27 per cent of the sugar consumed in the United States is produced in the continental United States by American workmen; and

WHEREAS, The American beet sugar industry, if properly protected, could be one of the foremost industries of the United States, supplying a substantial market for American farms and substantial employment for American workmen; and

WHEREAS, Under the present quota the interests of foreign farmers and foreign workers are being placed ahead of the interests of American farmers and workers by permitting the importation of 73 per cent of our domestic consumed sugar; and

WHEREAS, Tens of thousands of members of the American Federation of Labor are being adversely affected by this unjust allotment; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor go on record as favoring an increased quota to the American beet sugar industry; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the legislative representatives of the American Federation of Labor use their influence with the Agricultural Department to obtain said increase.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Issuance of Charters by Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to Provincial and Local Central Labor Unions.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Hamilton, Ont., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Section 3 of the report of the Special Committee on relations of Organizations in Canada and the United States, at the A. F. of L. Convention of 1910, gave to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress the sole right to issue charters, certificates of affiliation to Provincial or Local Central Bodies in Canada; and

WHEREAS, The action of the officials of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress in welcoming known Communists and the Communist-dominated CIO into the Trades and Labor Congress and its affiliated Provincial and Local Central Bodies has proven detri-

mental to bona fide International Unions, resulting in loss of prestige in the eyes of the general public and the refusal of the Federal and Ontario Provincial Governments to act upon any of the legislative programs of the Canadian Congress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section 3 of the report of the Special Committee on the Relations of Organizations in Canada and the United States, at the 1910 Convention be repealed, and that the sole right of issuing charters to Provincial and Local Labour Central Bodies in Canada shall be in the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Infringement Upon Jurisdiction of Affiliated International Unions by Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

Resolution No. 102.—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

WHEREAS, The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is maintained as a Canadian Legislative Mouthpiece for the American Federation of Labor, by the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, through chartering of National Unions, is continually infringing upon the jurisdiction of International Unions, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its Executive Council to order the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to refrain from issuing National Charters to any Groups where there is already an established International Union having jurisdiction over said Groups, and, be it further

RESOLVED, that the Officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, be ordered to turn over to the proper International Unions, all Members of its National Unions, whose type of work places them within the jurisdiction of International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Adequate Taxation Against Shipping Companies to Pay Operating Costs of Canals and Harbors, Dominion of Canada.

Resolution No. 103.—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

WHEREAS, One of the greatest contributory factors to our ever-increasing national debt is the tremendous expenditures on our canals and harbors; and

WHEREAS, The services supplied through these expenditures are used almost entirely

by private corporations and companies for gain; and

WHEREAS, Any taxes and tariffs levied against shipping companies for the use of these services do not ever pay the operating costs in connection with any canal or harbor; and

WHEREAS, Due to these conditions, the general public, through their taxes are subsidizing private corporations and companies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to instruct all affiliated Central Bodies and Local Unions of affiliated International Unions in Canada, to petition their Local Federal members of Parliament to have the Dominion Government make all canals and harbors self-sustaining.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Tax Exemption of Interurban Trucks and Buses Operating in Canada.

Resolution No. 104.—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has continuously opposed unfair or cut-throat competition, because such competition always forces a lowering of wage rates and living standards; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor instructs us to work diligently for the success of those who support us, if we wish to make of ourselves a success; and

WHEREAS, In the Dominion of Canada there exists a Department of Transport with Federal jurisdiction over all railways in the country, which fixes all railway freight and passenger rates; and

WHEREAS, At the present time there is no Federal or Provincial Board with authority to set freight or passenger rates on highway trucks or buses in existence; and

WHEREAS, The railways are required to buy, maintain and pay taxes on all their right-of-ways, while interurban buses and trucks pay nothing whatever for the use of the streets in cities, towns and villages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to instruct all affiliated Central Bodies and Local Unions of affiliated International Unions in Canada, First, to petition their Local Federal and Provincial members of Parliament to have all interurban trucks and buses placed under the jurisdiction of the Federal Department of Transport, and, second, to petition their local city, town and county councils to compel all interurban trucks and buses to pay for the use of streets within the limits of all cities, towns and villages.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Constitutional Amendment to Prohibit Affiliation of Central Labor Unions With Chamber of Commerce

Resolution No. 105.—By Montana State Federation of Labor.

"No Central Council shall be affiliated with any Chamber of Commerce and no delegate to a Central Council shall be entitled to a seat who is, or has been, a member of a Chamber of Commerce within twelve months preceding his becoming a member of a Central Council."

Referred to Committee on Local and Federated Bodies.

Prevailing Wage Scales for Labor Employed in Industries Producing Materials for WPA Projects

Resolution No. 106.—By Delegate Jos. N. Cummings, Federation of Labor, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The WPA has established a fairly decent prevailing wage in all of the various labor classifications covering all districts in the United States for force account labor, and

WHEREAS, Much of the activity of WPA on furnishing materials, such as, stone, sand and gravel, etc., are let on a contract basis, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor request of and at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor that they instruct their Executive Board to request of WPA officials that all labor performed in the furnishing of materials on a contractual basis, should be paid not less than the prevailing WPA wage scale schedules for the locality in which the labor is being performed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Prevailing Wage Scales for All Labor Employed on WPA Projects and Contracts for Materials

Resolution No. 107.—By Delegate Jos. N. Cummings, Federation of Labor, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan.

WHEREAS, On many Federal Projects partially financed by the United States Bureau of Public Roads the prevailing wage rates are not being paid, and

WHEREAS, The WPA has established a fairly decent prevailing wage in all various labor classifications covering all districts in the United States for force account labor, and

WHEREAS, This condition places employers hiring Union Labor in an unfair position with the wage-cutting, chiseling employer and tends to lower wages in localities where these projects are under construction, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor request of and

at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the American Federation of Labor instruct their Executive Board to request of the United States Bureau of Public Roads Officials that all labor used in the construction of and the furnishing of material for Federal Aid Highway Projects should be paid not less than the prevailing WPA wage scale schedule for the locality in which the labor is being performed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Request PWA Officials to Require WPA Wage Schedules of Locality Enforced as a Condition of Allocation of Funds

Resolution No. 108.—By Delegate Jos. N. Cummings, Federation of Labor, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan.

WHEREAS, On many Federal projects partially financed by the PWA, in this State, the prevailing wage rates are not being paid, and

WHEREAS, Many of the Local sponsors of these projects are adopting a minimum wage scale less than the schedule of wages paid on WPA projects, and

WHEREAS, This condition places employers hiring Union Labor in an unfair position with the wage-cutting, chiseling employer and tends to lower wages in localities where those projects are under construction, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct their Executive Board to request PWA officials to refuse to allocate funds for projects where the minimum wage submitted by the local sponsor is less than WPA wage schedules for the locality.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Amendments to U. S. Employment Service Act and Social Security Act to Place Administration of Public Employment Offices and Unemployment Insurance Under U. S. Department of Labor

Resolution No. 109.—By Delegate C. E. Westbrook, Central Labor Union, El Paso and Vicinity, Texas.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for many years advocated and sponsored a system of public employment offices for the purpose of rendering a placement service for unemployed persons; and has advocated and sponsored a system of unemployment insurance for unemployed workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor supported the passage of the Wagner-Peyser Act, the Social Security Act, and the various state laws, creating our present system of public employment offices and unemployment compensation, and has seen therein the enactment into law of many of

the principles for which it has earnestly labored; and

WHEREAS, It is provided by law that the Wagner-Peyser Act be administered by the United States Employment Service and that the Social Security Act be administered by the Social Security Board; and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Board, in order to provide facilities for the payment of unemployment compensation benefits to insured workers, finances to this extent the administrative expenses of the public employment offices out of funds provided for the administration of unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, Because of the restriction of Social Security Board funds to insured workers, the services of the public employment offices have been so contracted and are being so restricted that the millions of uninsured workers in this country who are not touched by unemployment insurance are in grave danger of being wholly deprived of the use, benefits, and services of the public employment offices; and

WHEREAS, This system of financing has created an unsatisfactory condition recognized by the Congressional Sub-Committee on Appropriations in a report dated February 17, 1938, which report stated in part: "If proper accounting and congressional control is to be exercised it appears that a remedy must be afforded by amending the law in order that all funds used in connection with the Employment Service in the States should clear through one sub-committee on appropriation and be expended by one administrative agency." And

WHEREAS, The resulting confusion and dissatisfaction is now undermining and weakening if not actually destroying, the effectiveness of the entire system of public employment offices through the failure of the present system to give the same sympathetic attention and service to the uninsured worker that is now being given to the insured worker; and

WHEREAS, The public employment services and unemployment insurance affect the daily employment of the millions of workers in this country; now therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Houston, Texas October 3, 1938:

1. That the Wagner-Peyser Act and the Social Security Act be so amended as to place the administration of the public employment offices and of unemployment insurance both in and under the United States Department of Labor as two coordinate and equal divisions therein under the direction of an assistant Secretary of Labor; and

2. That the funds appropriated by the Congress for grants to states for the maintenance of the public employment offices be in such amount as will provide employment service facilities to all workers in this country without regard to the unemployment insurance status of such workers and that these funds be earmarked for this purpose alone; and

3. That the funds appropriated by the Con-

gress for grants to states for the administration of unemployment compensation laws be in such amount as will provide insurance facilities for the insured workers, and that these funds be earmarked for this purpose alone; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to furnish copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, the Chairman of the Social Security Board, and to each Member of Congress.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

\$30.00 Monthly Minimum Old Age Pension

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Roy M. Brewer, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Old Age Pension Program of many of the states of the Union is wholly inadequate to sustain life; and

WHEREAS, Under the Social Security Program, there is available the sum of \$15.00 per month, provided it is matched by an equal amount by the states, making a pension of \$30.00 monthly for the needy aged; and

WHEREAS, Many of the states in the Union, including Nebraska, have not as yet seen fit to provide their needy aged with a pension equivalent to \$30.00 monthly, and now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in cooperation with the various state Federations of Labor, begin a nation-wide campaign for a minimum pension of not less than \$30.00 monthly to the needy aged, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various state legislatures that have not as yet passed such legislation be urged to take advantage of the maximum provisions for old age pensions under the Social Security Law.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Favoring Compulsory Health Insurance

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Health is of primary importance to every wage earner and his family; and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has recognized this need and the failure of existing facilities to properly care for the bulk of the people of the nation, and called a National Health Conference in Washington, D. C., July 18-20, 1938; and

WHEREAS, The deliberations of this conference made it plain that there is need of legislation which will enable every worker of any means to benefit from the many advancements of medical science in the preserving and restoring of health, particularly families with small incomes; and

WHEREAS, Medical surveys show that there is a direct relationship between income and need for medical care, and that those

having smaller incomes are unable to get adequate care; and

WHEREAS, More than 1,000,000,000 work days are lost annually, and the industrial worker carries the greater part of the expense from this loss; and

WHEREAS, There is a growing interest in and need for a national plan of social insurance or socialized medicine throughout the nation; and

WHEREAS, The Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the California State Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled in Santa Barbara, California, September 19-23, 1938, gave full study and consideration to a number of proposals on this subject and did concur in them with the full realization of the need for such a plan; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record as favoring the principle of compulsory health insurance, with cooperative payments by the National Government, State, employer and employee on whatever equitable basis is determined upon by the proper governmental agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention urge upon all members of the Congress of the United States the passage of legislation at the next session that will put such a health plan into operation on a national basis.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Condemning Opposition of American Medical Association to Health Group Insurance

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Sickness with its attendant drain on the resources of the workers and a cutoff of income at the same time is one of the greatest hardships always confronting the workers; and

WHEREAS, The average individual worker is in no position to adequately meet this hardship and to provide for a full measure of medical care for himself and family under the usual conventional methods; and

WHEREAS, Workers realizing this condition have through their labor organizations endeavored to promote health insurance, cooperative medical service and prepaid budget plan service but such efforts on the part of labor have met with the obstinate opposition of the Medical Societies and Associations; and

WHEREAS, One example of such opposition has come from the Medical Society of Milwaukee County which expelled the Doctors associated with the Milwaukee Medical Center and has through its members barred these Doctors from the use of the facilities of most Milwaukee hospitals; and

WHEREAS, The American Medical Association

has used similar pressure methods on hospitals in many cities; and

WHEREAS, Such pressure methods to bar workers, who want to use a prepared budget plan for their medical needs, from hospitals is unfair and anti-social; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, September 21 to 24, 1938, condemns the methods used by the Medical Society of Milwaukee County and the American Medical Association, and that we direct the legislative committee of the Federation to intensify the drive for health insurance and the legislation enacted which would prevent hospitals from unfairly discriminating against Doctors who operate on a collective basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we direct our delegate to the American Federation of Labor to introduce and work for a resolution which will place the American Federation of Labor on record for the inclusion of health insurance as a part of Social Security Legislation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Favoring Establishment of International Union of Office Workers

Resolution No. 113—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is apparent that the Office Workers' Unions as now chartered by the American Federation of Labor are widely scattered and need closer cooperation and coordination and could extend their power and prestige by combining into an International Union; and

WHEREAS, Existing Office Workers' Locals can be more thoroughly united and solidified through the formation of an International Union which would bring about uniformity in wage standards and the promotion of organizational activities among unorganized workers in the office and clerical field; and

WHEREAS, The growth and development of Office Workers' Unions during the past year has proven that the formation of an International Union is essential to the advancement of office workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last Convention held at Denver, Colorado, organized the American Federation of Office Employees National Council as a forerunner to an International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor endorse this resolution which will place the Federation on record for the establishment of an International Union for Office Employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to introduce and work for this resolution.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Condemning Attitude of U. S. Senators and Congressmen Opposing Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterway Project

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For many years an effort has been made to obtain a deep-seaway connecting the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean by means of a canal along the St. Lawrence River Route; and

WHEREAS, Various states not adversely affected by, nor concerned in the construction of the canal, have refused to support us in our desire and need to obtain this means of direct ocean transportation and power therewith; and

WHEREAS, Our various Senators and Congressmen have during these many years assisted in or permitted the passage of legislation favoring those states whose Senators and Congressional Representatives have wrongfully willfully and maliciously refused and denied us, without just cause, this much needed national improvement and the benefits thereof; and

WHEREAS, Such shamefully unjust and detrimental action is now worthy of note and attention on the part of our Honorable United States Senators and Congressional Representatives, who favor this legislation and the creation of such a canal for the greater good of our country and its people; and

WHEREAS, They have within their power the right to refuse and deny to such unjust Senators and Representatives in Congress, any further assistance in matters affecting the welfare of their states or until such time as such objection to the enactment of legislation favoring the deep-seaway is withdrawn and the legislation enacted; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, that our various Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to take immediate steps to obtain for our nation this much needed improvement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of the failure or refusal of Congress to pass or favorably act upon the proposed canal and the required legislation therefor, that our United States Senators and Representatives in Congress, favoring the same, be requested to oppose any and all legislation favoring states whose Senators and Representatives refuse or fail to cooperate and assist us; and be it further

RESOLVED, That they be requested to continue such opposition until such time as the proposed legislation for the deep-seaway be passed and the construction thereof assured; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor delegate present a similar resolution to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Appointment of A. F. of L. Committee to Make Study of Effects of Public Works Programs Upon Unemployment Conditions

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The unemployment problem is still the foremost question confronting this nation; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that the Federal Government has spent many billions of dollars on made-work programs under the administration of several different types of agencies there are still not less than ten millions unemployed persons in this country; and

WHEREAS, It is now obvious to all that this problem can no longer be viewed as a temporary or emergency problem but must be dealt with as a national economic problem which must be overcome if we hope to maintain our form of government and the morale of its citizenship; and

WHEREAS, It has been clearly established through experience gained during the operation of the present made-work programs that no program will successfully correct the existing conditions unless all of the factors involved are coordinated under one agency which is free from any and all political influence in any form; and

WHEREAS, While the present program under W. P. A. designed to provide work for all persons in need of relief does keep people alive and relieves to a large degree suffering and hardship, it also lends itself readily to conditions which aggravate and increase the seriousness of our unemployment problem by its failure to maintain adequate regulation; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment condition is the paramount national question and is of such magnitude that it warrants the closest kind of study on the part of labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor requests the American Federation of Labor Convention to direct its President to appoint a national committee on Unemployment and Public Works Programs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such committee be directed to make a careful study and survey of the effects public work programs have had on the unemployment conditions throughout the nation and to prepare a report of their findings and recommendations prior to the next session of Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to establish an adequate agency through which an effective campaign sponsoring legislation for the correction of existing unemployment conditions can be carried on and through which a careful analysis of the entire question can be made for presentation to our Federal Government.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Opposing Consolidation of Railroads Until
Evils of Railroad Financing Are
Eliminated**

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt in conference with Railroad Labor Representatives and Railroad Officials this week, discussed the financial difficulties of the railroads, and in the President's remarks he cited consolidation of the railroads as one of the matters for consideration; and

WHEREAS, The railroads are in need of a complete overhauling of their financial set-up, lowering of the interest rates on many millions of dollars in bonds that should be considered little better than worthless and a program of manufacturing of their own equipment and supplies, rather than their present system of purchasing at excessive prices; and

WHEREAS, Consolidation will mean more unemployment with a discontinuance of railroad service to many communities and yet not scratch the surface in lessening the railroads' problems; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, go on record as opposed to consolidation of the railroads until after all evils of railroad financing have been eliminated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the coming American Federation of Labor Convention and to the Presidents of the 21 standard Railroad Labor Organizations.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Changes in Requirements for Distribution of American Federationist Among
Members of Directly Affiliated
Local Unions**

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to send a copy of the "American Federationist" to members of Federal Labor Unions who have paid dues for the previous month; and

WHEREAS, Union members that are lax in dues payments are also usually lax in attending meetings of their Union and therefore get very little education on Unionism; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor requires Federal Labor Unions to submit a monthly report of members that have paid dues during the previous month, together with a list of new members; members suspended or retired and changes of addresses; and

WHEREAS, In the case of Federal Labor Unions having several hundred or thousands of members; the preparation of such a

monthly list requires several days each month; and

WHEREAS, The policies referred to above do not tend to simplify the operations of Federal Labor Unions nor do they tend to educate the Federal Labor Union members on Unionism as much as is possible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Delegate of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor introduce a resolution at the A. F. of L. convention embodying the following rules to govern the issuance of the Official publication of the American Federation of Labor, entitled, "American Federationist" to Federal Labor Union members

1. Federal Labor Unions shall supply a copy of their membership roll together with the addresses of their members to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor each year; thereafter they shall be required to submit a monthly list of new members; members suspended, retired or withdrawn, together with changes of names and addresses.

2. A copy of the "American Federationist" shall be sent to all members in good standing with the Federal Labor Union and the American Federation of Labor; the definition of "good standing" to be determined in accordance with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Federal Labor Union; provided such Constitution and By-Laws have been approved by the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Proposing Legislation to Improve Standards
of Employment of Rural Mail Carriers**

Resolution No. 118—By Delegate Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, A large number of Rural Mail Carriers are required to work excessively long and overburdened hours, some as high as twelve hours per day, six days per week, with no pay for overtime for hours in excess of the long hours mentioned, at all kinds of basic salaries upon the unfair mileage basis; and

WHEREAS, Rural Mail Carriers are required to transfer from one city to another against their wishes in order that rural routes may be consolidated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposed legislation that no Rural Mail Carrier shall be required to work more than eight hours per day, five days per week, (substitute to serve the sixth day), with a basic salary equal to city carriers and post office clerks, basic salary to be determined by the time it requires to complete official duty instead of by the present mileage basis, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse proposed legislation that no Rural

Mail Carrier be transferred from one city to another against his wishes in order to consolidate rural routes.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

To Request Boards of Education to Require X-Ray of Chest in Health Examinations of School Students

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York City and Vicinity.

WHEREAS, Recognition of the occupational hazards in certain industries has taken on a new significance over the past few years; and

WHEREAS, In the State of New York there has been placed on the statute books a splendid law known as the Occupational Disease Law; and

WHEREAS, In the schools of the Nation, particularly the vocational schools, we are training boys and girls to take their place in industry; and

WHEREAS, Health examinations in the schools, particularly the vocational schools are a necessary part of the organization, and a thorough knowledge of a child's physical setup should be a part of his entrance regulations to the vocational schools; and

WHEREAS, No physical examination can be said to be complete without an X-ray of the chest to discover hidden and unsuspected disease before clinical symptoms of advanced disease appear; and

WHEREAS, With the recent advent of the dollar chest X-ray for survey purposes, it is no longer prohibitively expensive to include that important clinical measure in routine health examinations; and

WHEREAS, With the speed at which such chest X-rays can now be made, within the school building, there is a very minimum of time loss from the regular class room work; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Education of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity, recommends to Boards of Education that an X-ray of the chest be made a routine part of the complete periodic health examination of all Senior High School pupils, Continuations and Trade School pupils; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity in meeting assembled on Thursday, September 22, 1938, in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, New York, unanimously adopts this resolution and recommends that the delegate to the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Houston, Texas, present this resolution to the Committee on Education with the recommendation that throughout the Nation boards of education be requested to follow this same logical procedure in setting up vocational education programs.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Assist Committee of Affiliated Organizations, New York City, to Expose Activities of "National Federation of Labor, Inc."

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Labor, Inc., which was established some months ago, apparently to organize and foster company unions and thus block real organization of workers, sought and was denied a charter by the New York State Board of Standards and Appeals, as "not in the interests of sound public policy" because, the purposes of the proposed federation "are not wholly altruistic or solely designed for the promotion of the mutual betterment, protection and advancement of workers" and "the similarity in name to that of the American Federation of Labor would tend to create confusion and to deceive"; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Labor, Inc., later obtained a charter from the State of Delaware, and the organization has since been endeavoring to operate in the City and State of New York, apparently attempting to set up "straw unions", to prevent bona fide unionization of hitherto unorganized workers; and

WHEREAS, A committee has been formulated in the City of New York, on which there is represented officers of the following organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, viz.: Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York Long Island and Vicinity, Allied Printing Trades Council of New York State, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States, International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States, and Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America; and

WHEREAS, This committee having been formulated to cooperate in exposing and offsetting the activities of the said National Federation of Labor, Inc.; and

WHEREAS, The aforementioned joint committee organized in the City of New York, believes that its activities should be directed and supervised by representatives of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity in meeting assembled on Thursday, September 22nd, 1938, in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, New York, unanimously adopts this resolution and recommends that the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Houston, Texas, give approval to this proposal, and that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for its consideration and action.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Protesting Compulsory Arbitration Clauses
in CIO Agreements.**

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all unions affiliated therewith have consistently opposed the inclusion of compulsory arbitration clauses in agreements affecting their membership; and

WHEREAS, This policy has proved to be an economic protection to the bona fide organized workers of the United States during the fifty-eight years of existence of the American Federation of Labor; and throughout the life of the labor movement in each state of the Union; and

WHEREAS, A dual alleged union organization, commonly referred to as the CIO, has since its inception attempted to menace the interests of the workers of California and the entire Pacific Coast, particularly in the maritime industry, by agreeing to a compulsory arbitration provision in agreements with employers; and

WHEREAS, Such practice creates a precedent detrimental to the workers; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid dual organization has also agreed to the fixing of penalties for individual members for violation of agreements, in absolute violation of the constitutional rights of American workers and in violation of the principles of American trade unionism as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor and affiliated unions; and

WHEREAS, Such practices as those being prosecuted by the dual union organization are a dangerous factor and may bring about a set-back in the constructive activities of American Federation of Labor Unions and destroy many years of hard, constructive, and consistent effort in the interest of bettering the conditions of workers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record against any form of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the Federation to give all possible aid to such unions as are suffering because of the insincere practices of the dual organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give financial and moral support to all of its affiliated unions in resisting compulsory arbitration as well as the inroads or attacks by dual organization, with particular reference to the unions on the Pacific Coast.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

To Permit Ladies' Garment Workers Federal Labor Union No. 21398, San Francisco, California, to Renew Organization Activities.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Tom

Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 is a bona fide union directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and affiliated with the California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, With the direct assistance of the California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 has been successful in organizing workers in the women's apparel industry under the banner of the American Federation of Labor who were previously unorganized, thereby bringing to these workers the benefits of a bona fide non-political labor organization; and

WHEREAS, General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 has organized workers in the field formerly under the jurisdiction of a union now directly or indirectly affiliated with the CIO, known as the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, The international president of this union has seemingly made overtures or representations to the American Federation of Labor, intimating that his organization might re-affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, President William Green, deciding that further organization at this particular time by the General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 in opposition to an international union seemingly interested in bringing peace and harmony to the labor movement would not serve the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398, being a loyal affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, has strictly complied with the request and advice of President William Green to discontinue accepting into membership any additional workers who wish to become affiliated with the General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398; and

WHEREAS, Despite such withdrawal from the field of organization by the General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398, many unorganized workers have been deprived of the opportunity of union affiliation, and will continue to be deprived of this opportunity through inability of any other union to give them the benefit of organization; and

WHEREAS, President William Green and the Executive Council have made every reasonable and honorable attempt to make possible the re-affiliation of organizations including the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, who cast their lot with a dual organization; and

WHEREAS, Despite all overtures, representations and intimations made by the leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, there is no concrete evidence of any further re-affiliation by that

organization with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor has called this matter to the attention of the present convention of the American Federation of Labor and respectfully suggested that, if the re-affiliation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is not consummated at a very early date, the General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 be authorized to renew its organization activities, especially in the cotton goods industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as approving the suggestion made by the California State Federation of Labor convention.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Proposing Amendment to Wage and Hour Law to Regulate Employment of Alien Workers.

Resolution No. 123.—By Delegate Andrew S. McBride, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, American labor must look for its "Protective Tariff" to laws restricting the admission into the United States of alien labor from abroad and laws giving American labor preference in the matter of jobs over such aliens; and

WHEREAS, The primary function of our Government is to safeguard the welfare and interests of its nationals at home and abroad; and

WHEREAS, It appears that a permanent situation of unemployment exists in our country and from recent press dispatches that a movement is now on foot to establish unemployed United States citizens in the Republic of Brazil; and

WHEREAS, Before any such drastic and far-reaching action is taken it appears everything possible should be done to provide gainful employment for United States citizens in their native or adopted land; and

WHEREAS, Other nations, notably the Republic of Mexico, have legislatively recognized the fairness and equity of providing employment for their nationals in preference to those who owe allegiance to other countries; and

WHEREAS, In the United States a survey will disclose that many United States citizens are unemployed while aliens are gainfully employed; and

WHEREAS, In many cases the standard of living of such aliens is considerably lower than that of the United States citizens in the same line of work, resulting in unfair competition because of the lower wages for which such aliens will work; and

WHEREAS, Recent legislation has provided a "floor" for wages and a "ceiling" for hours; and

WHEREAS, It appears that this legislation and the benefits thereof will accrue to American labor fully ONLY to the extent that jobs are made available which are now held by aliens; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Wage and Hour Bill be amended to provide as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the Act entitled Wage and Hour Bill be amended as hereinafter set forth.

Six months after the passage of this amendment, it shall be unlawful for any employer to have in his employ (except in agriculture or in the domestic services) in connection with any enterprise or any department or division thereof, over five per centum (5%) of persons who are not citizens of the United States.

Pursuant to regulations prescribed by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and approved by the Secretary of Labor, all persons not citizens of the United States shall be registered and their fingerprint records secured within six months following the passage of this Act and it shall be unlawful for any such person to fail to register or for another to advise such person to not register or to aid or abet any such alien in his failure to so register.

It shall be unlawful for any alien crossing from foreign contiguous territory to perform any class of labor in the United States, except that aliens coming from such foreign contiguous territory in pursuance of and incidental to employment abroad may be permitted to perform such incidental labor in the United States but only to the extent that same cannot be performed without seriously interfering with international commerce by workers entitled to perform labor in the United States.

Immediately following the passage hereof each employer affected hereby shall submit report of the aliens employed by him to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the latter with the approval of the Secretary of Labor.

It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to harbor or conceal an alien illegally in the United States or employed in violation of the provisions of this Act.

Any person who shall violate the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a felony and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) or by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years, or both, such fine and imprisonment.

This Act, except as otherwise provided, shall take effect and be enforced immediately upon passage.

The appropriation of such sums as may be necessary for the enforcement of this Act are hereby authorized.

If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circum-

stances, is held invalid, the remainder of the Act shall not be affected thereby.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Proposing Enactment of Bill to Prevent Retroactive Liability of State, County and City Employees for Federal Income Tax on Salaries.

Resolution No. 124—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Federal Department of Justice and the Treasury Department have contended that the principles of immunity protected the Federal Government against taxation by the states, but did not necessarily shield the states against the exercise of the delegated and supreme taxing power of the central government; and

WHEREAS, As a result, firemen employed by the states, counties and municipalities are threatened with an immediate retroactive liability for Federal income tax on their salaries for every year back to 1926; and

WHEREAS, As further result there is drawn into question the immunity from Federal corporate income tax of the revenues derived by the states, their sub-divisions and agencies, taxation of which would derogate state sovereignty and add a crushing burden to the already heavy cost of state and municipal government; and

WHEREAS, The Federal taxing officials have also asserted a constitutional right to add to the cost of state and municipal government by taxing state and municipal bonds while denying to the states and their agencies a constitutional guarantee of their right to reduce that added cost by reciprocal taxation of Federal securities; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Association urge all members of and candidates for both Houses of Congress to support the following bill in Congress at the 1939 Session:

A BILL

To Prevent the Retroactive Application of any Federal Tax Upon the Employees of the States and their Instrumentalities.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled.

That any taxes imposed by the Revenue Act of 1936 or prior Revenue Acts upon any individual in respect of amounts received by him as compensation for personal services as an officer or employee of any state or states or of any political sub-division, or any municipal or public corporate instrumentality or agency thereof (except to the extent that such compensation is paid out of funds of the United States of America) together with any interest or penalties in connection therewith, shall be cancelled, abated, credited or refunded and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Association oppose any attempt to add to the cost of state and municipal government by Federal taxation without first securing the consent of the

states through a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the reciprocal right to tax future issues of Federal Securities in the states and prohibiting any Federal taxation of the revenues already issued, securities of the states, their sub-divisions and agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Association cooperate with the Conference on State Defense in furthering the above program, and that the Executive Committee is hereby given full power and authority to take all steps necessary in connection therewith; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary send a copy of this Resolution to every affiliated local organization, together with the Association's recommendations that a similar resolution be adopted by each, that each local resolution adopted be sent to all members of or candidates for both Houses of Congress from that state and that each local organization actively support and work to secure Congressional and Senatorial commitments for the program endorsed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the members of Local No. 359, do hereby solicit the assistance and the cooperation of the Indiana State Federation of Labor and their affiliates to fight against the decision just recently handed by the Supreme Court, which makes possible retroactive taxation of firemen's salaries and urge the Convention to aid in securing legislation which would prevent such taxation.

Referred to Committee on Legislation.

Upholsterers vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Upholsterers' International Union of N. A. as well as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, both affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are conducting organizing campaigns in the general Furniture Manufacturing Industry, and

WHEREAS, Under these circumstances jurisdictional lines have overlapped, with resultant friction between the two Organizations, and

WHEREAS, Instead of this discord between the two Internationals there is urgent need of cooperation and understanding as both International Unions are faced with the opposition organizing work of the C. I. O. in the same field, and

WHEREAS, The C. I. O. has been making capital out of the discord between our two International Unions to the disadvantage of both as well as the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Upholsterers' International Union has made several attempts at conferences between itself and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, for the purpose of ironing out differences and arriving at a common plan of cooperative organizing effort, and

WHEREAS, Such conferences have failed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which begins its sessions October 3, 1933, instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to arrange for a conference

between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Upholsterers' International Union at which there shall be present also a representative of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of bringing into harmonious cooperation, the two International Unions involved.

Referred to Committee on Adjustment.

Third Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Houston, Texas,
October 5, 1938.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabae, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Rossano, Schnelder, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

INVOCATION

Rev. Stewart Clendenin, Pastor, Grace Methodist Church

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, we invoke Thy blessing upon the proceedings of this hour. Grant that wisdom and understanding and sympathy and patience may characterize the action of this convention assembled here. We pray Thy blessing upon its leadership, we pray Thy blessing upon each delegate, we pray Thy blessing upon those whom they represent. We thank Thee this morning for the blessings of life that permit us to assemble and work out the problems which confront us in this world of which we are a part. May there be a realization in each of our hearts that we have much for which to be grateful, that there is much good that comes to us as citizens of this country that encourages men to better themselves. We pray Thy blessing and Thy guidance, not only on this convention, but on the men who face the problems of the world in this chaotic day. May it be by Thy wisdom to guide them, Thy compassion to mellow them, and Thy will to restrain them, that the brotherhood of man shall become a reality on this earth. We pray that in Jesus' name. Amen.

President Green: The Governor of Louisiana, Governor Leche, is in the city. He will meet with us at 11:00 o'clock for the purpose of delivering an address. I will appoint as a committee from the convention to escort him to the hall and to the platform: Vice-President John Coefield, President Joseph V. Moreschi and C. H. Williams, President of the Louisiana State Federation of Labor. I ask that this committee arrange to call upon Governor Leche at the Rice Hotel and escort him to the hall.

Chairman Stokes, of the Local Arrangements Committee, announced that the official convention picture would be taken immediately after adjournment. He stated that the

San Jacinto trip has been changed from Tuesday, the 11th, to Wednesday, the 12th, of the second week. He repeated the announcement that the ladies of the convention would be the guests of any of the four Horwitz theatres every afternoon up to 6:00 o'clock.

Chairman Stokes stated that the official time for the rodeo to be held Saturday and Sunday would be 2:00 o'clock, and that the events would get under way at 2:30 o'clock, at the Ball Park. He again extended the invitation of the Galveston people to the delegates to visit that city during the convention. He asked that all the ladies of the convention who desired to attend the Spanish luncheon register at the Rice Hotel or at the Information Booth in the convention hall.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following communications:

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Houston Lodge No. 697

Houston, Texas,
September 30, 1938.

Mr. William Green,
President, A. F. of L.,
Houston, Texas.

Dear Sir and Brother:—

Local Lodge No. 697 Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen is happy to join with all of Organized Labor, and the citizenship of Houston in general in extending to you and the Delegates, along with other officers of your great organization a welcome to the city of Houston.

May the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor have a most successful and prosperous meeting.

May we at the close of this convention see the way paved for a most completely unified Labor Movement the world has ever witnessed.

May the every undertaking be most successful, and each Delegate and officer enjoy themselves to the fullest extent while in our midst.

Fraternally yours,

(signed) J. G. WELLS,
Secretary-Treasurer No. 697.

October 4, 1938,
Washington, D. C.

George A. Wilson,
Secretary Houston Labor and Trades Council.

I am glad to join the citizens of Houston in extending a cordial welcome to Texas and to

the city of Houston to the officers, delegates and visitors attending the national convention of the American Federation of Labor.

MORRIS SHEPPARD.

Mexico City, Oct. 3, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Houston, Texas.

In the name of Mexican Federation of Labor we fraternally greet delegates convention American Federation of Labor wishing success of their labors for the good of organized labor.

EUCARIO LEON,
General Secretary. C R O M.

Mexico City, Oct. 3, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor Convention,
Houston Texas.

Convey my fraternal greetings to delegates American Federation of Labor wishing you success. General Secretary C. R. O. M. Eucario Leon requests me to inform you that Ricardo Trevino pretends to appear at your convention disguised as a representative of our organization. I request you not to accept said representation of Trevino as inimical to workmen of C. R. O. M.

LUIS N. MORONES,
Vice-President Pan American
Federation of Labor.

October 4, 1938.
New York.

William Green,
President American Federation of Labor,
58th Convention, Rice Hotel.

Heartiest congratulations and good wishes to the convention of the American Federation of Labor. We are proud of the great progress made by the American Federation of Labor in spite of all obstacles. May your deliberations at this convention lead to further progress, increased membership power and prestige of the American Federation of Labor. We deeply regret our inability to attend this convention but assure you our utmost loyalty, devotion and readiness to do our share as component part of American Federation of Labor. We are confident our request for jurisdiction of Tannery Workers will be given due consideration in the best interests of our International and of the American Federation of Labor.

SAMUEL REINLIB, President.
ISIDOR LADERMAN, Financial Secretary.
International Ladies Handbag,
Pocketbook and Novelty Workers
Union.

President Green asked for reports of committees, and for announcements of committee meetings.

President Green: If there are no further announcements, I will take advantage of this opportunity to present to you for a short address a very dear friend of organized labor in Texas, and of the nation as well. He is known to the men and women of labor in this great city and throughout Texas. He is a great lawyer, a great teacher, and we hold him in high regard and in high esteem. I came to know him some years ago; I learned something about his attitude toward our common problems. He has always manifested a very sympathetic attitude toward the problems of labor. I take pleasure in introducing Mr. Sewall Meyer, General Counsel of the Texas State Federation of Labor and of the Houston Labor and Trades Council.

HON. SEWALL MEYER

Mr. President, Delegates and Members of the American Federation of Labor:

As the general attorney for the Texas State Federation of Labor and of the Houston Labor and Trades Council, let me add my voice of welcome to those of the thousands of other Texans who are happy to have you as the guests of Texas.

On June 16th, of this year, I completed thirty years of continuous and uninterrupted service as the general attorney for the American Federation of Labor Unions in this section.

As my mind drifts back over the sea of yesterday, I recall the struggles of labor in those early days when, throwing off the shackles of corporate greed, the banner of the American Federation of Labor in this section was first unfolded to the breeze.

Truly those were, for the laboring people of Texas, the days of the covered wagon, the frontier of labor's land of promise.

We were few in numbers and were despised and misunderstood by many. But the principles for which the laboring men and women of Texas were fighting, were based upon fairness and justice, and under the leadership of such men as Dan W. Tracy, we could not and did not fail.

The labor movement in Texas would be ungrateful if we did not pause and with tender hands fold aside the curtains of memory and pay respect to those uncrowned heroes of our early struggles, such men as Billie Carroll, Heinie Winkler, Ben Pitts and many others who unselfishly and courageously fought against overwhelming odds, the battles of the underpaid and underprivileged laboring man and woman in Texas, in order that the principles of the American Federation of Labor might live on and finally culminate in this the greatest labor organization in the world today.

The fine, loyal and intelligent body of laboring men and women in Texas owe an undying debt of gratitude to those men now gone to their eternal reward.

This present convention could be properly denominated the convention of victory of those principles for which the American Federation of Labor has consistently and intelligently fought down through the years.

You have accomplished for the working men and women of America results far above and beyond the dreams of those who pioneered the labor movement in this section.

Preliminary to the suggestion which I will make to this convention, and as my introduction to many of you, permit me to say, that I speak as one who is in daily and intimate touch with the labor movement in Texas; as one who has fought hundreds of labor's battles; as a common soldier in the ranks who has never represented an employer in a labor controversy; as one whose every sympathy and effort has always been with and upon the side of labor, and with every respect for and confidence in your leadership, I call to your attention a matter which we feel deserves your earnest consideration.

It is the belief of a number of labor leaders in Texas that the continued and uninterrupted progress of the labor movement demands a national campaign of education, urging a closer and more co-operative friendly relation between employers and employees and stimulating and encouraging our own members toward a higher efficiency in their work and greater loyalty towards their employers.

We believe that these results can be better and more rapidly obtained by a campaign of education sponsored by the American Federation of Labor.

Labor today is the most powerful economic influence in America and the American Federation of Labor is the general staff in command.

To you, the great army of American workers look for guidance as you today stand on the pinnacle of industrial victory.

To you, industry looks for sane co-operation.

The real greatness of the victor that perpetuates the fruits of victory, is reflected in his fairness and justice to his adversary.

The American Federation of Labor is measuring up to those standards of greatness by demonstrating to the world that the power of labor can and will be sanely and conservatively handled so as to accomplish not only a benefit to labor, but also a benefit to industry as well.

If the American working people are to continue to enjoy the full measure of good wages and better living conditions, which your efforts have brought to them, the rights and interests of our employers must receive labor's aid and co-operation.

As reticent as we are to admit it, frankness demands an admission that there is a tendency among some of our membership to depend too little upon their individual efficiency and too much upon our labor organizations to sustain our members in their jobs.

A labor union should be an aid to individual efficiency and not a substitute for it.

Labor must by efficiency and a sincere co-operation with their employers, aid and help in bringing success to the business of our employers.

The American employer's success and the American employee's success are inseparable and dependent one upon the other.

American labor is now occupying the highest standard and is the best paid of any labor in the world today, thanks to the efforts of this great organization.

If these conditions are to endure, American labor must give the most efficient, sincere and loyal service to their employers. This is the only justification for our high standards of wages and working conditions.

When an employer signs and conforms to a contract with one of our unions, there arises a partnership of interest between employer and employee. Such employer becomes the friend of our labor group and he should be treated and regarded as such.

Not only should we live up to and comply with the terms of our contract with such employer, but our every effort should be one of co-operation with him, looking to the success of his business.

The principal method of accomplishing this co-operation is by rendering better and more efficient and loyal service to the employer.

The American Federation of Labor is constantly fighting Communism and the spirit of Communism.

Show me a Communist and I will show you in that person the spirit of ungratefulness to and unco-operativeness with his employer.

This spirit of antagonism by an employee to a fair employer is one of the first symptoms of Communism.

Through a campaign of education by the American Federation of Labor, aided and supported by the local labor bodies, a friendly co-operation with our employers can be developed and encouraged among our membership.

The membership card in an American Federation of Labor union must be a badge of greater efficiency, loyalty and skill if your organization continues its wonderful march of progress.

Your efforts have and can continue to give to the working people of America, high standards of living and good wages, but for these fine results to endure, our members must give to their employers the most efficient and loyal service of which we are capable.

In making this suggestion, we fully realize the multitude of duties and responsibilities that rest upon the shoulders of the executives of the American Federation of Labor.

We of the ranks are proud of the type of leadership you are giving us.

We realize also that all of your time and talents are taken up in the promulgation and making effective of the larger programs of development, expansion and defense.

However, in spite of the efforts of local officers, the tendency of which I speak, among

certain of our membership, and more especially among our new members, is becoming stronger and more pronounced and is creating a condition that must fearlessly be faced and curbed.

I do not pretend to predict to what extent these terms boring from within, will weaken the foundation of the structure upon which rests the future success of the American Federation of Labor, but I do say that it is the opinion of many of our more intelligent local leaders that this is a matter which deserves your consideration.

The advent and activities of the C. I. O. have brought industry to the cross roads. Industry will soon choose between the American Federation of Labor and the C. I. O. and it will either become the ally of the American Federation of Labor or the ally of the C. I. O.

The labor movement is in the midst of a period of evolution. Those theories ignored and spurned today we eagerly embrace and adopt tomorrow.

We cannot ignore the fact that the alliance and influence of industry with one group of labor will place the opposing group at a disadvantage.

The daily and intimate contact of industry is with the rank and file, that is, with the employees.

The rank and file, by giving to their employers more efficient service and co-operation, can be of inestimable aid to the executives of the American Federation of Labor in your efforts to accomplish your great objectives.

No general can win a battle without the loyal support of his army.

It is the belief of many of the labor leaders in Texas that the fountain head of this suggested campaign of education among our membership is the national organization of the American Federation of Labor.

We hope that these suggestions will not be considered by you as presumptuous, coming as they do from one of your smaller affiliates, but it is our sincere wish that after considering them you will recognize the merit and worth which we feel are contained therein.

I thank you for the honor and privilege of being permitted to appear before you.

President Green: We deeply appreciate the visit of Mr Meyer this morning. We are grateful to him for his message. It will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Iler, of the Committee on Credentials, for a supplemental report.

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Delegate George, on behalf of the committee, submitted the following supplemental report:

Your Committee on Credentials has ex-

amined credentials and recommends that the following be seated:

International Longshoremen's Association—John R. Owens, 208 votes.

United Shrimp Headers' Union No. 21044, Galveston, Texas—Baily Dunn, 1 vote.

Textile Examiners and Finishers' Union No. 18205, New York, N. Y.—Louis Lufrano, 3 votes.

In accordance with request of President M. J. Colleran of the Operative Plasterers' International Association, we recommend the seating of M. J. McDonough in place of Delegate-elect John H. Donlin, who will be unable to attend the convention.

The report of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

At this time the committee appointed earlier in the morning by President Green escorted the Honorable Richard W. Leche, Governor of Louisiana, to the platform.

President Green: I am pleased to present to you a distinguished citizen, the Governor of a great commonwealth, a man from the Southland who is known in other states and in other sections of the country because of the fine administrative qualities he has shown as the chief executive of Louisiana, and because of his progressive, liberal attitude toward modern-day economic, social and industrial problems.

The labor movement in Louisiana particularly holds the chief executive of that state in high esteem. They regard him as a sympathetic friend, and as a sympathetic friend of labor he is a real friend of all of the people of that great commonwealth.

I esteemed it a very great privilege and a very great pleasure to extend an invitation to Governor Leche, in your name and in your behalf, to attend this convention this morning, to meet and greet you, and to deliver an address. He accepted the invitation. He is here this morning. He brings to us, I know, a message that will be both inspiring and interesting. I esteem it a great honor and a very great pleasure to present to you Governor Leche of Louisiana, who will now address you.

HONORABLE RICHARD W. LECHE (Governor of Louisiana)

President Green and members of the American Federation of Labor—I want you to know individually and collectively that I consider that a great honor was conferred upon me when I was so kindly and cordially invited to be present and address your national convention. Up at the hotel last night

several members of the press approached me and asked me for copies of my speech. I regretted very much to have to tell them that I did not have any copies of any speech, because I had not written any speech, and that I would not know until I got here what I was going to say. I confess to you now that I still am not entirely sure of what I am going to say. But I have always found it to be pretty sound policy to say what you think. Maybe some of your listeners will agree with you and maybe some of them won't, but at least you have made a clean breast of it and exposed your true sentiments.

So with your kind permission I propose to take up a very brief period of your time and give you some of the ideas that I have relative to the labor situation in the United States. In the first place, when I became Governor of Louisiana, I realized that a grave responsibility rested upon my shoulders. I undertook to analyze the component parts of the great state of Louisiana, and upon doing that I realized that our state was many-sided. It was composed of agriculture, business, industry, labor, natural resources, and various other component parts. I realized that I had not been elected Governor by the laboring men of the state, I had not been elected Governor by the farmers of the state or the commercial interests of the state, I had been elected by the people as a whole, and that the responsibility which I had was to take care of the interests of the state as a whole to the best of my ability.

I realized further that perhaps the greatest blessing that we enjoy in this country of ours is its democratic form of government, that government where the voice of the people is powerful and where the political and governmental leaders are the choice of the people. But I further realized that that democratic form of government was not dependent to any great extent upon political parties or the thought of various individuals. I thought, and I still think, and I say to you here that perhaps the greatest thing that we have in this country today is the economic system under which we function. Under that economic system the great organization which is here in annual convention today is possible. Under that great system the other things that we enjoy in this country are possible. I don't care what the Declaration of Independence says. I don't care what the Constitution of the United States says. I am firmly convinced that the American idea of democracy is dependent entirely upon the economic system, not that the economic system under which we operate is a child of our form of government, but that our form of government is a child of our economic system.

Now, perhaps that system has been unfortunately called the capitalistic system. That brings to our minds ideas which are really at variance with the true merits of that economic system. That system to me represents the great American principle of freedom of action, freedom of speech, the encouragement for initiative and ability and ambition, as distinguished from those systems which appear to prevail in certain European countries today, where nobody knows

anything and everybody knows everything, and labor is merged up in a conglomerate mass and not distinguishable from anything else.

That economic system is fundamentally sound. I am frank to say to you that it was out of adjustment. It was not hitting on all cylinders. Perhaps the mixture was too rich in certain cylinders and too lean in other cylinders. But that was no reason why the system fundamentally should have been junked. It simply needed readjustment, so that the mixture would be even in all of the cylinders and that the engine would purr on as it was intended to go, under full power.

In 1932 that economic system was practically on the brink of destruction. As I have told you, and as I repeat, if that had been the case the American democratic form of government would have fallen of its own weight. But in 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President of the United States. He realized the danger to the form of government, through the danger which was imminent as regards the economic system, and he took the necessary governmental measures to protect the economic system under which we live. We had thousands of our citizens without homes, without food, without clothing, without shelter, and when you get a situation like that the economic system is in a badly battered condition. But under the leadership of President Roosevelt some of the rich mixture was taken out of certain cylinders, and that mixture was put into other cylinders, and the engine began to purr again. The great mass of the people of the United States were given recognition and purchasing power was recreated. Now that economic system is rapidly getting into proper adjustment to maintain it as the system under which we live.

I was over in a small town in Louisiana a few days ago and I went to the Court House, where there was quite a large room. In that room were forty or fifty country women, most of them well past middle age. Those women were dressed in nice, neat dresses. They were in a bright, airy room. That was a sewing project under the Federal Government. I said to myself then, and I say to you, my friends, today, when did we ever have a man in the White House who even gave a thought to women, such as that? That project is typical of thousands of other projects throughout the United States today where the helpless and the unfortunate and the under-privileged are being taken care of directly by the Government of the United States, under the able leadership of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, and it is such projects as that throughout the nation that have veered us off from the brink of destruction and put us back on the path to security and true prosperity.

The President has said that the South is the nation's economic problem No. 1. I admire President Roosevelt for that statement, —and I am talking now as a Southerner. I admire, first, his courage in making that statement, and secondly, President Roosevelt

never recognizes any problem unless he proposes to take steps to remedy the situation. I believe that when he recognized the economic problem of the South he had in mind the steps by which to remedy that situation as it exists today.

I repeat to you that I speak now as a Southerner. I speak as a grandson of a Confederate veteran. I speak as the Governor of a Southern state. I tell you the South is the nation's economic problem No. 1, and I tell you that the Mason-Dixon Line has been a Chinese wall that has prevented the South from coming into its own.

Prior to 1860 we had negro slavery in the South. Since 1860 we have had white slavery in the South. The Southern white man, except of course the top layer—and I am now talking about the mass of Southerners—lived under conditions in some instances even worse than the black slaves lived under prior to 1860. When the President mentioned a wage-hour law, I think I was the first public official in the South to back up that law. I had a great many business men, well meaning business men, numbers of manufacturers come to me and say that the wage and hour law would ruin the South, it would drive industry and payrolls out of the South. Well, my answer to them was this: "I don't know of any better way to judge the future than by the past. In the past hundred years where have wages been ridiculously low?" They said, "In the South," I said, "In that same period of time, where have wages been high?" They said, "In the North and in the East." "Well," I said, "in that same period of time where has industry gone? Not to the low wage areas of the South, but to the high wage areas of the North and East, and the best attraction that you can offer to industry in the South is proper wages, proper working conditions for the laboring man."

I said further, "Abraham Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation that freed the Southern negroes. I think Roosevelt's wage and hour law is a second emancipation proclamation looking toward the freeing of the white laboring man in the South."

I am frank to state to you that I am not interested in labor solely for the sake of labor, just as I am not interested in business solely for the sake of business.

As I told you, the state of Louisiana is many-sided and it takes all of those sides to make up that great state. What use to us would our hearts and lungs be if we had no liver and no kidneys? It takes all the organs of the human body to make us strong, healthy and vigorous physically. Likewise it takes all sides of the picture to make a state or commonwealth strong and healthy and vigorous as a commonwealth.

So with that in mind I gave some attention to the situation. I don't think that labor in the state of Louisiana had been highly organized or had made very great strides at the time I became Governor of the state, but I found the representatives of the American Federation of Labor to be able men, intelligent men, men willing to work with government for the good of labor and for the good of the state, and I was very happy to co-

operate with them. I tell you, my friends, that the American Federation of Labor will always stand as a bulwark against the exploitation and the oppression of the working man, because your organization stands for those principles of Americanism that every true American stands for, and those are the only principles that provide lasting growth to any organization.

Now we realized that prosperity depended upon the purchasing power of the people. You take the farmer with a piece of land. The farmer has found out that the land will not produce indefinitely. When the substance is gone out of the soil it will not yield crops. So the farmer has found out that if his soil is assisted, if he puts something back in the soil, that soil will produce for him indefinitely. So what does he do? He plants cover crops, he uses commercial fertilizer, he puts something back into that soil that produces for him, and with that assistance that soil yields him a fine crop every year.

I tell you, my friends, the great mass of the American people represents to business, to industry, and to commerce what that piece of land represents to the farmer. It is the human soil that we all reap our harvest and our crops from, and just as the farmer's soil will not produce indefinitely without assistance, the human soil will not and cannot produce indefinitely without help. When that human soil is fertilized and built up and given assistance, like the farmer gives to his soil, then it will produce and we will have prosperity in this nation.

What does that human fertilizer consist of? I think Franklin D. Roosevelt has been the master farmer. He has built up the human soil in the United States by putting something back into it, and it has responded and produced. I think that the American Federation of Labor is a master farmer because it has worked for the interests of the laboring man to better his condition and to put more money in his pocket. When that is done the laboring man produces just like the rest of us. All of these things go to make up the general prosperity of this nation, and whenever you build up that human soil it will respond handsomely and produce, business will be good, and we will have prosperity.

Now I was in office about four or five weeks and we had a big railroad strike in Louisiana. That was my first experience with strikes. The situation got pretty hot. A couple of bridges were burned and a few trains were wrecked. I was kind of new at the game then, so I sent for the leaders on both sides. I got them in a room at the Capitol and I locked the door. I said, "Now, boys, this business has got to be settled sometime. It is costing both sides money, it is costing life and property. Nobody is going to emerge from this conflict unscathed, and it is to the mutual interests of all parties to settle this strike. You have to settle it sooner or later, and this is the time and place to settle it, and when you settle it I will unlock that door and let you out."

We sat for sixteen hours, and when they got hungry I sent out and bought hamburgers,

and when they got thirsty I sent out and got Coca-Cola and beer. We almost had a couple of fist fights, but about three o'clock in the morning an agreement was drawn up which was signed by all parties. It has been lived up to by all parties since.

Today that railroad is making as much money as any railroad in the United States and the workers on that railroad are happy and contented with their lot.

I learned one lesson from that first experience that I had with strikes, and that is that you don't really settle them, you just wear them out. Now I don't know how it got around that that sort of makes me a reputation as an arbitrator or mediator, but since that time they have been coming in to me with their troubles. In every instance the laboring man was not right. I have had them come to me with complaints. I have analyzed the situation, I have said to them, "Boys, you are not on the right track, you have got good jobs, you are getting fairly good pay. There isn't any use at all in pulling a strike in this instance because you are wrong." I have always found that when you sit down and talk to them in the right manner and convince them they appreciate it, and they go back to work, and you hear no more of that situation.

On the other hand, I have found that we have a great many chiselers, and those are the birds that I do not like, those are the birds that I propose to fight. That is the element, whether it be north, south, east or west—and you have some of them in all sections of the country—that tries to grow fat and rich off the misery and the poverty and the sweat of the brow of the working man.

Let me give you one or two examples. We had quite a big contract coming up in the State of Louisiana. We had had a similar contract to that about two years before. The contract was admirably performed, a swell job was done by a very able firm of contractors. I was very anxious to see that same firm get this job on the basis of their record in the former job, but when the bids were opened there was another outfit came in there and bid on that job \$200,000.00 under the folks I would like to have seen get it, because of their past performance in the State.

I knew that those men were smart fellows and I could not quite understand how this larger firm could come in there and underbid them \$200,000.00. It wasn't long before I found out. That contract was awarded, as it had to be, under the law. When it was in operation a couple of weeks the men went on strike, and I found out very clearly how they underbid the other man \$200,000.00. They did not give up a single penny of their profits. They did not take a risk or make a sacrifice. They used a very simple device. They just shaved \$200,000.00 off the wages of the workers.

Then we had another conference in the same room. I did not lock the door that time because I knew that settlement was not going to take long at all. I said, "Let me tell you something, I want a good job on that bridge. We want you to make money.

It is a mistake not to want people to make money, because the more money people make the more everybody else makes. But here is what you have done, and there isn't a darned bit of use to argue about it. When you got this job you didn't make a single sacrifice yourselves, but you took it out of the sweat of the brow of these steel workers and other working men on this bridge who risk their lives every day on that project."

I said further, "We are going to settle this right now and arrive at a fair wage scale, and if you come out loser that is your bad luck, but I don't think you are going to lose."

I got \$130,000.00 increase for the working men in that case, and that job is going along today, and it is a good job. That is the kind of a situation we have got to guard against and fight against. We have many employers in the State of Louisiana. I do not even hesitate to say that the majority of the employers in that state are sincere men, able men, men who want to see their employees work under favorable conditions and get the proper wages, but it is this bunch of chiselers in Louisiana, and out of it, in all parts of the Union, who try to come in and make profits off the work of the laboring man. It is that class of people that our efforts should be designed to stamp out, because in the first place it is not only unfair to the working man, but it is unfair to the honest and decent employer who tries to do the right thing by his employees.

We had one there the other day that rather amused me, in a way, because it was a kind of a battle back and forth, a jockeying for position. My friend and your friend, Hope Ross, and Lije Williams, now president of the State Federation of Labor, came down to see me, and we went into a huddle. They had a box factory down there where they were paying wages ranging from nine to fifteen cents an hour and working the men from ten to twelve hours a day. My attention was called to that situation by a strike. I did not hesitate to go into that when I found out what the situation was, and I will tell you this, as I told those people: "I don't think that any business that can't exist and pay a decent, fair wage, and maintain proper working conditions for its employees has any business in existence."

So we got into this little situation over there and in order to get around it the owner of this mill went into the Federal Court and had a Federal receiver appointed. We found out that he had an ace in the hole. He had about ten or twelve carloads of finished material in that plant that he had already sold, and he had to get that material out and deliver it, and if he once did that he would have probably closed the plant and told us all to run up the street. So he went in and got an order of receivership from the Federal Court. I told him that as Governor of the State of Louisiana, as head of the Executive Department it was my duty to enforce the law, that I would back up with every means at my command any order that any competent court issued.

They said, "We are certainly glad to hear you say that, Governor, because under the law even when there is a strike, a plant has a legal right to move material that was fabricated before the strike was called." I said, "Well, if that is the law and the court issues an order to that effect, every means at my command will be used to support and carry out the terms of that order."

Of course we didn't stop there. I called up the railroad company and said, "Boys, you have a lot of tracks and equipment and a lot of materials in the state of Louisiana, and I have a taxing commission. I just want to ask you one question. I know you are busy and I don't want to bother you, but I understand your railroad is so busy at this time that there are not going to be any switch engines available around this plant for several months." They said, "Governor, that's true, we have got a little rush of business now, and I doubt if we can spare a switch engine up there for two or three months."

So I hung up the receiver and then I got to analyzing the situation a little further. The man who owned this plant was from another state. That railroad ran through that state, too. I figured he might have more pull up there than I did. So my memory went back to the time of the railroad strike I told you about. I had made friends of the brotherhoods at that time—and I want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the four railroad brotherhoods and say they are among the finest labor organizations in the world. (Applause.)

I called up a friend of mine who is head of one of the brotherhoods and told him the situation. I told him what the railroad had agreed to do, but I said, "The poor railroad is between two fires. At least it is between two states and I don't know what they are going to be forced to do. I think they will keep their agreement if they can, but I want a clincher on this thing. I want to ask a question. Are your men going to run a switch engine through a picket line?" He said, "Hell, no." So the next morning we got together and that strike was settled.

From a top wage of fifteen cents an hour we started with a bottom wage of twenty cents an hour, which automatically went up to 25 cents an hour within forty days, and that contract was signed with the American Federation of Labor.

Now we may have been of some assistance to labor in those instances, my friends, but I still maintain that we have rendered still greater assistance to business, to industry and to the State as a whole by our actions in these labor affairs. Whenever a laboring man is mistreated and underpaid and forced to work under improper conditions, that is a black eye to the state, and whether they know it or not it affects the pocketbooks and the welfare of every citizen in the state.

We have a program down there which I believe tends toward fertilizing the human soil. It affects the laboring conditions in the state to a certain extent. When I became Governor of the state we had two hospitals in

Louisiana, one in New Orleans in the southeast corner of the state and one at Shreveport in the northwest corner of the state—very fine institutions, owned and operated by the state of Louisiana and rendering great service, but inaccessible to at least two-thirds of the people of the state. I traveled throughout the highways and byways during my campaign, out into the backwoods, what we call "up the forks of the creeks and the hollows." I saw fine American citizens out there, a lot of them crippled, a lot of them sick, simply because of lack of proper medical care and attention, unable to work.

You may wonder how that affects labor. That affects labor to a great extent. When these people are on their feet, healthy and strong and able to work, they put money in circulation. Building and construction is promoted and labor is benefited. The whole thing is into one and you cannot separate it.

So we decided, and we told the people that the state owed expert medical care and attention to the helpless and under-privileged people of the state. Today we have four other hospitals under construction. We have one at Lafayette, Louisiana, that has just been completed and is now in operation. I dedicated that hospital last week, and when I made my dedicatory speech I told them I had been through that hospital, I saw the fine equipment, the operating rooms and all the other paraphernalia that goes to make up a hospital. Then I said further, that as a politician I saw one thing in there which impressed me more than anything else. On the third floor was a nice room all inclosed in glass. In that room were thirty or forty small beds for infants, and in five or six of those beds were some beautiful babies born within the last three or four days. I said, "Now, ladies and gentlemen, as a politician I will tell you why that impressed me. Whenever a political organization starts to raising its own babies, you can't beat it."

We have under construction at Alexandria a fine hospital, larger than the one at Lafayette. We have one under construction in the city of Monroe and another one at Independence, Louisiana. Of course you may not be able to visualize the map of the State of Louisiana, but coupled with our good roads and free bridge system instituted by that able statesman Huey P. Long, these hospitals bring expert medical care and attention within the reach of every citizen in the State of Louisiana.

I am very happy and proud to tell you that these hospitals were built by union labor, under closed shop conditions, 100 per cent American Federation of Labor.

I think the first job we unionized down there was the rebuilding of the new Charity Hospital at New Orleans. That institution is over 100 years old. It has a magnificent medical history. The buildings, of course, were hopelessly inadequate. We made an appeal to the PWA for funds, and there is under construction today what I feel sure will be the finest hospital of its kind in the South, costing \$12,500,000, and that is a 100 per

cent American Federation of Labor closed shop union job.

Now, why do I unionize these state jobs? I repeat to you, my friends, not solely for the sake of labor. It is because I realize that when labor is properly paid and works under proper conditions it benefits labor, that is true, but when you benefit labor you benefit industry, commerce, business, agriculture and every phase of the life of the State of Louisiana.

We have a standing rule down there, and sometimes they break it. It beats me how they do it, but they will slip up once in a while. I have issued orders to every board, department and institution of that state that when they have to buy materials I first want preference given to materials made or fabricated in the State of Louisiana. We owe that to our state and our people.

Second, I want preference given to materials bearing the union label. I have said, "When you get an article that bears the union label you know that the men who made that article were well paid and worked under proper conditions. Articles without that label may come from the same kind of a plant, but when you have that union label on it then you are sure that those men are properly paid and properly taken care of. We owe that to labor, to do all in our power to see that those conditions obtain."

Last spring we made up our minds we were not going to let business slump off during the summer. Even under normal conditions, for some reason or other, there is a general slump in business during the summer months. I personally think that that is more habit than anything else. There is just as much money, just as much purchasing power in July as there is in December. So I got on the radio in my State and made a speech to my people. I told them we had just as much purchasing power in the summer as we had in the winter, and that there was no reason to let that purchasing power remain dormant over the summer months. I said, "Now as a basis to work on and insure that employment levels will be maintained, I want every employer of labor in this State to sign a written pledge to me that for a period of six months they will not discharge anybody, that we will maintain these employment levels as they are now and carry that purchasing power over into the summer months." Eight thousand employers in the State of Louisiana responded and guaranteed the security of nearly three hundred thousand jobs.

I got on the air again a month later and I said, "Now these employers who have come through and made these guarantees are entitled to some consideration. Let's start a series of months in this state. For instance, let's call the first month 'Home Improvement Month.' Let everybody in the State of Louisiana do something for the home—fix the roof, fix the plumbing, fix a screen, give it a coat of paint, look after the sidewalks, the shrubbery, and the interior furnishings. That will help the building material men, the building trades, the merchants, and it will help these people to carry out these em-

ployment pledges that they have made, without any loss to themselves."

So we instituted "Home Improvement Month." We followed that with another month. That employment pledge runs out this month but I have consulted a great many merchants in the State of Louisiana, and I was told that this summer business has been the best it has been in any summer in the history of the state. One of the largest merchants in the city of New Orleans told me last August his sales were greater than the August sales of any month in the entire history of his institution, which is nearly 70 years old.

How does that help labor? Because as I have tried to tell you, my friends, labor is a part of the picture. When you help one side of the picture you help the other part as well. That put money in circulation. It made people spend money, it made them buy things, it made them improve their homes, and labor came in for its share.

Now, as you know, we have had a battle in this country between what is commonly called the liberals and the conservatives. I am a liberal. As I understand the meaning of those two terms, the conservative's idea is get all the money you can at the top and keep it there, and then when the rest of the people get to starving and have nothing to wear and nothing to eat, we can call on the Government to call out the Army and Navy to protect that money. Then the result of that may be that all the poor, starving people will get killed off and we will be safe up there with that money. That is my own idea of what a conservative means.

I understand a liberal to be somebody that has sense enough to see that this nation must be taken as a whole, that the man at the top, even though he doesn't realize it, is not in a secure position unless the man at the bottom is taken care of. They never seem to learn. It reminds me of a story I heard some time ago of a very pious old lady that had a parrot. She was extremely fond of the parrot, but the parrot had been a seagoing bird, it had belonged to a sailor, and he had a magnificent vocabulary of profanity. It grieved this pious old lady very much, because she was very much attached to the bird. And so one day she said to a friend of hers, "I don't like to get rid of that parrot. I am so attached to him, but isn't there some way of breaking him of that habit of swearing?" And the friend said, "Why, certainly, go home and snatch his cage off the wall, throw it on the floor, kick it around, and douse him with cold water, and that will cure him." The old lady went home and followed instructions to the letter. She snatched the cage off the wall, threw it on the floor, kicked it around a few times, threw a couple of buckets of cold water on the bird. Then she picked up the cage and put it on the table. The parrot shook himself, shook the water off his wings, and looked up at her and said, "Where in the hell were you when the storm hit us?"

Some of our good friends at the top, like the parrot, just can't be cured. So it is up to government, it is up to liberal govern-

ment. It is up to organizations such as the American Federation of Labor to help these people to help themselves. If they haven't got sense enough to see that their own security rests in the security of the laboring man, the working man and his family, then we have to take the necessary steps to do those things for them.

But I believe we can furnish an object lesson in the State of Louisiana. You might say that from the conservative point of view the State of Louisiana is thrice damned. It is damned in the first place because it was Huey Long's state. The conservatives didn't like Huey. It is damned in the second place because we put into effect every one of the progressive policies of President Roosevelt, and the conservatives don't like Roosevelt. It is damned in the third place because we work hand and glove with the American Federation of Labor for the betterment of the condition of the working man, and the conservatives don't like labor organizations.

So the State of Louisiana, my good friends, is thrice damned in the eyes of conservatives. But let us see what has happened. During the two years that I have been Governor, during the time when these strike settlements were made, during the time when these policies of Long were being pursued, when the policies of Roosevelt were put into effect when these hospitals and social security programs were instituted for the mass of the people of the state, during all that time we have worked hand and glove with the American Federation of Labor, during the period when the state of Louisiana has unionized public works coming under its jurisdiction. And what has happened? We have had an industrial program in that state, my friends, as I told you, not solely for the sake of industry itself, but for the sake of labor and for the sake of the people at large. And during that same period, at a time when capital throughout the United States had drawn into its shell, when it was not expanding, when it was sitting back in fear most of the time of the dire things that it thought were going to happen, \$50,000,000 in new industries were brought into the State of Louisiana. Under our industrial program 160 contracts have been signed, bringing 160 new firms into that state, aggregating a total investment of \$50,000,000, providing employment for 30,000 people. In my mind that proves conclusively that this bugaboo of a conflict between the interests of the laboring man and the interests of capital is nothing but a camouflage, because when you get them together under conditions fair to both sides, then everybody is prosperous and there is no conflict at all.

I want to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the American Federation of Labor for its cooperation in my state. I have enjoyed that cooperation. When I deal with the American Federation of Labor I deal with an organization that stands for the same principles of Americanism that I stand for. I tell you my friends, that no end justifies a lawless means. You cannot build solidly upon lawlessness and violence and destruction. I say that the American Federation of

Labor stands for the best principles of Americanism, and in my dealings with your organization I have found them to be fair, that when they told me they would do something, they would do it, and when they told me they could not do something they didn't do it. You can take the word of the American Federation of Labor, and you don't need any bond to back it up.

I want to say to you in conclusion—and I again thank you for the privilege and the honor that you have conferred in inviting me to be here today—please don't understand from the remarks I have made that I set myself up as a great economist or a great executive or anything of that kind. To tell you the Lord's honest truth, I am just beginning to find out what it's all about.

I have had the pleasure and privilege of meeting here for the first time your great President, Mr. William Green. I have heard of Mr. Green for years. I have admired his personality, and the things that he stood for, and I say to you that when I had the opportunity of meeting him face to face and of shaking his hand and of chatting with him for a few minutes, I was not disappointed.

I hope this convention of yours will prove very fruitful. The United States today needs the American Federation of Labor and the things that it stands for. A very grave responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the delegates to this convention, but I know that you are sincere and that you are determined, and when you combine those two qualities you go a long ways. I hope the time will come when every state in this Union will realize what the State of Louisiana already knows, that a well organized and a well manned American Federation of Labor in that state means a whole lot toward the progress and the prosperity and the security of that state.

I thank you very kindly.

President Green: You have indicated your appreciation of this masterly address delivered by the Governor of Louisiana better than it would be possible for me to do. I congratulate the people of Louisiana upon the exercise of the fine judgment which they manifested when they elected this splendid, vigorous, liberal progressive as a Governor of a state of the deep South, Louisiana. He has spoken in the language this morning of liberalism and progressivism. He has shown a vision, an understanding of modern day economic problems. The spirit in which he delivered his message was most impressive and convincing. Young, strong, vigorous, occupying a commanding position as the Governor of a sovereign state, I predict for Governor Leche a great future. He will be a national figure.

In the name and in behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this conven-

tion, and the millions of fine working men and women throughout the nation whom they have the honor to represent, I thank you profoundly from the bottom of my heart for your visit to this convention this morning, and for your inspiring and masterly address.

And now it appears that we have completed the work of our morning session. Be-

fore adjourning the Chair will ask if there are announcements.

Delegate Koveleski: I move that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourn to 2:30 o'clock.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 12:00 o'clock the convention adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Third Day—Wednesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Heseeth, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabee, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Rossano, Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

President Green: I desire to appoint Delegate John Locher, of the Washington Central Labor Union, as a member of the Building Trades Committee.

Message to Railway Labor Executives

Before we proceed to the regular order of business, I wish to bring to your attention a matter which I regard as of vital importance to delegates in attendance at the convention. You all know that the representatives of the railway organizations of the country are meeting in Washington. In their representative capacity they are resisting an attempt on the part of the railway owners of the country to impose a reduction of 15 per cent in wages upon the railroad workers of the nation.

Because of the emergency which was created as a result of the demands of the railway owners for a reduction in wages, a number of the representatives of the railroad organizations connected with the American Federation of Labor were unable to come to Houston to attend this convention. Three of our Vice-Presidents representing organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor found it impossible to attend this convention, Vice President George M. Harrison, of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks who is the Chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association, is in Washington and found it impossible to come to this convention. Vice President A. O. Wharton, a member of the Executive Council, was also prevented from coming here, and a number of representatives of railway organizations found it impossible to come here. Brother Felix H. Knight, President of the Railway Carmen and a Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, found it impossible to come to Houston.

It occurred to the officials of the American Federation of Labor that it would be proper to address a message to the members of the Railway Executives Association in Washington, and through them to the country. I am asking this convention to authorize us to transmit that message immediately. I will read the message:

Western Union Telegram

Houston, Texas, Oct. 5, 1938.

George M. Harrison, Chairman,
Railway Labor Executives Association,
Hamilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.

The officers and delegates in attendance at the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor direct me to transmit to you and your associates their full and complete assurance of support in all the efforts you are putting forth to resist the imposition of a wage reduction upon the railroad workers of the nation. We commend you and your associate officers upon the courageous, intelligent and successful way in which you are handling negotiations with railroad management and government representatives. The membership of the American Federation of Labor is firmly convinced that a reduction in wages of railroad workers would greatly injure business, labor and agriculture. It would reduce purchasing power and thus add to our nation's economic distress. We pledge to the railroad workers of the nation the full support of the five million members of the American Federation of Labor in the fight you and your associates are making against a wage reduction. We will rally to your support. We will stand with you. We will support you to the full extent of our resources in the event you are compelled to engage in a strike against any attempt which may be made to force the railroad workers of the nation to accept any reduction in wages.

WILLIAM GREEN, President,
American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians, moved that the convention, by unanimous rising vote, authorize the sending of the telegram read by President Green.

(In the telegram as first read the words "fifteen per cent reduction" appeared.)

Delegate Brown, Machinists: In that tele-

gram you refer to a 15 per cent reduction. I suggest that you change it to read "no reduction."

President Green: Very well. If there are no objections, the change will be made.

The motion offered by Delegate Weaver was adopted by unanimous rising vote.

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Secretary Her reported as follows:

In accordance with communication received from Arnold S. Zander, President of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, we recommend the seating of H. F. Hillebrandt in place of C. B. Noxon, who he states has found it impossible to attend the convention.

We have examined credentials and recommend that the following be seated:

Now Mexico State Federation of Labor—Oliver G. Wright, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegram and letter:

Miami, Fla., Oct. 5, 1938.

Frank Morrison,
Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor,
Rice Hotel, Houston.

Dear Sir and Brother: Please convey to the officers and delegates the sincere felicitations of the Miami Central Labor Union for a great convention and a greater success for the labor movement.

CLARENCE E. MILLER,
Secretary.

Office of the Mayor,
City of Chicago,
September 23, 1938.

Mr. Frank Duffy,
United Brotherhood of Carpenters,
Carpenters Building,
Indianapolis, Indiana.

Dear Mr. Duffy:

As one of the world's greatest Union Labor centers, it is a pleasure, on behalf of the City of Chicago, to extend a most cordial invitation to the American Federation of Labor to hold its 1939 convention in our city.

Chicago prides itself on an exceptionally fine and capable Union Labor leadership. Many of the great advantages which Labor has secured in its long struggle for proper recognition found their origin here.

From a practical standpoint, Chicago's central location and easy accessibility by all forms of transportation assure maximum travel economy. Further economy is secured through our many high grade hotels which maintain very reasonable rates regardless of convention crowds. Then, also, Chicago's abundance of points of interest and entertainment provides every possible measure of extra-convention enjoyment.

Should the American Federation of Labor honor our city with its 1939 convention, you may rest assured that we shall accord every last reserve of our hospitality and do everything possible to make your convention here an outstanding success in every way.

Sincerely yours,
EDWARD J. KELLY,
Mayor.

President Green: Now, I am happy, indeed, in that I am privileged to present to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention the fraternal delegates from the British Trades Union Congress and from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We have maintained a custom, unbroken and uninterrupted, for a very large number of years of exchanging fraternal delegates with the British Trades Union Congress. Our friends in Great Britain identified with the British Trades Union Congress have each year sent us fraternal delegates. The American Federation of Labor, in turn, has elected at each convention fraternal delegates to the British Trades Union Congress.

As a result of this, we have established a friendship which is lasting, warm and sincere. We have been greatly benefited by the inspiring messages which have been brought to us from time to time by the fraternal delegates from across the sea. I know there will be no exception to the rule on this occasion.

I am privileged, indeed, now to present to you one of the very dear friends who came all the way from Great Britain to bring us a message, Alderman Joseph Jones, C. B. E., J. P., LL. D., President of the Miners Federation of Great Britain, as the first fraternal delegate, he is also Deputy Mayor of Barnsley, England. You can see by this brief description that he has had conferred upon him a number of honors by the people of Great Britain with whom he has resided. I now present to you Joseph Jones, President of the Miners Federation of Great Britain.

MR. JOSEPH JONES
(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

Mr. President, Vice-Presidents, Delegates and Friends:

When I was appointed to attend your Convention to convey together with my colleague, Brother Stephenson, the fraternal greetings of the British Trades Union Congress, I looked forward with a special thrill to renewing my acquaintance with your esteemed President Green, and Secretary Morrison, and those District Officers, whom it was my pleasure to meet when I visited Washington, New York.

and the New England areas in 1926. On that occasion I came with Ben Tillet, Ellen Wilkinson, and others, on behalf of the British Trades Union Congress to invoke the practical assistance of the American Trades Unions on behalf of the Mine Workers of Great Britain, who were then involved in an epic struggle with the employers and the Government in defense of their wage standards—a conflict which lasted seven months—and which, besides revealing those qualities of resistance inherent in the British Miners, also demonstrated the mutual sympathy and spirit of fellowship which existed between the trades unionists of America and of Great Britain. During that dispute, no less than £41,595 or 297,000 dollars was contributed by the American labor movement towards the alleviation of acute distress prevailing in the British coalfields. That splendid humanitarian endeavor derived its initial impetus from the lead given by President Green, whose message to the unions affiliated to the A. F. of L. which I now vividly recall ended with the words, "Give 'til it hurts." That splendid gesture was in marked contrast to the message broadcast in America by Mr. Stanley Baldwin, then Prime Minister, whilst the delegation was actually crossing the Atlantic, in which he tried to dissuade the American workers from giving any assistance at all. Judged by the response which I have indicated, it is to the credit of the American trades unionists that they took the advice of their President rather than that of an unsympathetic British statesman, even though he was the First Minister of the Crown, and I am happy personally to acknowledge, in the name of the Mine Workers' Federation of Great Britain, the manifestation of genuine sympathy and the generous practical assistance of the various units of the American Federation of Labor to the British Mine Workers and their dependents in their time of need. What is more, I profoundly believe that notwithstanding the difficult and embarrassing situation which has existed in America within recent years, the same spirit of reciprocity and good-will towards the British Miners exists within the A. F. of L. today!

It is, however, with equal pleasure, that I bring to this Convention the cordial greetings of the British trades union movement.

Progress in Great Britain

As your convention does not meet until October, I had the opportunity of attending the 70th Annual British Congress at Blackpool, and as I attended my first Congress in 1917, exactly 21 years ago, I had a special interest in making a comparison of the strength and influence of British trades unions 21 years ago with today, and in relating that rapid growth within 21 years to the steady progress of the previous half-century of trades union effort. At my first Congress in 1917 the delegates present represented a membership of 3,082,352. At Blackpool in 1938 there were 647 delegates representing 216 organizations, and 4,460,417 members, but as these returns are based upon membership at the end of December, 1937, it is safe to assume with the influx of new

members during 1938, that the British trades union movement is now approaching five and one-half million adherents. But when this is compared with the year which marked the origin of the British Trades Union Congress, the remarkable romance of seventy years of organized Trades Union endeavor stands out as a remarkable achievement.

When the first Congress met in Manchester in 1868, the delegates numbered but 34, whilst the aggregate membership represented was below 120,000. Within ten years the affiliated membership was over 600,000, and, as I have indicated, on attaining its seventieth year, its membership was upwards of 5,000,000.

The British trades union movement, however, during the periods spanned by its seventy Congresses, has grown not only numerically, it has also grown tremendously, both as regards the complexity of its functions, and the comprehensiveness of its outlook. During their formative years, the Unions, by reason of organized hostility and persistent persecution, struggled on as purely "defensive" organizations, affording such protection to their members as concerted action would then permit. The original and primary purposes of the unions—the improvement of wage standards, shortening of hours of labor, and the reform of working conditions—were carried on under circumstances of extreme difficulty, but as the movement gathered strength, it challenged the traditional practices of the employers and repudiated the theory upon which the industrial slavery had thrived; namely, that the mere investment of capital conferred the inherent right upon the employer, himself to determine matters which vitally affected the livelihood and well-being of the work people engaged.

It is, therefore, a noteworthy characteristic of British trades unions, during the post-war years especially, that they no longer operate within prescribed limits, and are by no means content merely to resist the encroachments of the employers. Since the lives, the happiness, the ultimate welfare of the man-power engaged in industry and the fulfillment of trades union aims depend upon the efficient conduct and control of industry, the British Trades Union Congress has asserted the right of its affiliated unions to participate in, and make their contribution to, the development of industry on lines consistent with 20th Century progress.

Major Objectives

So today the primary objects of the British Trades Union Congress, in addition to trying to establish the public ownership and control of natural resources and services, now embrace the extension of state and municipal enterprise for the provision of social necessities and communal services; a legal minimum wage for every industry; a legal maximum working week; suitable provision and adequate maintenance of the unemployed; the establishment of training centers for juveniles; the extension of training facilities for adults during periods of depression; the provision of hygienic and adequate housing accommodation; full and free educational fa-

cilities from the elementary schools to the universities; adequate maintenance and compensation in respect of all forms of industrial accident or occupational disease; State pensions for all at 60, together with pensions for widowed mothers and dependent children.

It may be alleged that a charter so comprehensive has a political significance, but it must be borne in mind that the British trades union movement realized years ago that its industrial aims implied legislative changes, and in consequence it became the driving force for the direct representation of the workers in Parliament. Today, therefore, it not merely influences, but initiates legislative reforms, and has attained that degree of perfect organization which permits an amicable partition in Trades Union functions, and at the same time assures the closest collaboration between the Trades Union Congress and the Parliamentary Labor Party.

Recent Gains

Among the more recent and noteworthy advances made possible by this system of joint activity, I should mention the Factory Act of 1937. This measure operating as from the 1st July, 1938, embraces substantial improvements in our factory laws. In particular it imposes upon the employers specific obligations for the protection of the safety, health, and general welfare of factory workers. It establishes a more satisfactory standard of working hours for women and young persons. By the new statute the earliest hour at which work begins is changed from 6 a. m. to 7 a. m. subject to certain exceptions, whilst the latest hours for workers under 16 is altered from 8 p. m. to 6 p. m. and the maximum weekly hours for such persons is fixed at 44. The amount of permissible overtime is also substantially reduced.

Holidays With Pay

This system of unified effort has also enabled us to make useful progress in connection with the principle of holidays with pay. For 27 years, that is, by the Factory and Workshops Act of 1901, all male workers under 18 years, and all female workers employed in factories or workshops must be allowed holidays up to 6 days per annum, but there was no provision for payment during such holiday.

Since 1911, however, collective agreements had been secured by the Unions providing holidays with pay for non-manual and clerical workers, but such agreements covered only 1½ million workers. In addition, the co-operative movement provided unbroken periods for holidays without loss of income for its members, but nothing had been provided for industrial workers, and the Statute of 1911 has remained unaltered as regards juveniles and women workers. Early in 1937, after persistent pressure brought upon the Government by the labor movement to promote legislation providing holidays with pay, a Government Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of Lord Amulree representing both workers and employers, to examine the question of paid holidays. The imperative necessity of providing employed persons with

fixed periods of not less than a fortnight, with full pay, to allow both mind and body, by rest and recreation, to recover from the mental and physical fatigue induced by the periods as well as the nature of toil now associated with modern and intensified methods of production was urged before that Committee by the British Trades Union Congress.

This "Government Holidays with Pay" Committee published a unanimous report in April, 1938. The Committee strongly recommended that an annual holiday with pay should be established without undue delay as part of the terms of contract of employment of all persons covered by the compulsory State insurance schemes, and that any extension of the income limit of non-manual employees covered by these schemes should also be applicable to holidays with pay. This holiday, the committee recommended, should consist of at least as many days as there are in the working week, and, as far as practicable, these days should be taken consecutively, and in the period between the beginning of summer time, that is, May, and the beginning of October in each year.

Specifically, the committee recommended that legislation should be introduced at an early date so that:

First: In every industry under a Trade Board, the Trade Board shall be given authority to consider and determine whether, in the circumstances of each industry, the provision of a holiday of at least one week with pay is one that for the time being should be granted, and that any such decision providing holidays with pay should become binding if confirmed by the Ministry of Labor.

Second: The Agricultural Wages Committees, appointed under the Agricultural Wages Regulations Act, 1924-37, shall be given authority to consider and determine whether, in the circumstances of each area, the provision of a holiday of at least seven days with pay is one that, for the time being, should be granted, except that the committees shall not have the authority of enforcing that seven days shall be taken consecutively, but shall have the authority of enforcing that three days shall be taken consecutively.

Third: Any new legislation setting up further statutory bodies for the regulation of minimum rates of wages should provide such bodies with the same authority as that which it is recommended shall be given to the Trade Boards.

The Committee also recommended that during the Parliamentary Session of 1940-1, legislation should be passed making provision for holidays with pay in industry generally; special legislation for domestic servants; special machinery to cover workers in intermittent employment; the setting up of a branch of the Ministry of Labor to deal with holidays with pay questions; the staggering of holidays, and the establishment of a fixed date for the Easter Holiday.

We are prepared even to change the calendar if that is necessary to change conditions.

The British Government indicated their general acceptance of the committee's report, a Bill to give effect to the recommendations relating to Trade Boards, Agricultural Wages

Committees, and other Wage Regulating Authorities has been approved by Parliament. Meanwhile, under the impetus of the new and intensive drive for paid periods of rest, agreements providing for holidays have been concluded in many industries, including agreements covering the whole of the mine workers in the British coalfields.

The Coal Act, 1938.

The most far-reaching legislative enactment affecting industry, however, is the Coal Act of 1938.

Opinions of the principles embodied in the Coal Act, 1938, differ, but on two points there is agreement. The Act is highly technical and it revolutionizes the law of coal ownership and strengthens the organization of the coal-mining industry. It also brings to an end the toll of nearly 30,000,000 dollars a year levied by the Royalty Owners, which will be collected by the State.

Briefly, the Act provides in Part I for the unification of royalties under the ownership and control of a Coal Commission, and the amendment of the Coal (Registration of Ownership) Act, 1937; in Part II for further reorganization of the mining industry; in Part III for the extended duration of Part I of the Coal Mines Act, 1938, relating to the production, supply and sale of coal; and in Part IV for certain miscellaneous and general matters.

Under Part I of the new Act, coal royalties are to be unified in the hands of the Coal Commission. This is effected by a vesting of the fee simple, subject to the prescribed conditions, of all coal and mines, whether worked, unworked, known or unknown, together with attached ancillary rights of working.

It should here be noted that the Commission must not engage in mining, but, by leasing and so on, must manage the property in the best interests of the industry, and of the State.

Consequent on this, detailed provisions are set out in connection with rights of withdrawing support, acquisition and severance of ancillary rights; the vesting in the commission of minerals other than coal comprised in existing coal-mining leases; rights enjoyed by other property adversely to coal or mines; and the right of colliery undertakings to be granted leases of coal of which they now own the freehold.

Two dates are fixed in the Statute, the "Valuation Date," and the "Vesting Date."

The former is 1st January, 1939, the latter 1st July, 1942. Between these dates present owners are so to be placed as if on the former date they had entered a contract of sale to sell their coal property to the Commission, at a price to be determined by a valuation on the basis of completion of the purchase on the latter date. In the interim between these two dates, owners will continue in receipt of their present royalties and in the management of their property, but, as vendors under the contract for sale, they must have careful regard for the interest of the Commission, especially by notifying that body of new leases. On the vesting date, ownership of the property passes

to the Commission. As a corollary, provisions are inserted whereby, during the interim period, the Commission may, among other matters, undertake the consolidation of present leases, and the partition of present leases which comprise both property that can be, and property that cannot be, acquired by them.

During the interim between the valuation date and the vesting date, undertakings will be valued for compensation. The valuation will take place through the machinery of the Central and Regional Valuation Boards, the former making regional allocations between valuation regions of parts of the total sum of £66,450,000, payable for principal coal hereditaments, and the latter making separate assessments for principal and subsidiary coal hereditaments.

The compensation payable for principal coal hereditaments will bear to the amount of the valuation the same ratio that the total valuations of a region bear to the regional allocation.

Each claimant for compensation is under obligation to register under the Coal (Registration of Ownership) Act, 1937, and to notify the Commission of his claim. Details of the compensation procedure are fully set out in the Act.

The Coal Act took effect from the 29th July, 1938. Leases were bound, under penalty, to give particulars to the Commission of their existing coal-mining leases within one month from that date.

The new Act provides for the transference of the functions of the Reorganization (Amalgamation) Commission to the Coal Commission, who are directed, in the interests of efficiency, to attempt a reduction in the number of coal-mining undertakings. Compulsory amalgamation schemes are the subject of a detailed procedure and the 1938 Act is amended in this regard. It is to be noted that the provisional order procedure applies to compulsory schemes, and that they cannot come into force before 1st January, 1940.

Among many general provisions of the Act are those relating to the finances of the Commission, the acquisition by the lessees of the Commission, through the existing working facilities legislation, of surface rights necessary for working coal and rights of occupation and use of colliery works. Rights of support of statutory authorities are not affected by the Act.

During the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons the Labor Representatives insisted that, at least, one of the five Coal Commissioners should have been a wage earner in the industry. This amendment was accepted by the Government, and as from 1st December next I have accepted membership on the Commission. This decision unfortunately involves my resigning my position as president of the Mine Workers' Federation of Great Britain, but it does not in any other way infringe upon my trade union liberty.

As touching our progress in the more general sphere of trades union activity, several Advisory Committees have been established, one with the British Medical Association, one for local government service, one for the nursing profession, and another for the de-

velopment of trade unionism in the Colonies. Detailed attention has been given to problems of organization, with particular reference to those of the "distressed areas," domestic workers, hotel and catering staffs and nurses. Evidence on nursing conditions has been submitted to an Inter-Departmental Committee appointed by the Government, and trade union recruitment in this profession has proceeded by leaps and bounds, whilst in the field of propaganda we have recognized the value of the cinema to such an extent that within the last year 90 cinemas have shown short advertising films giving various aspects of trades unionism.

Workmen's Compensation

After many years of agitation and pressure upon successive Governments, Parliament has at last decided to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the whole question of Workmen's Compensation.

At present, the principal Act relating to Compensation for injury is the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1925 which consolidates with certain Amendments previous Statutes of 1906, and 1923. Trades Unions have consistently urged legislation to improve the inadequate safeguards for injured workmen. The term "workman" within the meaning of the Act of 1925 excludes any person employed other than by way of manual labor whose remuneration exceeds £300 per annum, in addition to other limitations. The maximum payable in fatal cases is £600, which includes any allowances in respect of dependent children. Widows left with large families are severely penalized as they have no legal claim when the maximum of £600 is exhausted. How harshly this maxima operates may be seen if you assume that a widow at the time she loses her husband is left with 4 children, aged 1, 3, 5 and 7, respectively, that she receives weekly compensation payments of 40/- or 8/- per head for the household. In less than six years she will have exhausted her statutory maximum of £600 by which time her children are 7, 9, 11 and 13, respectively. Not one has reached school-leaving age, and she must either go out to work herself to maintain her children or seek assistance from the Public Assistance Committee. Other disadvantages arise from the fact that industrial diseases now proven to be attributable to certain occupations, such as miners' asthma, anthracosis, and skin diseases are not scheduled in such a way as to entitle the sufferer to compensation. Changes of a far-reaching character, including the obligation of the employer to find suitable employment after incapacity will be urged before the Royal Commission by the Trades Union Congress.

The Youth Charter

Realizing the vital importance of recruiting young workers to the trade union movement, and also of setting up special machinery whereby youth problems in industry can be effectively dealt with, the General Council of the British Trades Union Congress formulated a Youth Charter. This Charter of Rights includes minimum wage rates for young

workers: a forty-hour week which includes time for further educational facilities; a fortnight's holiday with pay in addition to statutory holidays. (The Holidays with Pay Act, already mentioned, leaves 10,750,000 workers still unprovided for except that it gives power to Trades Boards, Agricultural Wages Committees, and other Wage Regulating Authorities to make agreements;) the prohibition of overtime for persons under 18 years of age; and the abolition of night work for all young persons under the age of 18; the right of young persons to allowances in respect of unemployment regardless of the family income; the extension of health insurance (cash) benefits to young workers between 14 and 16, (still excluded under the New Act); the raising of the school-leaving age to 16 with maintenance allowances; the control of entry of young persons into industry, with a view to preventing blind alley occupations; and the provision of appropriate facilities for technical training in employers' time. This splendid Charter has had a most stimulating effect on youthful trades union recruitment and affiliated unions are co-operating with the General Council in carrying the Charter forward.

The Co-operative Movement

In Britain we have also recognized to the full how powerful an ally in the attainment of higher standards the co-operative movement can be. The co-operative movement has proved that a way of order can be carved out of existing contradictory economic systems. In sharp contrast to the Totalitarian system it aims at serving the community on the basis of liberty, justice, democracy, and the elimination of unearned wealth. This explains its phenomenal growth in Great Britain. Beginning in 1844 on the simple equitable system whereby profits on sales are distributed to members in proportion to their purchases it has reached a membership of nearly 8,000,000. Its retail trade exceeds £235,000,000 which is about one-eighth of Britain's total retail trade, and it employs over 320,000 persons, with a Wage Bill of over £40,000,000 yearly. There are now over 80 societies each, with a membership exceeding 20,000, whilst for the last year in respect of which aggregate figures are available (1936) the co-operative movement embraced 1107 societies, having 7,807,912 members with a share and loan capital of £179,339,156. The surplus available for distribution amongst the members was £23,512,358, a sum which represents the immediate and direct financial benefit derived by the members from co-operative trading.

International Standards

The extension of industrialism in different parts of the world, the advance of industrialism in other countries, and, not least, the spread of Fascism, is creating a new and increasingly difficult situation. Competition between nations highly industrialized is normally countered by superior efficiency, but increased efficiency alone will not enable production to compete on fair terms when enterprises in

certain countries draw upon an almost inexhaustible supply of cheap and, in many cases, serf labor, and in dictatorship countries conscripted, militarized, ill-paid manpower. From the economic point of view there is much more to be gained from a rising standard of life than from the perpetration of low-wage levels, and an inadequate standard of life. This has been demonstrated in America in recent times. Organized labor must in its own interests strive to secure a progressive standard of life, and so ensure full expansion of their home market through the increasing purchasing power of their own people. It therefore follows that we should promote higher international standards if we desire to stimulate expanding markets, for the economic advantages which accrue from improved international labor standards are two-fold. A progressive standard of life sustains and safeguards the home market, and also assures and develops foreign markets. We cannot wait, however, until the conscience of the world revolts against the exploitation of inexperienced and unorganized workers, nor can democratic countries, by their separate efforts, secure or even influence international standards. We can, however, make the instrument of the I. L. O. a more potent instrument towards this end, and the British Trades Union Congress learned with intense pleasure that the U. S. A. had accepted full membership of the I. L. O., having signed the necessary Articles. Thus, whilst the I. L. O. has lost Germany, and Italy, it has gained tremendously by the inclusion of America.

Trades Unionism—A World Force If . . .

Much meaningless talk has been indulged in concerning what is called trades union unity, whilst less attention is being directed to what is even more essential, namely, unity within the trades unions. Trades Unionism in its very inception, like most great and enduring institutions, was an expression of unity of interest and purpose. So it was conceived by its earliest pioneers, so it must be regarded if it is to survive. It is the spirit of cohesion, good will, tolerance and mutual forbearance which has enabled it to withstand bitter persecution, violent opposition and disturbing experiences, and nothing short of unqualified adherence and unswerving loyalty to fundamental trade union principles will suffice in these no less difficult times if its progress is to be maintained.

But if the heart of trade unionism becomes diseased by warring methods, suspicion, distrust and rivalry, its growth must be inevitably impaired. Disintegration is the certain forerunner of destruction. Let us endeavor by all means to create efficient, honorably and mutually beneficial boundaries, for our separate organizations, but let us approach such delicate tasks not in an atmosphere of antagonism but in the spirit of harmony and concord. If tumult and war threaten the stability of nations and empires, what can save a movement which allows the spirit of enmity to enter its own soul. If we are to arrest the spread of Fas-

cism and offer effective resistance to Capitalism we must conserve and concentrate our strength against these forces. It is not enough to advocate principles of democracy, conciliation, arbitration, and economic co-operation, as a code of conduct for nations and renounce such wholesome standards of conduct in movements of our own fashioning.

As trades unionists, therefore, we have a fundamental objection to dictatorship, whether from the "left" or the "right." I have seen the former in operation in Russia and the latter in Germany, and was convinced that one is as loathsome as the other. It is our firm conviction that Democracy, intelligently and wisely directed, can achieve much more enduring results than can be wrought by coercion, however well intentioned. Dictatorship decides, declares, demands, whereas Democracy explores, expresses and evolves, and our advances during the past years provide ample justification for the process of steady, continuous, evolutionary progress. Trades unionism that will secure that liberty of action by which the workers can develop their finest faculties, and attain a stable social organization, must essentially be based on freedom. Moreover, it is only on this basis that the workers in democratic countries will be able to move forward in solid phalanx against the new growing forces and menacing factors with which they are confronted. What are these new forces?

They are the formidable twin forces of Fascism and war. Constitutional government, the freedom of association, the right to organize, indeed, the autonomy, liberty and independence of trades unions and the manifold claims of citizenship are all at stake if the spread of this growing evil is not checked.

Called in Italy Fascism, in Germany Nazism, it is one and the same thing, and is in essence a monstrous and savage dictatorship. Born out of the post-war confusion and despair, the Fascist party in Italy, and the Nazi party in Germany, have used their political power to suppress by violence all other parties. Murder, torture and exile are their weapons. They have filled the world with horror at their deeds. Concentrating the power of the State in one person, a servile obedience is now exacted from every citizen. Freedom of thought, of action, of the press, of association, have all been swept away. The spirit of war, and the creed of blood has been glorified. Peace and all its agencies are treated with contempt.

Austria, too, has now been deprived of the principle of democratic control, a group of dictators has usurped authority, and imposed upon the people a system similar in all essentials to that of Italy and Germany.

In consequence, wherever we look today, we look upon a disturbed and distressed civilization. For several years the normal life of nations, particularly in Europe, has been suspended, and today none can say when these vast populations will be able to devote their physical and mental efforts to the productive and constructive tasks of peaceful enterprise. For too long the world has been busy making warships instead of making friendships.

The world needs more than a respite from conflict, welcome as that respite is. It is satiated with war. It is growing dispirited in the present state of things, which has almost all the elements of war, excepting the actual clash of battle. If the art of war is no longer to be a necessary science, and if guns, battleships, bombs and poison gas are no longer to be the essential furniture of kingdoms, the world must needs get back to real peace with all its positive elements. The spirit of conflict must be displaced by the spirit of co-operation; the will to construct must be substituted for the will to destroy.

Few people in Briain or elsewhere are happy concerning the recent compromise of the Czechoslovakian situation, a compromise scarcely distinguishable from capitulation. True, an immediate conflict of uncertain dimensions and consequences was averted. But it would seem that only a respite has been secured, and even this was purchased by another's territory—another's dignity and resources, and, unless we are extremely vigilant, and still more determined, probably by another's independence!

There would have been no Czechoslovakian crisis had the Anglo-French foreign policy been of firmer texture in recent years.

It was to be expected that a Hitler would "cash in" on the obvious weakness of French and British policy in connection with Abyssinia, Austria and Spain. Indifference on the first two occasions, followed by feebleness and vacillation on the Spanish situation was just the kind of encouragement Hitler required. This political gangster's bluff should have been called earlier.

As it is now, it will require an even greater force to insure that aggression has, in fact, been brought to an end, for the future is still uncertain and obscure.

The President of the United States of America, or the minister of a democratic nation, speaks for and may commit a nation, whereas a dictator commits none but himself.

Moreover, none of the powers as yet have shown any visible disposition to consider the economic issues which form the very basis of aggression and war.

The Way of Order, Peace and Progress

The crying need of the world today is for a strengthening of Democratic Trades Union Internationalism; a fair and dispassionate examination of the world's economic problems; and constructive political and economic co-operation between the nations of the world. In short, an axiomatic necessity of the present world situation is a policy of positive and complete economic reconstruction. It is not true as has been recently stated that man's greatest desire centers around the question of making a living; the most powerful incentive to action surrounds the task of living, and the most deep-rooted group emotion is to be found in man's economic life. Unless therefore, we face up to the root causes of acquisitiveness; aggression, strife and conflict, we shall slip downward, with the grim inevitableness of gravitation, to another World War. For it is patent to any student of world

economics that inherent in the present world situation are the elements which make for war. The processes of production and distribution are disorganized! The free flow of trade is impeded by artificial barriers; the credit of several nations is completely shattered and their exchanges utterly demoralized; and all nations are suffering from acute unemployment and serious degradation of the workers' standard of life. In a period of world distress such as we are now living through our primary concern ought and indeed must be the immediate welfare of the people. Enthusiasm for ideals is not fed by starvation. The heartrending cry of the famished family has a more powerful effect upon the average workingman than the suave voice of the polished orator. His immediate concern is to see that they are fed; the question of which system he would prefer them to be fed under becomes for the time being quite secondary to him. In such circumstances it is clear that the imperative need of our time is an impartial examination and consideration of the steadily expanding economic aspirations not only of European countries but of the world. It follows that no nation can emerge from such a state of disorder and maladjustment through insular Nationalism or by the establishment of the To-talitarian State. Indeed such narrow Nationalism cannot be relevant to the realities of the world situation. True loyalty to the welfare and destiny of the people in any one country must be but part of a wider loyalty to the welfare and destiny of mankind. Organized labor in Great Britain, and I believe in America, will not rest until in the faith of this wider loyalty, democratic nations take up once more the task of leading the peoples of the world to a reward of peace, prosperity and human progress. Such a course as I now indicate is basic, bold and far-reaching, but it has the virtue of being firmly grounded on realities, and founded on the tried and proven principles of the aims of organized labor. Only movements actuated by international faith could conceive such a course or dare announce it as a challenge to the world, and as a summons to the cause of constructive peace. What greater cause, and what more splendid adventure can be conceived than an organized endeavor to reach the consummation of that splendid dream of our forebears—the great commonwealth of the world as the visible embodiment of the brotherhood of man. It is with this resolve in my heart and these sentiments on my lips that I bring to you, the organized workers of America, the fraternal greetings of fealty and friendship from the organized workers of Great Britain.

President Green: Now, then, I will present to you the colleague of Brother Jones, who, along with him, has been commissioned by the British Trades Union Congress to bring us the fraternal greetings of the organized workers of Great Britain. I present to you Mr. J. W. Stephenson, J. P., M. R. S. I., Freeman and Liveryman of the City of London, General Secretary of the Plumbers and Domestic Engineers of Great Britain and Ireland. He has been honored by his

friends and acquaintances in Great Britain, and it affords me great pleasure to present to you our very dear friend, Fraternal Delegate Stephenson.

MR. J. W. STEPHENSON
(Fraternal Delegate, British Trades Union Congress)

President Green, Officers and Delegates:

Will you permit me by way of preface to say that you introduced me yesterday as an "honest plumber from Great Britain." I rather suspect that this was a left-handed attempt at scorn for my colleague, John Coe-field. However, I do desire to draw President Green's attention to the fact that he has just listened to an honest miner.

He utilized the presentation yesterday to indicate to the conference that we would probably extend the very useful and informative paper given to you by Mr. Watt. It is not my intention to in any way dilate on the subject treated by Mr. Watt, but I do commend to you his conclusions. You will all appreciate how difficult it is to absorb an industrial system, working even on an important visit such as he undertook, but I want to compliment him on the fact that he got hold of the fundamentals rather soundly, and it is for that reason that I can commend them to this conference.

He said also that we might deal with the unfortunate situation in Europe. I propose not to deal with it. I think there is much more to be heard of that problem yet, and when all is said and done some of us have to remain realists in a world of reality, and I leave it there with you.

But I do say this, and right sincerely, that my sojourn here has been pleasant, and I say to President Green and every delegate here how much we have appreciated your hospitality, your kindness, and your consideration on every conceivable occasion.

I am both honored and privileged in being able to bring to this historic convention of the American Federation of Labor, the fraternal greetings and good wishes of the Trades Union Congress and the trade unionists of Britain.

I do assure you that the organized workers of my country are with you in comradeship and solidarity.

I am here to tell you that they hope for the greatest success of this convention in its deliberations and decisions, and for the still further progress of the workers and their trade union organization in this great American Republic. I am here simply and briefly to extend the handclasp of the workers in the industries of Britain to the workers of the industries of the United States; to express their friendship, to confirm the identity of their interests with those of the toilers of America, and to bind still more closely the bonds of unity between them. Though the broad Atlantic ocean divides us we all belong to the universal community of labor; we are one in aim, in hope and aspiration.

We have celebrated the 70th year of the existence of our Congress with a membership of 5 million in just over 200 unions. During

the past year they have made considerable headway. All our trade unions record increases in their ranks. Of exceptional value has been the large recruitment of young workers into the unions, and the interest, energy and enthusiasm which the youth have displayed in the movement. Our Trade Union Congress has promulgated the Youth Charter, setting forth the reforms we demand in the conditions of employment of our young people. Indeed, it can be said that our trade union movement now embraces all trades and callings, all employments. Only just recently Congress itself has taken the initiative in starting a trade union for the organization of domestic workers—probably the most difficult class of workers to organize and to provide with the protective services of trade unionism.

Trades unionism in Britain is deeply rooted. It possesses a century-old wealth of tradition. In the logic of its growth it gathers in the best, most capable and efficient workers in every industry and service. In our small compact country we can justly claim that trade unionism is a great national institution. It has a close, intimate detailed power for good in the daily lives of the people. Through experience, loyalty and determination, the workers of Britain have established a powerful organization which is a pillar of our domestic society, an integral part of our community. Its views and voice are heard and heeded on all matters of concern to the community, both domestic and international. With trade unionism as its base and mainstay we have been able to build in Britain the labor movement which is a tremendous influence in industry, social life and politics, fully expressive of our democracy and the intelligent, aspiring spirit of the working people.

During the past twelve months we have not suffered from industrial depression to the extent that you have in the United States. Employment has been more or less normal, moreover the armament program of the British government has made a considerable contribution toward keeping certain industries busy. Nevertheless, the trend is toward increased unemployment. More than 1,700,000 of our workers are now unemployed out of an insured working population of 11,370,000. This represents, as you will realize, a formidable amount of distress and wretchedness. We in the labor movement, in Britain as in America, are conscious of the desperate urgency of the need for those economic alterations and adjustments which will remove this frightful curse of unemployment from our midst. Social and political stresses and disturbances are certain to arise from this economic disorder. I have followed events in the American labor movement with the closest attention and fraternal concern. It would be impertinence on my part to express opinions on the difficulties with which you are now dealing, but I do sincerely hope that those difficulties will soon be overcome.

I am confident that trade unionism in these United States, enriched by the experience of those difficulties, will ultimately emerge with a greater unity and renewed energy and vigor to wage the struggle of the workers. Your industrial situation, so appalling in its complexities, makes it imperative for organized labor to exercise its utmost strength and influence.

What I specially desire to speak upon is the

world situation. I want to congratulate the American Federation of Labor on now being an organic part of the international trade union movement, and to express the appreciation we all feel in Britain on this affiliation to the I.F.T.U. That affiliation registers a significant milestone on the road to the solidarity of the human race. We simply must be internationalists. All parts of the world are linked together by the million threads of trade and commerce, by bonds of all kinds; the development of the means of communication, transport, have made the world one close-knit community, for all understanding men and women there is but one world-country. Whether we like it or not the general industrialization of the various countries, wireless, the developments in land, sea and air travel, have transformed the world into a single unit. There is no going back in regard to economic and scientific progress. There is only going forward. There is but one world economy, we are all necessarily citizens of the world, and the march of discovery makes us increasingly so. What happens in any part of the world, no matter how geographically remote, has direct intimate reactions upon us all, and we who belong to the industrious population of the world, who represent those whose work and services give life and purpose to the world, who are in the ranks of the great International of Labor, must indeed become increasingly world-conscious, must rise to the stature of true Internationalists and think and act internationally.

You realize how restless and troubled the world is. It is undergoing continuous economic, social and political crises. It is changing with amazing rapidity indeed. The inexorable progress of industrialization has effected a fundamental change, as far as we the workers are concerned, during the past decade. All countries are in the throes of rapid transition. We are indeed living in a new world as compared with the world of ten years ago. In as short a period as that, so swift are the dynamic resistless forces of industry and science. What I desire to say to you here in America—though I am painfully conscious of the inadequacy of my words—is that it is impossible to cut the world in half. America cannot be separate, detached, and you are in and of this changing world. Your destinies are irrevocably bound up with the destinies of the inhabitants of Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, with the whole of mankind. You cannot now live in isolation, and you cannot remain outside of or be indifferent to what is taking place in Britain, in Europe, in the Far East, or in any part of the world.

I say that in all humility, realizing that many of you grasp the significance of my words better than I can express. I say it also as a delegate coming from the British labor movement to this convention with the deep, almost harrowing sense of my responsibilities.

You are aware of the wars now raging and the tumults in the Far East. You are aware of the breakneck armaments race in which all the countries are engaged. You are aware of the manner in which in certain countries the democratic rights and liberties of the people have been suppressed, the labor movement beaten down, and hideous dictatorships have arisen turning those countries into vast prisons and the people into serfs. You are aware of

the dark forces now loose, persecuting, imprisoning, bounding into impoverished exile or actually destroying those who in race or religion or secular opinion meet with the disapproval of the dictators.

I tell you that the distempers of Europe especially are growing to such a degree of violence and malignity as to be a menace to every free and independent man and woman.

We are faced with a new barbarism, a barbarism equipped with all the means and agencies of modern society, which is determined to plunge the world into war and ruin. We are faced, you, all of mankind, with Fascist barbarism. It has become almost a commonplace now for European statesmen to echo the words of Lord Baldwin when he said—"Who does not know that one more war in the West and the civilization of the ages will fall with as great a shock as that of Rome." These statesmen have habituated themselves to the nerveless contemplation of the catastrophe. Indeed, the dictators play the game of diplomacy as with loaded dice with that as the ultimate stake.

Today, we in Britain, in our small, green and pleasant island, nestling close to the European continent, are turning our homes into dug-outs and fortresses. During recent months there has been a fury of progress in what are called air raid precautions. Increasing numbers of citizens are becoming air raid wardens, fire fighters, members of decontamination squads, trainees in gas mask drill. The threat of the bomber hangs like a nightmare over our cities.

The black shadow of war is upon us, becoming heavier, more ominous with every day that passes. It lies upon millions of little homes in Britain; it lies upon hundreds of millions of little homes in Europe. It has introduced into our lives an abiding terror which nothing can banish and which grows in tension with succeeding events.

An eagle glance over Europe would at this time present the horrible, grotesque picture of peoples, British, French, German, Austrian, Dutch, Scandinavian, Czechoslovakian, Russian and so on, whose one real desire is to live in conditions of normal citizenship and friendly relations with each other, arming to the teeth, learning how to kill and destroy with the maximum purpose and effect, and also how to burrow underground in self-defense, to live like moles, and mask and garb themselves out of all semblance of humanity in protection against poison gas.

You need no reminder of the frightful distress accompanying the war in Spain, of the war of invasion which the military clique of Japan is waging on the Chinese people. The American news service is as efficient as the British. No words of mine can express in fitting language all that we think and feel in regard to the bombardment of open towns, the pitiless slaughter of the civilian population, the destruction of the homes and the livelihoods of the people—such deeds indicate the depths of barbarism, inconceivable a few years ago, down to which the dark furies would bring mankind.

I do feel it incumbent upon me, however, to make reference to some of the conditions of affairs now existing in countries like Germany, Austria and Italy, where there is no freedom

of association, no democracy, where liberty is in chains and thought endungedoned.

From prison torture chamber, concentration camps, from suffering homesteads and terror-stricken ghettos, and from the wretched in exile, or hastening into exile, the cry of anguish comes.

Trade Unions, Radicals, Socialists, Roman Catholics, Protestants, Jews, all under the ban of the dictatorships, all under the pressure of those monstrous tyrannies; all who were by chance born of certain parents or reared in a certain faith, or dared to give wings to their thought or voice to their longings, have, I feel, a special claim to the interest and sympathy of our International labor movement.

No people has a monopoly of all the virtues or all the vices. Nor can any section of a people lay claim to such. From out of the crucible of American history we have learned surely that racial narrowness and arrogance is simply stupidity born of ignorance. American history is also one long demonstration of the struggle for liberty, for liberty of the person without which there can be no manhood or womanhood, and liberty of thought without which there can be no progress in true nobleness of humanity. Such considerations give me confidence in speaking as I do.

How grateful I am—and I assure you all in the British labor movement are with me—for what has been done and is being done here in the United States for the victims of Fascism. Particularly are we grateful for the participation of representatives of the U.S.A. in the discovery of ways and means of helping refugees from Germany and Austria, men, women and children, robbed of their nationality, robbed of their livelihoods, robbed of their savings, insulted, maltreated, the prey of bestial cruelties. The Jews especially—why the fangs of savage hatred have been so fastened on the Jews—for uprightness, for refinement, generosity, for charity, for all the graces and virtues of humanity, it must be conceded that the Jewish people possess ample share. The Jewish contribution to the arts and sciences, to literature, to the advance of civilization, is a wonderful one. The treatment meted to these unfortunates because they are weak and defenseless, revolts all feelings of decency and all understanding.

The international situation is full of uncertainties and obscurities. What an aftermath of ruin and misery will follow the wars now in progress. The dictatorships fostering oppression, the forces of their own destruction, are certain to produce incalculable new curses. The armaments race and the trend toward war throw into lurid relief the possibility of immeasurable catastrophe. What can spring from such a situation? Still further hammer blows of reaction—still further curses of exasperated nationalism—of stifling dictatorships—of retrograde violence—of base hatreds present in all slavery—of revolution and counter revolution.

I say to you, and through you and with your aid, to the people of America, that unless exceptional measures are taken and adopted now, the very fabric of sensible life upon this earth, of law and order, religion and morality, trade and commerce, home-building and home-making, will fall into dust. The walls of our economic and social life are crumbling, they are

being subjected to battering from forces which, unless they are curbed and brought under control, will bring them to the ground. It is for us, for every understanding man and woman of the world, to hasten now with quickened conscience, to strengthen and rebuild the pillars of human society, law, normal relationship, peace, freedom and democracy.

If I could, I would with heartfelt solemnity invest the noble words of Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg address with a wider meaning. I would make the appeal of those words apply to all peoples, all races, to every man and woman. Today it is not of a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are equal, but we should speak of the whole of humanity. I would urge all men and women to brush aside from their minds all that is implied by geographical barriers like the aeroplane brushes aside the mists and clouds in its passage across oceans and continents. Mechanical advances overcome those barriers. I would urge them to rise superior to their pride of national creed. The advance in knowledge is reducing them to littleness. I would urge them to reflect upon the present state of the world and the millions of industrious folk who now inhabit it, hoping by their toil to win for themselves their human portion of peace, freedom and happiness, and I would ask them, appeal to them, to dedicate themselves with increased devotion and the fullest exercise of such powers as they possess to the cause of all the peoples.

The only way now is to create a Federation of all the nations, a mighty union of all mankind to work together, to freely exchange the products of their labor, their experience of life with its joys and sorrows, laughter and tears, their knowledge and science, literature—the only way to establish world-wide collective security and complete democracy.

I appeal in this great convention of American workers, for all to rally to the new birth of freedom so that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

President Green: I take great pleasure in presenting to you the fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It is very difficult for us to recognize any line of distinction between the economic trade union movement of Canada and of the United States. We know of no boundary line. We are indeed a united organization. The fraternal delegate from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress is a resident of Toronto. He is a Vice President of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council and is a member of the International Typographical Union. He comes here to convey to us the fraternal greetings of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress—William J. Russell.

FRATERNAL DELEGATE WILLIAM J. RUSSELL

(Canadian Trades and Labor Congress)

President Green, officers of the Executive Council, delegates to the Fifty-eighth Annual

Convention of the American Federation of Labor, honored guests and visitors:

Upon arriving in Houston Sunday afternoon, October 2nd, my mind drifted back to nineteen years ago when, as a veteran in the Canadian artillery, I was selected as one of the fifty athletes to go to Paris to assist in dedicating the Pershing Stadium. And there I had the pleasure of meeting a large number of doughboys of the American Army. That memory will linger with me until I pass on. Coming down to this great convention, that memory came to me again.

I want to take this opportunity to express to President Green, Secretary Morrison, the Executive Council, the delegates and the representatives of Houston, my pleasure in being here. The only regret I have is that my good wife is not with me.

Another thing I will bring back are the dark days between 1914 and 1918 when thousands of American citizens crossed the imaginary boundary line and joined with their Canadian brothers to fight in France. There they died, their blood intermingled, and today their bones are lying side by side in France and in Flanders. So I say that the American labor movement and the Canadian labor movement should merge to better the conditions of the workers on both sides of the boundary line.

In our last Congress held in Niagara Falls, we adopted a resolution, of which I have a copy. It was adopted and forwarded to Ottawa, and reads:

Therefore, be it resolved, that this Congress while reiterating its firm belief in collective action through the League of Nations as the most effective means of maintaining world peace, nevertheless recognizes the need to render help at this hour to those democratic countries whose independence and integrity is now being challenged; and, be it further resolved, that our government be urged to co-operate with other peace loving countries of the world in whatever steps are deemed essential to destroy the reign of terror being imposed by Nazi and Fascist dictators and thus remove this menace of international lawlessness and once more bring peace to mankind; and be it further resolved, that we call upon the Prime Minister, Right Honorable William Lyon McKenzie King to immediately convene Parliament in order to make known the policy of Canada to its people and to the world.

That is a resolution forwarded from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to Ottawa. At that particular time things certainly looked black. The only mistake we made when we stopped in 1918 was that we did not put them back over the Rhine.

Having had the distinguished honor conferred upon me by the delegates at the recent Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, of transmitting to you our fraternal greetings to this, the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, I realize the gravity of my position, as the fraternal delegate from Canada. In this hour of turmoil and international troubles that are taking place in Europe today, and from whose homes either in the present or in past generations, the majority of the

delegates to this convention can trace their ancestry.

As a Canadian, and an International Trade Unionist, I am somewhat conversant with the make-up of the organizations affiliated to this parliament of labor. I realize the momentous decisions that will be made by this Convention, that will affect the lives, happiness, and prosperity, not only of those who are organized, but that vast majority of workers, for whom organization, due to economic and brutal methods of employment, have so far been made impossible.

Yet if labor is to progress it can not refuse to recognize the just claims of the unorganized in its legislative proposals, or in any way seek at the expense of the unorganized a higher standard of living, that might in the final result jeopardize its own.

Trade unionism was born out of economic necessity. In its early years, under the Combination Acts in Great Britain, as from 1799 to 1824, it was an outlaw organization, and its members could be imprisoned and transported to the British colonies for daring to organize to better their economic position and to create the right to bargain collectively.

In the City of Toronto, in Ontario, Canada in the year 1871, The Toronto Trades Assembly, that had just then been recently formed, advocated a nine-hour working day. And because of this the Executives of my Local Union, Typographical Union No. 91, were arrested, for interfering in a conspiracy to reduce hours and increase wages, by one of the local newspaper owners. When the case came before the courts it was found, that while the Combination Acts had been repealed in Great Britain, as of 1824, in Canada the rights of labor were governed by Acts passed in the reign of Queen Anne.

However, today we have within the law certain rights and privileges as Trade Unionists in the Dominion of Canada whereby we can negotiate with employers, and can also strike and picket within the law; nevertheless legally, not being incorporated or registered bodies, we are not recognized as legal entities and cannot sue or be sued as Trade unions, but only in our individual capacity as trade unionists.

My reason for introducing these observations is that many of the members affiliated to the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada are members of International Trade Unions with headquarters in the U. S. A. and directly represented on the floor of this convention. It is well to remember that we in Canada are part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and have complete economic and political entity, making our own laws, maintaining our own defense forces and negotiating our own Trade Treaties.

Situated as we are geographically on the North American Continent, with a larger geographical area than that of the United States of America, but with a sparsely populated country, we have in the past found it necessary and desirable to identify ourselves with the economic fabric of the United States, having in mind that, due to our close relationship, we naturally do business with those who are our best customers; also the fact that International capital is invested in the

same industry in Canada as well as the U. S. A., so that wages and working conditions have their reflex in the economic prosperity of the worker in Canada, and can better be translated into action by International Trade Unionism.

We must also recognize, that there is no basic philosophy to guide labor in its onward march of progress. Just as trade unionism was born out of economic necessity, so must our progress be governed by the economic structure of society. In the early days of trade unionism, which had superseded the Guilds of the middle ages, craftsmanship was recognized in every industry, and this was the basis of early trade unionism. Modern industry is largely controlled by trusts, monopolies and mass production methods; and if labor is to maintain its supremacy as the bargaining agent for organized labor, it must continue to progress in accord with the recognized method of production, of which it is a part.

Nevertheless, it would be well to remember that the trade union movement is based upon the membership affiliated. It is democratic in its make-up, its leaders can be removed at pleasure, and its constitutions can be altered or revoked by its membership, either in convention or by referendum. Yet its basic philosophy can be found in numbers, for numbers give it strength and influence as well as increased bargaining power.

There were 46 resolutions in the Niagara convention dealing with keeping the position we have maintained in the last two years in the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, that is the status quo.

It was for this reason that our Convention went on record by an overwhelming vote, when it passed the following resolution as the resolved opinion of the International Trade Union movement in Canada, as representative of the rank and file of its membership:

"Therefore be it resolved, that this convention concurs in the desires expressed for the avoidance of division of our movement in Canada, as set forth in the 46 resolutions covering this question; and be it further resolved, that the Executive of the Congress be instructed to continue its efforts to maintain harmony within the international trade union movement in Canada in compliance with the decision of the Ottawa convention—that action taken shall be on terms acceptable to international trade unions and thus avoiding any disregard for or defiance of their laws and policies; and be it further resolved, that we call on our executive to exert every effort to the end that we may again have a unified labor movement on the North American Continent; to explore every possible avenue and lend their fullest support to all moves in this direction."

The paid-up membership of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress at the present time is 160,378, an increase of 29,273 over last year. Sixty-two international unions and four national unions are affiliated to the Congress and nine charters were issued during the past year for the setting up of District Trades Councils or Central Local Bodies.

It was in no spirit of defiance of the A. F. of L. or its leadership that we in Canada passed that resolution, but due to our proximity to the basic problems of industry, for it must be remembered that the majority of the delegates to our convention in Canada are workers from the mills, mines and factories, and in the final analysis it is they, the workers in a given industry who will decide what form of organization is best adapted to their particular needs.

Even in industry we find the employer prepared to discard a machine, not because it is not capable of production but because it is no longer suitable in a competitive market. Is it not true that organized labor has always been in the forefront of every progressive movement? Is it not true that the most advanced legislation had its inception in the ranks of organized labor? Shall we not then apply to our economic problems that progressive spirit that we try to inculcate into our legislation.

It is not my intention to attempt to instruct this convention in its deliberations, but as the fraternal delegate from Canada I think you will agree that I should try, if possible, to place before you what are the aims and aspirations of the workers in Canada.

If the organized labor movement of this continent would but take unto itself the words of President Lincoln in his first inaugural as of March 4, 1861, I believe that much misunderstanding could be dissipated as between the groups now divided. He said:

"Perpetuity is implied if not expressed in the fundamental law of all National governments. Can it be peacefully unmade by less than all the parties that made it? One party may violate it, break it so to speak, but does it not require all to lawfully rescind it? If by mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly constitutional right it might in a moral point of view justify a revolution. A majority held in restraint by constitutional checks and limitations, and always changing easily with the deliberate changes of popular opinion and sentiments, is the only true sovereign of a free people. Suppose you go to war you cannot fight always, and when after much loss on both sides and no gain on either you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are upon you."

It was the late beloved President of the American Federation of Labor, Samuel Gompers, who left this message in his concluding address at the El Paso convention of 1924, and was read to the convention by your present President William Green:

"There is no way our labor movement may be assured sustained progress in determining its policies and its plans, other than sincere democratic deliberation until a unanimous decision is reached. Do not reject the cornerstone upon which labor's structure has been builded, but base your every problem by consecrated devotion to that highest of all purposes, human, well being in the fullest, widest, deepest sense."

In Canada we are faced with the action of the Catholic Syndicate. In the action of the Premier of Quebec, Mr. Duplessis, in relation to the padlock law is such that if you have a

paper in your home that he does not approve of, he will send officers down to take it, and he can even lock up your house for a year.

In concluding let me say that we in Canada do not desire a secession movement in the ranks of the International Trade Union movement of America, of which we are a part. We desire to progress economically with the workers in the United States of America. As trade unionists in Canada we maintain that the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is supreme as the legislative mouthpiece of organized labor and we would regret it if anything was done to weaken that structure by our International Headquarters in the U.S.A. We appreciate the fact that the majority must rule in every Democratic country. But it is an axiom of government that majority rule by its appointed leaders must be based on the public opinion of its membership and therefore, in conclusion, it is my fervent hope that at the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, that wise council will prevail; so that organized labor in America and Canada, unitedly joined together in the bonds of brotherhood, of justice, of freedom, security and peace, can leave an heritage to our descendants.

As we move upward to higher levels, a wider vision of service and responsibility will unfold itself. Let us keep the faith. There is no other way. It is with this in mind, that I have addressed you this afternoon. It is because we in Canada desire to keep the faith, because we believe in voluntarism and not compulsion, because we believe in the rights of minorities, and that more can be gained by compromise than the use of force.

President Green, I trust that what I have said will be interpreted in its true perspective, for the voice and opinions of those who sent me here was not only to convey fraternal greetings, but to deliver their message to this convention of the most momentous decision at their most representative convention, and with the delegates from the principal Trades and Labor Councils and International Unions in attendance. Permit me to say, I have enjoyed your hospitality. I intend to attentively listen to your deliberations, and when I return to Canada, I hope to be able to say to those who so kindly sent me here—I was your servant, and I tried to keep the faith. And may the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man be with you in your future deliberations during this 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: In behalf of and in your name I express to the fraternal delegates from Great Britain and Canada our deep appreciation, both of their visit with us and of the messages which they brought to this convention. We have listened with rapt attention to the splendid, inspiring addresses which the fraternal delegates delivered this afternoon. I want to thank them from the bottom of my heart for these magnificent speeches which they delivered.

It occurs to me that we could well refresh our memory regarding the high note which has

always been sounded in the addresses delivered by the fraternal delegates from Great Britain. It has been a high note of idealism, realism and practicability, for I glean the impression, as you do, from the addresser delivered from time to time by the fraternal delegates that in Great Britain they have evolved a political and economic movement out of the rich experience through which they have passed for more than half a century, suitable to their needs and in accordance with economic circumstances and conditions.

We are proud of the progress which they have made. We have watched with deep interest the developments which have taken place, both along economic and political lines. I feel that no one here in America can adequately appraise the value of the great contribution the British trade union movement has made, not only to the social and economic welfare of Great Britain, but to the development of democracy and peace throughout the world.

I am happy indeed to refer just briefly to the affiliation of our great movement, both with the International Federation of Trade Unions and along with your country to the International Labor Office. It seems, indeed, providential that at the time that we affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, at a time when we stood shoulder to shoulder with the British Trade Union Congress we made a distinct contribution toward the perpetuation of high ideals in the International Federation of Trade Unions.

I repeat, it was providential that we came when we did, because in the last session of the International Federation of Trade Unions it was the American Federation of Labor which strengthened the hand and the voice and the influence of the great democratic trade unions of Great Britain in the councils in the International Federation of Trade Unions. You will never know, I think, the great service we rendered, not isolated and apart, but in co-operation with this well developed, well established, well organized economic movement in Great Britain. And I think we could firmly resolve here that it is the fixed and irrevocable purpose of the American Federation of Labor to maintain its affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, so that in years to come, passing through these troublous times, we can make our contribution along with the democracies of Europe towards the establishment and perpetuation of world peace.

I ask that the delegate of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress take back to his

colleagues and to the members of that Congress an expression of our deep appreciation and our interest in the common welfare of the members of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and to the Congress as well. In season and out of season, the members of our International Trade Unions have been making their financial, moral and economic contribution toward the welfare of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. We were in at the beginning. We have steadfastly helped to maintain it; it is the international organization started by the American Federation of Labor that contributed financial support to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress through the maintenance of the affiliation of their Canadian membership with the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

We regret indeed more than words can express the division which was created within the ranks of labor, but we disavow responsibility with it. We pleaded with those who led the secession movement to desist, to change their attitude, to come into the congress of labor and in democratic fashion decide all questions presented by majority vote. We pleaded for majority rule, for democracy, for free speech, for the perpetuation here in America of a strong, harmonious, solid labor movement. But they would not. They spurned our plea.

In the convention of the American Federation of Labor at Atlantic City they lost, upon fair vote, where the issues were presented and decided by the sovereign delegates in attendance at that convention. Ever since they have been attempting to compel the majority to accept the will and expression of the minority. We cannot yield to minority control. We have asked them to come back, we have pleaded with them, we negotiated an agreement with them which was spurned and turned aside. What can we do? What shall we do? Shall we march out of the ranks of labor, abandon our home and surrender to a minority? There is no red blooded man associated with the American Federation of Labor that would even consider for a brief moment such action or such a proposal.

Now, because of that situation here in the United States we have purged our State Federations of Labor and our Central Bodies; we have made them all American Federation of Labor units; they are firmly established, every one in the 48 states and in the thousand cities of our country, upon a sound, solid and en-

during basis—an American Federation of Labor basis.

They are not made up of contending factions. Harmony, cooperation and a singleness of purpose inspire the deliberations of these chartered American Federation of Labor units. We are going to have peace and harmony in the house of labor. That being the case, we firmly expect that the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress will do the same thing. It cannot be for the American Federation of Labor and against it; it must, if we are to continue our affiliation with it, be placed upon a sound and enduring American Federation of Labor basis.

And we ask you to convey to your representatives in Canada this message: That we are going to have a united movement within the house of the American Federation of Labor. We are waiting patiently for the expressed will of the majority, as set forth in the Atlantic City convention of the American Federation of Labor, to be accepted. When it is accepted, the unity for which we plead will rule. And is it unfair to ask that a decision rendered deliberately by a majority of the delegates in a convention shall be the law of the American Federation of Labor? My good friend, the fraternal delegate from Canada, supported that sort of a political economy when he quoted from the address of Abraham Lincoln. We cannot have two governments in America, we cannot have two governments in a state, we cannot have two governments in a city, we cannot have two governments in the house of labor.

I am inspired to make these remarks because we want our friends in Canada to know just where the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor stand upon the question of solidarity and unity and supremacy of the American Federation of Labor.

I ask the fraternal delegates here to carry back to the membership of the respective organizations the fraternal greetings of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor, our expression of continued friendship and good will and our assurance that we shall stand with them in the maintenance of democracy, of freedom, of trade unionism and the protection of all the fundamental principles of democracy and of a free government.

We hope their stay with us will be pleasant, that they will enjoy their visit with us every moment they are here, and that they will arrive back home safely carrying with them the

fondlest memories of a delightful visit spent in America.

The Chair desires to announce the appointment of Delegate M. J. McDonough, of the Operative Plasterers, upon the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

The Chair now recognizes Chairman Coefield of the Committee on Industrial Relations for a report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Chairman Coefield and Secretary Kehoe of the committee submitted the following report:

McCall Publications

Resolution No. 2.—By Delegates Edward J. Volz, Matthew Woll and Henry F. Schmal, the International Photo Engravers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Magazine Photo-Engraving Corporation of Stamford, Connecticut, is an adjunct and subsidiary of the McCall Corporation, being owned and controlled by the same interests and officers; and

WHEREAS, The Magazine Photo-Engraving Corporation was established primarily to produce the engravings used in printing the magazines published by the McCall Corporation, which include

McCALL MAGAZINE
McCALL NEEDLEWORK
McCALL QUARTERLY
McCALL COUNTER BOOK
McCALL FASHION SHEET
McCALL AD. SHEET
RED BOOK MAGAZINE
BLUE BOOK MAGAZINE; and

WHEREAS, The Magazine Photo-Engraving Corporation has persistently refused to deal with any legitimate or recognized Union of the Labor Movement and during the last year fostered and entered into an agreement with an organization of its employees, which organization cannot be regarded as other than a Company Union; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the publications of the McCall Corporation

McCALL MAGAZINE
McCALL NEEDLEWORK
McCALL QUARTERLY
McCALL COUNTER BOOK
McCALL FASHION SHEET
McCALL AD. SHEET
RED BOOK MAGAZINE
BLUE BOOK MAGAZINE

be declared unfair by the American Federation of Labor; and be it further

RESOLVED, That all State and City Central Bodies be notified of the unfair attitude of the McCall Corporation and the action taken by this 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in declaring these publications unfair, and that these State and City Central Bodies be requested to cooperate in discouraging the purchase of any of the aforementioned publications and magazines, and the further request that a letter

to this effect be forwarded to the McCall Corporation at 230 Park Avenue, New York City, by each of these organizations, also by individual members, subscribers and others interested in the cause of labor.

Your Committee has carefully considered Resolution No. 2 and expresses complete sympathy in the objective sought. Unquestionably organized labor and its friends should only patronize such publications as manifest a fair, helpful and cooperative attitude toward organized labor and every possible effort should be made to bring about this mutually beneficial relationship.

However, the American Federation of Labor should not be called on to direct such efforts toward any concern until first an attempt has been made by the officers of the American Federation of Labor to adjust the grievances complained of.

It is therefore the judgment of your Committee that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of attempting an adjustment and failing to do so then to notify organized labor and its many affiliated bodies of the cause for such failure and for the purpose of advising labor how best to direct its patronage and in channels fair to labor.

The Committee recommends the approval of this procedure.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Signed:

JOHN COEFIELD
CHARLES D. DUFFY
JOSEPH S. FAY
CHARLES J. CASE
HARRY MILTON
JOHN C. SWEENEY
JOHN O'ROURKE
JOSEPH J. KEHOE
CHARLES POE
CHARLES N. PAULSEN
JAMES CLOSE
WALTER C. BROOKS
E. Z. HARRIS
W. W. BRITTON
JOHN LUNDERGAN
MICHAEL DWYER
JOHN P. NICK
THOMAS CAIRNS
LEO FISCHER

Committee on Industrial Relations.

Chairman Coefield: For the first time that I know of in the history of the American Federation of Labor this committee has only one resolution to act upon. This is all of the report of the committee up until the present time, and I move the adoption of the report as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair desires to announce that we will have some distinguished speakers tomorrow. Father Maguire, an old friend of ours, will address the convention tomorrow morning, and several others. I hope you will all see to it that you are here in the

morning for the purpose of listening to these splendid addresses that are inspiring and educational.

At 5:00 o'clock, no other business coming before the convention upon motion of Delegate Madsen the rules be suspended, and the convention adjourned to 9:30 a.m., Thursday October 6.

RESOLUTIONS

Co-Operation of A. F. of L. Labor Housing Committees Essential to Success of Purposes of Housing Act.

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates Joseph A. McInerney, and Herbert Rivers, of A. F. of L. Building and Construction Trades Department.

In accordance with the action of the convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, we submit the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The low-rent housing and slum-clearance program provided for in the United States Housing Act of 1937 is now well under way, and is reaching the stage of actual construction; and

WHEREAS, Although the Housing Act represents a great legislative victory for labor, and constitutes a first concrete step toward the solution of the housing problem, it was finally passed with certain cuts and amendments which seriously limit the scope of the Act and may even prevent action in many localities, and which will necessitate further legislative action under labor leadership in the next session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, Successful operation of the Housing Act, to insure permanently increased employment of building trades workers and the eventual construction of an adequate supply of low-rent homes to meet the acute housing shortage and fulfill the needs of low-income workers families, depends absolutely on the active and responsible participation of local labor organizations in every step of the program from appointment of local housing authorities to initiation, construction and management of housing projects; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations shall take all necessary steps to guarantee such amendment of the Housing Act at the earliest possible moment as may seem advisable to guarantee the continuity and extension of the program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the appointment of local Labor Housing Committees by Building Trades Councils and Central Bodies, to co-operate

with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, as urged by the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935, shall be continued on a broader scale; and that such Labor Housing Committees shall insure satisfactory labor representation on all local housing authorities, and shall take an active and responsible part in all local housing activities under the Housing Act, including the proper initiation and management of projects as well as the safeguarding of fair wages and working conditions during construction; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution shall be introduced into the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Building Trades.

Protesting Ordinance of Shasta County, California, Requiring Licensing of Labor Organizations and Representatives to Carry on Activities.

Resolution No. 127—By Delegates Joseph A. McInerney and Herbert Rivers, A. F. of L. Building and Construction Trades Department.

In accordance with the action of the Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, we submit the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the Board of Supervisors of the County of Shasta, State of California, did adopt the following ordinance in regular session of said Board the 25th day of July, 1938:

"The Board of Supervisors of the County of Shasta, State of California, do ordain as follows, to-wit:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation, whether as principal, clerk, servant, agent or employee, outside of the limits of any incorporated city of the County of Shasta, by force, violence, menace, threat, intimidation, coercion or corrupt means, either directly or indirectly, to seek, solicit, induce, or attempt to seek, solicit or induce, any person to join or take membership in any labor union or organization of employees or any other organization, or by force, violence, threat, intimidation, coercion or corrupt means, either directly or

indirectly, to seek, solicit or induce, or attempt to seek, solicit or induce, any employer or other person to compel or induce any employee or any other person to join or take membership in any labor union or organization of employees or any other organization.

SECTION 2. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation, whether as principal, clerk, servant, agent or employee, outside of the limits of any incorporated city in the County of Shasta, to solicit or obtain membership of any employee of any employer in any labor union or organization of employees without first having procured a license to do so, as in this ordinance provided.

SECTION 3. The Board of Supervisors is hereby designated as a licensing board for the issuance of license under this ordinance.

SECTION 4. Any person desiring a license to engage in or carry on the work of soliciting membership as herein provided shall make application in writing to the Board of Supervisors upon such forms as may be provided by said Board of Supervisors, a copy of which shall at all times be attached to said license.

SECTION 5. Said application shall be left with the Clerk of said Board of Supervisors. Notice of the time and place of hearing of said application by said Board of Supervisors shall be given by publication in said County for not less than once a week for four successive weeks prior to the date of said hearing.

SECTION 6. Upon said hearing the said Board of Supervisors shall receive evidence and determine whether said applicant is of good moral character, and is likely to use force, violence, threats, menace, coercion, intimidation or corrupt means in his proposed work of solicitation. If the Board of Supervisors are satisfied that said applicant is of good moral character and will not resort to force, violence, threat, menace, coercion, intimidation or corrupt means in his proposed work of solicitation, it shall direct the issuance of a license to said applicant for said purpose of solicitation upon payment of the license fee herein provided for.

SECTION 7. Each person to whom a license is issued hereunder shall pay to the County of Shasta for each period of one quarter a license fee in the sum of \$25.00.

SECTION 8. Any license to be issued hereunder shall be issued by the Tax Collector of the County of Shasta, State of California, upon payment to him in advance of the license fee hereinabove set forth. All money received in payment of said license fee shall be paid into the General Fund of the County of Shasta by the Tax Collector.

SECTION 9. No license issued under this ordinance shall be assignable or transferable nor shall it authorize any person, firm or corporation, other than the one named in the license, to do such business of solicitation.

The photograph of such licensee shall be at all times attached to said license and shall be exhibited by said licensee to any person solicited for membership thereunder prior to any solicitation of membership authorized by said license.

SECTION 10. Each separate act in violation of any provision of this ordinance shall constitute a separate offense, and every person, firm or corporation violating any of the provisions of this ordinance shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding \$500.00 or by imprisonment in the County Jail of the County of Shasta for not exceeding six months, or by both fine and imprisonment.

SECTION 11. This ordinance is hereby declared to be enacted in the exercise of the police power of the County of Shasta, State of California, if any section, sentence, clause or phrase of this ordinance shall be declared invalid, such declaration shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this ordinance. The Board of Supervisors hereby declare that it would have passed this ordinance and each section, sentence, clause and phrase thereof irrespective of the fact that any one or more sections, sentences, clauses or phrases is declared unconstitutional or otherwise invalid.

SECTION 12. This ordinance is hereby declared to be an urgency measure necessary for the immediate preservation of public health and safety and should be put into full force and effect immediately upon its adoption. The facts constituting such urgency measure are as follows:

Because of the proposed construction of Shasta Dam hundreds of laboring men and organizers are migrating to this county and many unauthorized labor organizers and agitators are preying upon the bona fide and law-abiding labor factions, thereby causing a grave problem of kindred matters and in a manner detrimental to the general welfare of the County of Shasta, all of which would cause irreparable damage to the peace, health, safety and morals of the County and its inhabitants" and

WHEREAS, the institution of such fees specified in this ordinance is nothing more than subterfuge to aid enemies of organized labor to destroy the activities of bona fide trade unions in this country and if permitted to go unchallenged will spread to other sections of this United States; therefore, be it

RESOLVED. That the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning this ordinance in the most emphatic terms and condemn such vicious, detrimental legislation which has for its purpose the suppression of bona fide trade union activities and the denial of the constitutional rights of the individual members thereof.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Fourth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Houston, Texas,
October 6, 1938.

The convention was called to order by President Green at 9:45 o'clock.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDewitt, Mabce, Metzzer, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose, Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

President Green: Rabbi Kahn will pronounce the invocation this morning.

INVOCATION

(Rabbi Robert I. Kahn, Congregation Beth Israel)

Our God and Father, Thou art the source of all our inspiration. Thou art the goal of our strivings. To Thee we turn for guidance. May Thy spirit rest upon us this day as we deliberate on practical problems and practical solutions to those problems. May we never lose sight of the ideals which Thou hast implanted within us. Help us to see all men as our brothers, so that not in rivalry, in envy and in hatred, but in forbearance and loving kindness we may resolve our differences and end our quarrels. May we learn to rise above our narrow interests and the interests of our group alone and keep in mind ever the welfare and the happiness of all God's children. And may the meditations of our hearts, the words of our mouths, and the work of our hands be acceptable in Thy sight, oh Lord, Our Rock and Redeemer.

Announcements

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee on Organization, for an announcement.

Vice President Duffy: I want the members of the Committee on Organization to meet me immediately in the corner of the hall. We have one matter to dispose of, and as soon as we do that then we will be ready to submit our report to the convention.

Local Committee Announcement

Chairman Stokes, of the Local Committee on Arrangements, asked the ladies who expected to attend the Spanish luncheon to meet outside the convention hall upon adjournment, where transportation would be waiting.

A further announcement was made to the effect that arrangements had been made to broadcast the World Series during the noon hour for the benefit of the delegates who wished to remain.

Attention was again called to the rodeos on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, to the fact that Horwitz theaters are open to the ladies attending the convention until 6:00 o'clock in the evening, and that the trip to San Jacinto Battlefield had been postponed from Tuesday, October 11, to Wednesday, October 12. He requested that all those who intended to take the trip register.

With reference to entertainment for the colored delegates, he said:

For the colored delegation, they will be taken care of on these various events, and for Sunday quite a comprehensive program has been planned. They would like to have you get in touch with their headquarters at 11:00 o'clock in the morning, at the Odd Fellows' Temple. They have things planned to keep you busy all afternoon, and in the evening at 7:00 o'clock you will be guests of the Prairie View College, a colored college about thirty miles from here that we are very proud of.

President Green: The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Credentials.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Delegate Ilor, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Your Credentials Committee has had before it the question of the seating of the newly elected delegates representing the International Typographical Union at this convention. The position is unique in the manner in which it comes before your Credentials Committee. This large organization is paid as to its per capita tax in full and up to date. Because of its laws the special assessment as levied by the Denver Convention has not yet been properly before its general membership and hence has not been paid.

We have before us a statement from these newly elected delegates headed by Claude M. Baker, President of the International Typographical Union which is self-explanatory and reads as follows:

"To the Executive Council,
American Federation of Labor.
Gentlemen:

"The duly elected delegates of the International Typographical Union to the American Federation of Labor Convention desire to briefly outline their position on the question of being seated in this Convention.

"We are not disposed to argue from a legalistic standpoint. Neither do we believe it would be helpful to refer to past happenings which have brought about the situation now existing. We firmly believe that continued exercise of tolerance affords the best opportunity to solve a difficult problem.

"Sensing that the members of the Executive Council are thoroughly familiar with what has been done, there need be no attempt to review. We realize that if the Executive Council had pursued a purely legalistic policy, that under the constitution of the American Federation of Labor, our organization would have been suspended some months ago.

"We are appreciative of the fact that the Executive Council has preferred to follow a policy of equity and forbearance. We respectfully suggest that a continuance of that same policy is perhaps the only way in which a satisfactory solution can be attempted with a reasonable hope for success.

"It will require several months to obtain a definite determination of the future relationship between the International Typographical Union and the American Federation of Labor.

"Under our laws, a referendum of the membership must be held before the obligations imposed by the Federation can be liquidated. We are optimistic as to the approval by the membership of a recommendation that the assessments levied by the American Federation of Labor be paid.

"It is not within our power to guarantee the outcome of such a referendum. However, we do believe that denial of representation to the International Typographical Union in this Convention would, in all probability, lay the foundation for a complete and prolonged severance between the two organizations.

"On the other hand, we cannot believe that the American Federation of Labor will suffer adversely by delaying final action for a brief period.

"If our membership refuses to authorize its executive officers to discharge all financial obligations to the American Federation of Labor, there can be no question as to the propriety of definite and final action by the Federation officers before another Convention is held.

"Imposition of the penalty for delinquency provided by Federation laws would handicap seriously those who seek to heal the schism. Through keeping open every door, it is hoped that within six months a satisfactory settlement can be effected.

"The undersigned delegates of the International Typographical Union will exert every effort to secure approval of their position by its membership.

"We realize there is a definite value in affiliation with the Federation. We are convinced that continued affiliation of the International Typographical Union is of inestimable value to the American Federation of Labor. Every resource should be exhausted to preserve the values which have existed since the formation of the Federation. We feel that denial of representation at this time would undoubtedly lead to severance of all relationship. The result would be detrimental to all concerned.

"Unquestionably, those who have fostered discord would consider the suspension of the International Typographical Union as a damaging blow to the American Federation of Labor. And those who seek to avoid a severance of affiliation would be handicapped once the prevailing tie was broken.

Claude M. Baker
Glenn L. Mitchell
Nicholas M. DiPietro
Wm. H. Harris
Elmer David Manning
Henry E. Clemens."

In the light of the foregoing, your Committee recommends the seating of this delegation.

Respectfully submitted,
LEO. E. GEORGE
Chairman
W. J. MORAN
HENRY C. ILER
Secretary
Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Iler: I move that the recommendation of the committee be accepted and the delegates seated.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Weber, Musicians, and by Delegate Moran, Bricklayers.

Vice President Tobin: I am not going to oppose the motion before the convention. I want, however, to clarify my position as a representative of an international union before the motion is carried.

There are no two laws in this convention governing the convention. There is no law in this Federation that has the right to show any favoritism to one organization above another. All organizations, whether they are big or small, are subject to the same rights and privileges. Should there be any discrimination applied, it should be applied to the Typographical Union, because it is one of the oldest unions in connection with this Federation.

The law of this Federation clearly sets out—and I happened to be Chairman of the Committee on Laws for many years—that no organization can be seated in this con-

vention unless their per capita tax and assessments are paid. There is no danger, there is no possible chance of misinterpreting that section of the constitution. That is clear. There is no court in the land or in labor that can question the intent and the purpose of that section of the constitution. If we set aside this constitution—and I hold that this convention has not the power to do so legally—then we throw the door open for any other organizations to ask for the same privilege.

There are some organizations now in this Federation that are grumbling about paying their assessment. There are always men in the labor movement who grumble. They want it all their way. You will find that in the rank and file of the membership, you will find it in our local unions, you will find it in the international unions. But if you want to set aside the laws that you have made without legal authority to do so, you are placing a premium on the evasion of the law.

Nobody outside their own membership understands the difficulties and the false misrepresentation of facts and the agitation that has gone on in the International Typographical Union better than I do. I have met with their officers for many years in Indianapolis, where their headquarters are located. I have known their officials intimately for 32 or 33 years, and I hold that the rank and file of the membership of the International Typographical Union are not so dumb that they did not know what they were voting on when the question was submitted to them by the late President of the International Typographical Union.

The International Typographical Union has all kinds of money and all kinds of power to levy assessments. We haven't that power in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. We cannot levy assessments. We cannot raise our per capita tax. We get a per capita tax of one cent a member per day from our international unions. Compare that with the tax of the International Typographical Union, and you will find that we paid into this Federation last year \$74,000 in per capita tax out of our one cent a day per capita. The International Typographical Union, that was an organization before we started, paid in \$7,400, or something in that neighborhood. If we could manage to pay our \$74,000 or \$75,000 in accordance with

this law in order to be seated, there isn't any reason why the International Typographical Union membership should not pay theirs. You must have done the same thing.

I just want to make it very clear that if this motion is adopted, with the explanations that have been made, we are not setting aside the law, that these delegates will be seated and recognized, and given a chance for a period of five or six months in order to right the wrong which has been done by the membership of the International Typographical Union in their referendum vote, and in their failure to comply with the laws of the American Federation of Labor.

This convention must recognize, first, that it has not the right to set aside the law; next, that these delegates from the International Typographical Union, if they are seated here, are seated as a matter of courtesy and on probation.

I have talked to President Green on this matter. I got to the convention city yesterday afternoon and also talked to President Baker, and he and his associates have assured me that if they are not successful in convincing the rank and file of their membership, as to the wisdom of obeying the laws of this Federation, they will not seek admission as delegates to this convention next year. Am I quoting you correctly?

President Green: Yes.

Vice President Tobin: Under those circumstances, if it is humanly possible, I would be willing to strain a point, in order to be helpful to the newly elected officers, but I still hold it is an absolute injustice to this Federation to have one of its oldest affiliated organizations refuse to comply with the laws of this Federation and then seek admission here as delegates. Personally I have the highest regard for these men. That is not the question at issue. The question at issue is whether or not we are complying with the laws of the Federation by seating delegates from any union that has not complied with that constitution and paid all their tax and assessments in order to be entitled to seats in this convention.

I don't want to throw the door open to some other organization to come in here next year and say, "You seated the International Typographical Union." If you adopt the motion with the explanation made, it must not be understood that the door is open to

other organizations to follow likewise. It must be understood that the delegates from the Typographical Union have pledged themselves—they do not give you any guarantee because they cannot give you a guarantee that their membership will comply with their request and permit them to pay their legal dues to this Federation, as per the constitution—but they do give you the guarantee or the promise, or they make the statement that if you will give them a chance for six months—they are pleading with you to give them an opportunity, they are pleading with you not to throw them out of this convention, they are asking you to give them a period of probation for six months, and then they say, "If we fail we won't ask you to seat us next year."

Under those circumstances I don't believe we are seriously injuring ourselves, although I don't like the procedure. Perhaps we may help them if we adopt the motion as it is made.

President Green: May I impose upon your patience for a moment while I set forth, if I can, in a simple and definite way the facts connected with the proposal to seat the delegates from the International Typographical Union in this convention? I presume that all the delegates in attendance at this convention have been and are informed of the developments which have taken place during the last two years in this splendid old organization which has been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor for 58 consecutive years. The circumstances and conditions which arose are unfortunate, very unfortunate, and it is not my purpose to go into the details of the matter in a comprehensive way.

But under the laws of the International Typographical Union the membership of the international organization are very properly the court of last resort. The laws provide that the membership of the International Typographical Union shall vote upon certain questions when properly and constitutionally submitted, and the vote of the membership in a referendum election is final. That is the supreme court of that organization. There is no appeal from that decision.

Following the adjournment of the Denver convention the officers in charge of the International Typographical Union submitted to the membership the question as to whether

the membership of the International Typographical Union would pay the assessment legally levied by the convention of the American Federation of Labor. I have been told that the matter was submitted in a way that created confusion in the minds of the membership of the International Typographical Union. At any rate, the membership voted against the payment of the assessment.

In about four or five weeks another referendum was held in the International Typographical Union. That referendum provided for the election of officers, an anti-American Federation of Labor issue. It was submitted to the membership, and the splendid membership of the International Typographical Union voted for the American Federation of Labor by a decisive majority. It elected a new administration, a new set of officers pledged to support affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

In the election of delegates to represent the International Typographical Union in this convention the issue was drawn. Two sets of delegates were submitted for referendum vote, one set of delegates who publicly announced they were for the American Federation of Labor, another set of delegates anti-American Federation of Labor. All six of the American Federation of Labor delegates were elected, and they are here asking that we seat them in this convention.

Unfortunately, the officers were handicapped. They were confronted by a decision rendered through a referendum vote. This new administration took charge of the affairs of the International Typographical Union about 60 days ago. They haven't had time to correct the mistake which was made, but they have assured us that it is their determined purpose to try with all the power at their command to correct the mistake that was made at the earliest possible moment.

As a result of that another referendum vote will be held within the near future. The supreme court of the International Typographical Union will be asked to set aside the decision which was rendered last spring. The officers of the International Typographical Union firmly believe and hope that the rank and file will set aside the vote that was taken last spring. They have pledged us that if the rank and file will respond and set aside the action taken last spring they will immediately pay to Secretary-Treasurer Mor-

rison every dollar of indebtedness due the American Federation of Labor.

If, on the other hand, the unexpected happens and the vote of last spring is sustained, then the International Typographical Union is definitely out of the American Federation of Labor and cannot and will not ask for representation in future conventions of the American Federation of Labor until all indebtedness has been paid.

There are the facts. President Tobin is right. From a legalistic point of view these delegates are not entitled to representation in this convention. If the law was applied in a rigid way, if we had not taken into account this extraordinary situation that has been created, then they would not be entitled to seats in this convention. But we are realistic men. We know that we must face realism and facts. The facts are that this administration has not had the time to change what was previously done. They are going to do it. They promised to do it so far as they are able, and if they succeed then the indebtedness will be paid.

We are not exonerating them from the payment of it. We are not wiping out the indebtedness due. We are charging it against them, but we are not so foolish in these days, when a dual, secession movement is attempting to raid us, as to drive organizations out of the American Federation of Labor.

Now, plainly speaking, these delegates are seated conditionally. As President Tobin has well said, they are on probation if this motion is adopted. We are telling the membership of the International Typographical Union that this great convention of the American Federation of Labor understands the meaning of the words tolerance, brotherhood and fraternity. We are extending the helping hand to our friends in the International Typographical Union, and we believe by extending the helping hand to our friends that we will confound our enemies there.

I can imagine there is no one connected with the International Typographical Union, inside of it or outside of it, who might be our enemies if they are there, who may be among those who are against us, who would be more pleased than for this convention to say to this delegation, "You can't sit with us." They would be pleased, but our friends would be unhappy.

I have pondered over this question. It has been a tremendous problem to me, because

I want to preserve the integrity of our law. I don't want to offer to any union affiliated with us an excuse for refusing to pay tax and assessments due us. If it was ordinary, if it was a normal situation where an organization having the right to pay us, in no way prevented by any legal barrier from paying us, would refuse to pay us, I would say, "You can't be seated here," but it is different when a group comes saying, "I will pay if I can, I will remove the barrier and I will pay, the barrier is there and I can't surmount it now: give me an opportunity to remove it, and as soon as it is removed I will pay to your organization every dollar of indebtedness due you, and if I can't, then I will advise you and we will not come to you with a request for admission again."

Now it is upon that basis that I favor the seating of these delegates in this convention. We will strengthen the hands of the International Typographical Union, the new administration. We will put a powerful argument in the mouths of our friends. We will meet the requirements of an extraordinary situation. We will do the fine thing, and nobody will be hurt, and everybody, in my judgment, will be helped.

But I want the members of the International Typographical Union to know that our action here in seating the delegates, if this report is adopted, simply means that the time for the payment of your tax and assessments to the American Federation of Labor has been extended. We will give you an opportunity to pay. If you pay, all is well. If you don't, you cannot be seated in future conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

These are the facts, and I think we will do the big thing, the fine thing, the manly thing, the thing that will please our friends everywhere, if we vote to adopt the report of the Committee on Credentials.

Delegate Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers: As a former active member of the International Typographical Union No. 23, of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and now an honorary member of that organization, I would be highly pleased to see that these delegates under these conditions are seated. It may mean, as it has been said, the annihilation of the constitution, but let it be that the law and the demand of this convention be the constitution in this case.

President Green: May I ask if Delegate Baker would like to make a short statement

to the convention--President Baker, of the International Typographical Union.

MR. CLAUDE M. BAKER

(President, International Typographical Union)

President Green, and Friends—I personally and my colleagues, appreciate to the utmost the courtesy extended in permitting one who is not a delegate as yet to speak to this convention. With very little exception, none of a major nature, I can agree with everything that has been said. I, perhaps better than anyone else, know how the schisms which at present exist have been brought about.

President Green was in error in only one remark. He said the new administration of the International Typographical Union had been in office perhaps sixty days. As a matter of fact, it is 86 days today. My position, as explained to your officers, was, that this situation needed the leavening effect of time.

From the first I was the lone voice in the official family of the I. T. U. who advocated that we comply with the decisions of the American Federation of Labor, which affected equally each and every organization. I am not at all disinclined at times to oppose measures or men when I think either is wrong, but in this instance I know something of the highly organized campaign of propaganda launched to misrepresent the situation to our membership.

I branded the referendum in writing—it is a matter of record—as a fraudulent and a trick referendum. I said that the ballot on which our members voted was so adroitly drawn that had I been in my home town and permitted to vote I would have been compelled to vote against my wishes, or else stultify myself.

Our members were misled by those in whom they had a right to have confidence, to look for a truthful presentation of the facts in the situation, to believe that the very life of our organization was threatened. I opposed that view then and I oppose it now.

President Green has told you we cannot say that within four or five months every obligation we owe to the American Federation of Labor, legal or moral, will be liquidated. I stated to our convention, held less than a month ago in Birmingham, that this was a moral question and that the least that could

be done was that our obligations be liquidated to the time our membership said "No." I hold that the reputation of the International Typographical Union is worth more than any paltry sum. Were it \$50,000.00 I would say liquidate it and if necessary withdraw as men withdraw. I hope the time never comes when the International Typographical Union is,—figuratively speaking,—kicked out of the American Federation of Labor.

I know something of how this was brought about. I stated in Birmingham that to me it smacked of the greatest hypocrisy that our officials would go through the country with a commission in one pocket from the American Federation of Labor and with a commission from a dual organization in the other pocket, misleading our members, misleading the public, and I am frank to say to you now that in the event the referendum, which we hope will be before us in less than the statutory time of four months for the submission of the referendum, the membership will have an opportunity to speak. If the membership speaks adversely, disagrees with the recommendations of those in whom it has lodged the responsibility for advising the members, then I say to you frankly that I for one will not knock at the door of the American Federation of Labor until such time as we knock, as will every other organization, in complete understanding and entitled to representation.

I know that your law, if strictly adhered to, would have meant that we would not be here today. I know that the time comes when tolerance ceases to be a virtue. I submitted to the Credentials Committee one viewpoint which stands uppermost in my mind, and that is that law should be tempered with equity. We have legal problems in our organization. Many times if we heeded strictly to the letter of the law the situation which later was composed quite satisfactorily would have been hopelessly lost.

We are not pleading poverty. I hope the day will never come when the International Typographical Union cannot liquidate any obligation which it has accepted, and it accepted the obligation when it affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and it should liquidate that obligation until such time as our organization says we will no longer be a member of the American Federation of Labor.

If I thought this established a dangerous

precedent in the American Federation of Labor, I would have gracefully withdrawn and not even come to Houston. I do not believe it establishes a dangerous precedent. I say quite frankly to you that if I thought that rejection of the credentials of myself and those who are associated with me would help to solve this problem I would say, "Reject them." We have no panaceas we are here to promote. The chief thing we are interested in is to bring about unity, and we cannot bring about unity by additional severances, if those severances can in any way be prevented.

Now, six months is a short time in the life of any organization. We will know perhaps in less than six months—the machinery has been set in motion—what our future will be, and even though our future will not be with you, I hope to live to see the day when we will be back with you, but I do not contemplate that six months from now we will be separated from you.

I think I know something of the sentiments of the members of the International Typographical Union when the clear-cut question is put before them, not a question designed to misrepresent and mislead, but one submitted in all honesty. I will say to you that when the question is submitted to our membership it will be a clear-cut question which our membership will determine. It will determine what its future relationship will be, and it will be definitely recommended with all the power at our command. Speaking for those who have fought to remain in the American Federation of Labor, it will carry an unqualified recommendation that the best interests of the printers of the North American continent lies in affiliation with the bona fide labor movement of North America.

We have had secession in our ranks. Never as long as I have anything to say about it will the International Typographical Union bare itself to any charge of secession or dualism. I say to you quite frankly that our organization has problems that perhaps no other organization seated in this convention has. While we move slowly—to you it may seem exasperatingly slow—we cannot move in any other way, and I accept the statement that this is merely an extension of probation, because I, too, can read your constitution and law and I recognize that we have been on probation since some time last spring, because your law says that whenever an organization

is delinquent for assessment or assessments it shall be notified of suspension at the end of three months. It has only been by an exercise of tolerance which has amazed me at times that no action has been taken which would have widened the breach and perhaps required years to heal.

We don't know what we can say to you in six months, but we are very hopeful that within six months we can say it in the most substantial and convincing way in the world, and that is by liquidating every legal and moral obligation which can justly be charged against our organization.

I am highly appreciative, as I said, of being permitted to speak to a convention to which neither myself nor my colleagues have as yet been seated as delegates. Thank you, President Green.

President Green: The question occurs upon the adoption of the report of the Credentials Committee.

The motion to adopt the report of the Credentials Committee was adopted.

President Green: The Chair rules that, in accordance with the adoption of the motion by this convention, the delegates from the International Typographical Union are duly seated and have conferred upon them all the rights and privileges of delegates to this convention.

We have a special order of business this morning. Our very good friend Archbishop Byrne of Galveston consented to deliver an address to the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention this morning. You will recall that he graciously pronounced the invocation here at our opening session. Because of his standing, his sympathetic attitude toward us, I especially invited him to come and address the convention. He is here. I will ask a committee from this convention to escort him to the platform. I will appoint on that committee Vice-President Duffy, President McBride of the Texas State Federation of Labor, and Delegate McGann of the Houston Central Trades Council.

Then we have another distinguished visitor here who will address the convention, perhaps following the address of Archbishop Byrne. I invited Senator James J. Davis of Pennsylvania to attend and address this convention. He accepted our invitation and is here. We

will endeavor to arrange for him to address the convention within a short time. I will appoint a committee representing the convention to serve as an escort to Senator Davis. I will appoint Vice-President Brown, President Collieran of the Operative Plasterers, and Delegate Burch, representing the Philadelphia Central Labor Union.

I think perhaps the committee will find the Senator seated with the plumbers' delegation in this convention. Why he is seated with the plumbers' delegation I don't understand at all, but he is there. Perhaps he can explain to you why he is there. The committee just appointed will find him among the plumbers' delegates and escort him to the platform.

(The committee appointed by President Green escorted Bishop Byrne to the platform.)

President Green: Archbishop Byrne has a great standing as a representative of a great religious organization, a scholar, a philosopher, a great humanitarian. He resides at Galveston, and under his administration the splendid diocese over which he presides has been built up to a high point of efficiency and to a high standard. He is beloved by all people, regardless of religious affiliation. He belongs to all of us. He speaks our language, he is our friend.

I present to you this morning Archbishop Byrne of Galveston.

RT. REV. C. E. BYRNE

(Bishop of the Diocese of Galveston, Texas)

Gentlemen:

I am thankful for the invitation of your wise and forceful President, Mr. Green, which gives me the opportunity of addressing you this morning.

I shall not long delay your proceedings, for you have work before you in this convention that is fraught with well-being, not only for yourselves and the millions of your fellow labor unionists, but that may be laden with happiness and prosperity for our whole country.

As Bishop of the Diocese of Galveston, of which this city of Houston is a part, I wish to join my welcome to those so well spoken by the Governor, and the Mayor, and the various heads of local Labor Unions to you on last Monday. And, as a Bishop of the Catholic Church, I need not tell you that the encouragement and sympathy of that ancient Church are with you.

There has never been penned a plea and a demand for social justice more clear and cogent and uncompromising, than is found in the Letter of Pope Leo XIII, "On the Con-

dition of Labor"; and, forty years after in the commemorative and corroborative letter of the present Pope Pius XI on, "Reconstructing the Social Order."

The pleas and principles of your action; the rights and conditions of labor you demand; your stand for the worker, ever to be a man, and free, and never a tool of industry, nor a chattel of trade, are of the very soul of the combat fought for the toiler in these two great letters. Paragraph after paragraph of either might serve you as a charter, or become the ground work of a Constitution for you. They form a "Bill of Rights" for the poor man and the laborer that has never been excelled.

Your fine organization had not yet seen its teens, when nearly fifty years ago, the luminous pronouncement of Leo XIII startled a smug world satisfied to enjoy the emoluments of hard driven labor, while it left the laborer and his family to possess their hovels and its attendant starvation and degradation.

With piercing words he pricked the cold, hard cover of indifference of the favored few in the great family of men; while at the same time he warned the suffering and the down-trodden against the wolves in sheep's clothing who would devour and destroy that gospel upon the teaching of which alone men have equality, and from which they derive a dignity never before enjoyed till He who preached it joined in His Divine Person the nature of God and the nature of man. A more solid and straighter road for the march of man's rights across the perilous centuries can never be laid out than that which places all mankind in the following of Him who is, "The Way, the Truth, and the Life."

A little more than half a century ago when Labor was striving to arise from the depths into which it had been sunk by the greed and heartlessness of overlords—a condition which made the laborer easy victim because of the loss of the old time craft guilds—temptations and bewilderments and pitfalls beset the endeavor such as dogged the weary steps of God's wandering people, long ago, in the desert. Here and there golden calves were set up to lure the laborer and to stay his progress towards the Land of Promise flowing with the milk of human kindness and the sweet honey of God's eternal justice.

Liberalism sought to satisfy him, concordats of men's making, in which God had no voice. And Socialism urged him to sit into the enjoyments of a banquet, prepared by the State; for the world had no mightier power, there was no other host to invite him to a place at the table, he was told.

Leo XIII boldly attacked the liberalism so dangerous in his day, because it left the laborer little better off than the thorn-crowned and rope-bound Christ before Pilate. And Socialism he exposed in its dishonest presumption when he taught that, "It is only by the labor of the working man that the State grows rich." And, why should the State any more than the conscienceless capitalist seize the fruit of man's labor, and deal it out to him like alms, the while a trumpet

sounded on the corner to attract notice to the deed.

Pope Pius XI has carried that warning down to date, against the insidious attacks of Communism. And it was a heartening note that your National President sounded in his opening speech last Monday when his voice rang out against the danger of Communism, and against those of Fascism, and Nazism, when in this land they attempt to assail a government, "of the people, and for the people, and by the people," which is Americanism.

The whole country deeply regrets the rift that has come in your ranks, but no matter what the loss, stand for truth and principle.

It may be that the old slogan is sounded, "divide and conquer." But principles are stronger, for they are of God and eternal; while slogans are of man's formation, and like the grass of the field are today and tomorrow cast into the fire.

Peace is a great desire; but peace at any price is always purchased at a losing price. If ever you needed the strength so well expressed in a word of common use among yourselves, it is now. Brotherhood; let it bind you like the sons of Jacob. May I say you need more thrift in your rank and file. The leisure that is coming to you in the shorter hours of work might well be prolonged in other employment for yourselves that would be a diversion. Leisure that goes continuously to idleness or pleasure seeking may not be a blessing and may open a field for too great spending. It would seem that an ardent effort to become a home owner would fill many of these hours with genuine pleasure, and by its success produce lasting profit. So many of the additions that rim our American cities are the dwelling places of working men, where little plots of land could be made garden spots from which the man with the hoe could give fresh offerings for his table without raiding his slowly mounting savings account. And who would under-rate the good that would come from orderly and well directed reading, to kill a leisure hour. From this so often come the self made men who always stand as leaders.

Will you allow me to refer to an enemy offering insult to the laborer today? I mean the so called birth control movement. It mounds its hypocritical condolence for the poor worn wife and mother, and the poor man bent in day long labor. It offers its degrading, and unnaturalizing products at a price that has already run the annual profits of its racket up into the millions; but, its maudlin pity has never yet moved it to share with the poor that it robs of more than money. Nor, has its voice ever been heard in favor of what you are striving for under your program. Good children are not of blood alone. Virtue makes character.

Too, may I say to you that state's rights ought to be sacred to you. Be slow to run to Washington, for what your own State Legislature can accomplish for you. It is a great evil and an injustice for a larger and higher organization to arrogate to itself

what can be efficiently performed by smaller and lower bodies. Disregard for this principle has led to the formation of the giant corporations that amass wealth for the stock and bond holders, and leave the wage earner trailing far behind. Was there not wisdom and warning in the acts of the founders when they placed the Capital of the United States in no State but in the District of Columbia? State independence is endangered by too many trips to Washington; and, so also is the liberty of the individual. For a shackled state has shackled citizens. Let me end with these words from the letter of Pope Pius XI:

"Reconstructing the Social Order"

"The obvious truth is that in labor, especially hired labor, as in ownership, there is a social as well as a personal or individual aspect to be considered. For unless human society forms a truly social and organic body; unless labor be protected in the social and juridical order; unless the various forms of human endeavor, dependent one upon the other, are united in mutual harmony and mutual support; unless, above all, brains, capital and labor combine together for common effort, man's toil cannot produce due fruit. Hence, if the social and individual character of labor be overlooked, it can be neither equitably appraised nor properly recompensed according to strict justice.

"From this double aspect, growing out of the very notion of human labor, follow important conclusions for the regulation and fixing of wages.

"In the first place, the wage paid to the workman must be sufficient for the support of himself and of his family. It is right indeed that the rest of the family contribute according to their power towards the common maintenance, as in the rural home or in the families of many artisans and small shop keepers. But it is wrong to abuse the tender years of children or the weakness of woman. Mothers will above all devote their work to the home and the things connected with it. Intolerable, and to be opposed with all our strength, is the abuse whereby mothers of families, because of the insufficiency of the father's salary, are forced to engage in painful occupations outside the domestic walls, to the neglect of their own proper cares and duties, particularly the education of their children.

"Every effort must therefore be made that fathers of families receive a wage sufficient to meet adequately ordinary domestic needs. If in the present state of society this is not always feasible, social justice demands that reforms be introduced without delay which will guarantee every adult working man just such a wage."

President Green: I thank you, Bishop Byrne, for your presence here this morning and for the magnificent address you have delivered to the delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention. We place very great value upon the noble sentiments you

express, and we appreciate more than words can imply the sound advice you gave. I sincerely thank you for your address this morning.

I present to you now, with a feeling of deep satisfaction and pleasure, our very good friend, the United States Senator from Pennsylvania. Senator Davis, as you know, came right from the ranks. He began life in a humble way, coming to America as an immigrant boy from Wales. He accepted employment in the steel mills of the country and became a puddler. And then he became a member of the Steel Workers Union, an organization that, up until the advent of the CIO, was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

I have examined his record as a member of the United States Senate, particularly his voting record upon measures sponsored and approved by the American Federation of Labor. I can truthfully say to this delegation that the record he made in both instances was 100 per cent favorable. He has responded to every request the American Federation of Labor has made for assistance and support in the furtherance of our legislative program. What more can a public servant do to merit the good will and, I might properly say, the support of labor, than to respond to every request we make, to serve whenever requested, to vote with us when requested to vote for us? I submit when a public servant makes such a record, and then labor goes against him, we are acting in perfect contradiction to our nonpartisan political policy.

I invited him here, just as I invited United States Senator Wagner to come to the convention. I did it because they are outstanding members of the United States Senate and have been closely related, in the discharge of their official duties, to labor legislation. Senator Davis traveled a long way to come here and bring his message. You are waiting for it. I know it will be inspiring and interesting. I am happy indeed in that I am privileged to present to you United States Senator James J. Davis for an address this morning.

HONORABLE JAMES J. DAVIS
(United States Senator, Pennsylvania)

American labor moves forward as it remembers the lessons of the past. In peace, religion, labor and the Constitution I am a fundamentalist. The basic changes which

time is certain to bring should come in an orderly way and in response to the definite needs and will of the people. It is not worthwhile to experiment with dishonesty, selfish partisanship or fraudulent practices. The results of these are obvious and each new generation should not have to burn its fingers to find out that fire will consume as readily in 1938 as it did in my grandfather's day. The unjust opposition to labor organization in his time has heaped high the social and economic problems of our day. The place for us to iron out our differences is within our own groups, whether of industry, labor or politics. Nothing is gained by running away from our problems. Unity in labor's household will bring a stronger right to labor as we seek a more complete co-operation from industry and government. As we move into a new day, let us make it a better day by giving heed to the lessons of the past while we cherish the memories of those who have made our present gains possible.

What is it that makes a nation great? It is not alone material wealth or vast natural resources but rather the sterling worth of the nation's man-power. A nation is reckoned strong not by what it has so much as by what it is, and that is determined by its citizens. Progress is created out of the advances we make in our practical consideration of human welfare. We of America have always understood that, and we must not forget it now. Our well being has its foundations in the invisible realities of the spirit. Our faith should look to the underlying basis of personal and human values. Looking beyond the present moment and beyond the years, we should put our faith in the proofs that have come down to us through the ages.

There have always been those who have been chiseling away at the Temple of Progress, but so far they have not even torn the mortar from the cornerstone. The cynic, the partisan, the defiant and the past grandmasters of the subtle art of double-cross have been trying to pull down the age-long faiths in religion, economics, and government. They have attempted these schemes in a spectacular manner and on a large scale in the most powerful country in the world, but their efforts will fail. Their game is about ended in this country, and the patience of the rank and file of our citizens exhausted. Millions of our people who carry the heavy burdens of society are saying this is not the way for America.

Many times on my way to the Capitol I pass the splendid monument of Samuel Gompers. On the bronze sides of that monument are inscribed the essential teachings of this great exponent of American labor principles. The essence of these precepts is that in this land labor shall go forward through co-operation with industry and government, and not through violence or force. If industry had accepted the social and political faith of the American Federation of Labor as voiced by Samuel Gompers, there would have been no necessity for filling our statute books in recent years with labor legislation. But when industrial force was directed to the solution

of industrial problems, rather than the spirit of conciliation and good will, there was no alternative but to call upon the Government for protection of the constitutional right of the worker. Now, with the new social welfare and labor laws enacted, for which we have all done battle—although they are subject to revision and improvement—it remains for us to persist in the teaching of the Federation that nothing shall be done through political force which can be done through voluntary methods, because tyranny of partisan government can easily outrun the hated despotism of industrial overlords. The "Princes of Privilege" and the "Economic Royalists" are not all to be found in one political party or in one economic area.

The domineering tactics of a government administrative board or court are no more acceptable than the "Master and Man" policy of the old-time Simon Legree of industry. In coming West I have found the spirit of rebellion among farmers because of the quota administration of the Farm Control Act is equal to the bristling opposition of trade unionists to the current outcome of the National Labor Relations Act.

In the final analysis economic problems are to be answered in an economic way, with the assistance of the Government only when required, for the maintenance of fair play. We have come a long way under the voluntary plan for which the Federation has always stood. Liberty of action does not always bring the people forward as rapidly on a narrow economic or political front as an efficient dictatorship might desire; but America wants not dictators, for the apparent efficiency of dictatorship is temporary. For the long pull and the strong pull, the American way of life—with representative institutions of government under the Constitution—is best.

I know how difficult it is to organize local unions in a free way even when there are no artificial restraints imposed on voluntary organizations, such as are so prevalent today. It is always a problem to keep members in good standing, and it is therefore a source of gratification that the American Federation of Labor comes to the Houston Convention with the largest paid-up membership in Federation history. A voluntary organization flourishes best in a free society. Unnecessary restraints imposed hastily in recent years because of emergency conditions often prove to be heavy handicaps to organization and should be eased.

When I was Secretary of Labor the legislation you asked for chiefly concerned protection measures for women and children in factory employment.

Labor was cautious then lest governmental administrative boards should put labor leadership in straight jackets, and labor was unwilling for the enactment of legislation fixing minimum standards of wages which might be interpreted by unscrupulous employers as the maximum. In general, at that time, labor asked to be let alone and free from partisan or unfair interference from any source, trusting to its own voluntary organizational pro-

gram. Compulsory arbitration was then strenuously opposed, as it is now.

The depression, however, brought in new measures and a new labor policy. The constitutional right of workers to organize without coercion from any source, through the free choice of representatives of their own choosing, was expressed by a specific statute. That was the purpose of the National Labor Relations Act as it was presented to us in the Senate. This law would never have been passed without the support of the Federation. It would have been even more difficult of administration had it not been for the several suggestions offered for its improvement by the Federation while we were working on it in the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The Federation also brought its full opposition to Section Five of the original Wages and Hours Bill which would have authorized a dictatorship of a five-man board entirely contrary to American principles of government. In our Committee the friends of labor have worked to enact the practical legislation which the economic needs of the nation require. Labor does not want partisan laws; labor wants equitable laws. The friends of collective bargaining should now bring their best intelligence around the council table to provide legislation that shall be fair and equitable beyond all question.

Labor legislation involves political planning and brings in many problems which are comparatively new in this country. A legislative program for labor often holds the threat of political involvements which lead to bitter partisanship and temptations to minority rule.

If labor gets a noose around its neck instead of a fair labor law, it will think ill of the day when it asked for any legislation at all. It is well known that dictatorships in Russia, Germany and Italy started through the political organization of minority groups, speaking for labor, and such possibilities may arise here. We want no dictators in America; therefore let us make sure that labor legislation is entrusted to those who are the proven friends of labor, of a free society, and of fair play.

During the major part of the 19th Century most of the simple commodities which were available were made by hand. Although skilled labor was comparatively well paid, common labor had to subsist on a dollar or \$1.25 for long work-days of from ten to fourteen hours. Then came the great industrial development with new machines speeding up mass production. A wave of prosperity set in and the World War intensified market demands. War markets were opened up which stimulated American production as never before. New mines were opened up, new fields were planted to wheat, new and high-powered machines were installed in mine, mill, farm and factory, and all America was geared to the limit of its power of mass production. Work opportunities were to be found everywhere. All you had to do to get a job was to look like you wanted one and be entered on the payroll. Women entered industry in

large numbers as men were called by the draft for army service until today there are 12,000,000 women in employment outside their homes. Soon there were 4,000,000 Americans under arms, with half of them over seas. Never before had the Nation been summoned to such tremendous industrial and agricultural production. Then came the Armistice and peace conferences. Veterans were returned to civil life, the war markets slumped, and America faced new problems of unemployment, which, beginning in 1919, moved to a high point in 1921, the year in which I first faced my duties as Secretary of Labor. At that time 6,000,000 workers were off payrolls, with over 1,000,000 out on strikes in a dozen major industries. If we had counted unemployment then as we do today the situation would have been reckoned no less serious.

We faced a situation of over-developed industry then which has been an unsolved problem with us ever since. We can manufacture all the iron and steel we need in six or seven months, and if all the plants were as well equipped as the new steel mills in Pittsburgh, we could produce all our steel and iron goods with one-third of the labor at present employed. We can produce all the window glass for our needs in less than seventeen weeks; all our boots and shoes, all our coal in six months or less. With the increase of motor cars and water transportation and with the decrease of farm production, railroads have had less to carry and over 500,000 workers have been displaced since the War for whom the transportation industry does not offer new employment. I know it is true that machinery makes it possible for old industrial activities to expand and new enterprise to be undertaken. Machines can help create employment as well as to displace workers. Our problem still remains; we must provide for displaced workers in a machine age as we move from one technological level to another.

During the first months of my seventeen years of public life in Washington, I discussed the twelve-hour-day with my old friends in the Amalgamated Association, which though small in numbers has always been a beacon light of labor advance in the steel industry, and following many discussions, I urged President Harding to call the steel heads together to abolish the long work day. He called a meeting in the White House which lasted long into the night. The steel leaders were not convinced that the plan for three eight-hour shifts would work but agreed to try it. They did try it, although some with reservations, and the plan worked to their industrial advantage as well as to a great gain for labor, for we shortened the day without reducing the hourly wage. The introduction of the eight-hour day in the steel industry was the greatest boon to American labor in this century. It was only a short time until eight hours became the working schedule for nearly all lines of business throughout the Nation.

Industrial leaders were reluctant to take this step. Judge Gary, Chairman of the Steel Committee, said that it simply could not be done, however after it had been accomplished and the splendid results noted, he told me

that it was the best thing that ever happened for business in this country.

Today the question at issue is the short-work-week. This is essentially a business problem and a business approach to it will be required. No legislative enactment will in itself bring an answer to our needs. We brought in the eight-hour-day in the spirit of cooperation and mutual aid, and I believe we can bring in the short-work-week in the same way. Certainly it has already come without legislative enactment in many sectors of the economic front. The Federation's ideal of the voluntary plan has shown the way in the past; I am sure you will do well to continue to move forward in this way. No man can stand to work twelve hours a day. Few men can stand to work continuously eight hours a day. Men who have no rest periods, geared to high-powered machines, can now produce an abundance in the shorter-hour-day. With increased labor and industrial efficiency, we can shorten hours, increase wages, produce more and have more. An economic shot in the arm coming from free industrial action will help far more than overworked legislative manipulation.

When we were at the bottom of the pit in 1921 President Harding called a National Conference on Unemployment. Many of the most distinguished leaders of the Nation attended, and among them representing labor were Samuel Gompers, Matthew Woll, Michael F. Tighe, and John L. Lewis. I shall always remember the complimentary remarks made by Samuel Gompers on the spirit of cooperation in which the Conference was conducted. We drew up plans for a public works program, which, unfortunately, were allowed to go largely unheeded because the private building program took the lead in business building and home construction and seemed to make the public works program unnecessary.

However, this is not the case, and it would have been well for America to have started at that time on a permanent public works program. Building enterprise did start moving, however, and in the period from 1923 to 1930, an average of 800,000 private homes were constructed in the United States, making a total of more than 5,600,000 for that period, to say nothing of private office building construction. Since 1930, private building has lagged terribly, and consequently we have endured these long years of depression, for if the building trades are idle, the capital goods industries are stagnant, and the combination of both conditions is enough to keep any country in a state of depression.

Basic immigration laws were passed in 1922 and 1924 which stemmed the tide of incoming foreign labor at a time when more than a million immigrant workers were arriving annually to compete for American jobs. The eight-hour-day and the enactment of the immigration laws, plus the stimulation of the building trades, gave us the Golden Age of American Prosperity. It was not a perfect decade, but it was the best we have known. It was marred by uncontrolled speculation and a general failure to understand the economic and social conditions which surrounded us. The stock market crash of 1929 was a

tremendous shock to buying power just as the crash of 1937 has been. The depression has been especially hard on skilled labor and men who live through their special aptitudes. When the crash came these men lost everything. Business was at a standstill. Manufactured goods began to accumulate. Business America became weak, and the spirit of panic prevailed. Prices were slashed to create forced sales. Wages were cut to reduce costs just as we being contemplated today. By this false economy, buying power was curtailed, and through lack of understanding and vision the most perfect economic situation this country had ever known was entirely upset. Government leaders protested wage cuts at the beginning of the depression in 1929, and we sought every possible way to avoid them. We knew then as we know now that money in the pay envelope is the financial life-blood of the Nation.

Keep that pay envelope filled, and America moves forward robust and strong. Sap the strength from that pay envelope, and the entire Nation becomes weak and anemic.

The machine is both the glory and the scandal of our age. It is the glory because it enables man to create more wealth in twenty years than the world could formerly produce in eighteen centuries. It is the scandal because, having created vast wealth through machine production, many of our people are left in a condition of utter destitution and deprived of the work opportunities for self-maintenance. Unemployment compensation and old age assistance have been provided to cushion these shocks, but as yet these governmental aids have proven inadequate to build strong purchasing power. There is something obviously and desperately wrong about social organization which permits factory workers to suffer at the foot of the machines which have displaced them, for farmers to be forced on relief rolls in sight of bursting granaries, and investors to lose the earnings of a lifetime in one tragic turn of the wheel of fortune.

Republicans have been reproached because they did nothing to avert economic disaster in the early depression period. This criticism has no foundation in fact. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act was passed by a Republican Congress and signed by a Republican President. Some Democrats voted for it, but others—who are now loudest in their praise of the government spending program—voted against it. I voted for it. The capital stock of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is \$500,000,000. Originally its note issue power was three times the capital, or \$1,500,000,000—or a total capitalization of \$2,000,000,000. The Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, which was passed by a Republican Congress and approved July 21, 1932, by a Republican President, provided for an increase of note issue power of an additional \$1,800,000,000. Title I of this Act provided that \$300,000,000 was to be used for advances to States and Territories in furnishing relief and work relief to needy and distressed people. A public building program which has cost some \$600,000,000 was advanced in this way. The basis for this

public spending was to the best private offer on the lowest bid. If we had adhered to this well established procedure in recent years, we should have been well out of the depression by this time.

I just want to interject here by saying that Senator LaFollette introduced at that time an amendment to that bill asking for a little over \$5,000,000,000 more to be added to the building program, and how many votes do you suppose he got for his amendment—twelve. I was one of them. The twelve men had a better vision and foresight of what the future was than did those who were actually leading the CIO.

And so now I am coming to the conclusion of my remarks. I want you to distinctly understand that I do not criticize anybody. I am one of those who do not care who introduces a bill, what his name is or what his business is—if it is for the good of the American people I will vote for it, because there is no politics in doing good.

Government has increasingly become an employer of labor, and as such has the responsibility of setting labor standards through example as well as through legislation. This was the problem involved when the Davis-Bacon Act was passed in 1931 at the time we were beginning the greatest spending program which any government has undertaken. When I was Secretary of Labor we had developed our own departmental methods of contractual relations which had worked acceptably in so far as our one department was concerned. However, there was a need for the extension of this principle. Federal contractors had started cutting labor costs in the depression era by bringing in cheap labor, bootleg labor, and thus disregarding prevailing wage standards in the local communities where the work was being done. It was a vicious situation. When I came to the Senate I introduced a bill requiring that a clause be inserted in the government contract form making it compulsory for contractors and subcontractors engaged in constructing, altering or repairing any public buildings of the United States, to pay the prevailing wage at the point of building operations. The late Congressman Robert Bacon of New York and I introduced identical bills in the House and Senate, and this measure passed and became the law of the land. As a result, local workmen in the building trades were not deprived of their rights or forced to remain idle as the result of bootleg labor practices and kick-back rackets of unscrupulous contractor bosses. Under the Davis-Bacon Act the Government was not authorized to set up any new wage scale, but simply to insist that the prevailing wage scale be applied to all government construction projects. Since then this principle has been amplified in the Walsh-Healey Act—and I want to say that that Act would not have passed without the support of the American Federation of Labor. That Act demands that industrial firms doing business with the Government shall maintain standards of work and wages acceptable to the Department of Labor.

Thus contracts carrying awards for the purchase of \$10,000 or more of supplies contain provisions that the prevailing rate of wages must be paid, that employees must not work more than eight hours in any day or forty hours in any week, and that boys under sixteen years of age and girls under eighteen years of age must not be employed. In addition, the Act bars the employment of convict labor and contains a drastic ban on kick-back practices. Both the Davis-Bacon Act and the Walsh-Healey Act have the same purpose: namely, to keep Uncle Sam up to decent standards as an employer of labor.

In the administration of work relief funds, too little attention has been given to the maintenance of fair labor standards by the Government as an employer. During these depression years work-relief has been provided only to the unemployed on the basis of the means test. These individual economic and social investigations of the work-relief applicants are thoroughly humiliating to American labor and almost impossible of fair and accurate application. When the average worker is forced out of employment he begins to be "in need" almost immediately, and no report from a social worker is required to show that this is so. If private business were to impose the humiliation of such personal investigation on its employees, there would be no end of complaint.

The work-relief program has been a catch-as-catch-can proposition. The Feast and Famine policy of the Works Progress Administration is undermining the American standard of work and wages. Every time we turn a corner, chiefly on election years, a national emergency is proclaimed, and the Government begins its employment activities on a large scale. We have reached the high point of this program at the present time with 3,100,000 workers on WPA rolls. If this sort of policy is continued, it is safe to predict that the next great emergency will come in 1940 with 5,000,000 on WPA rolls at that time. In the meantime, while waiting for the polling places to open every other year, the workers will be dropped off the rolls—just as they were in 1937, when a million workers were forced off in a single season.

We have been facing the fact of unemployment on a large scale in this country for a full ten years, and yet it must be said to our national disgrace that we are still dealing with it in terms of emergencies, most of which are political in character.

Work relief wages have been based on minimum subsistence requirements. The Federation has opposed the Russell Amendment to the Work Relief Bill of 1935 and favored the McCarran Amendment. The Russell Amendment provided that work relief wage standards be governed by relief wages in each community. This was no protection for private wage standards. The McCarran Amendment called for payment of work relief wages on the basis of the prevailing wage in private employment. Now Congress has passed the Labor Standards Act, for which I voted, and has empowered a public authority to fix minimum wages and maximum hours below and

above which it shall be unlawful to work. It is now proposed to pay these minimum rates for these maximum hours in public employment. Thus the needs of the workers will be met on a standard established by authority of law. The tendency for such wages to become the prevailing rates and hours in private employment, demoralizing prevailing private standards, I hope, will be checked.

During the last few years WPA has given a bad name to Uncle Sam as an employer of labor. We have fallen far below the principles embodied in the Davis-Bacon Act and the Walsh-Healey Act. Let us never forget that WPA workers are Government employees. The WPA workers now are employed at what is called the "security wage." They are paid the prevailing hourly rates of pay for such length of time as will permit them to earn a fixed sum each week, and then they are forbidden to work any more. As a result, of this fixed standard of earnings the WPA worker appears in some communities to be a prince among paupers, and in other places where wage standards are higher he appears as a pauper among princes. In general, the WPA workers have had ten years experience in private employment and know what it means to earn in a week what they now are limited to receive each month.

Great public improvements have been provided through federal funds in my own State of Pennsylvania. These public works have been provided on the basis of underpaid labor, labor which has been getting on an average through the year, not a half, not even a third of what labor ought to get. The average WPA worker in Pennsylvania gets \$660 per year if he gets employment twelve months a year. On that he has to support his family. The American Federation of Labor has many times made clear that \$1800 or \$2000 a year is the very minimum for family necessities, and yet Uncle Sam is underbidding labor at a rate far below that sum in the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This undermining of labor standards proceeds day by day, week by week, month by month: first in the name of national emergency, then in the name of economic security, and now under the banner of liberalism. Is it not about time for someone to raise the question: "Oh Liberalism, how many crimes are committed in thy name?"

There is enough needed work to be done in America to keep everyone employed at good wages for the next quarter of a century or as long as any of us want to work. There is enough work in private industry, through a voluntary acceptance of the work and wage standards of the American Federation of Labor, to keep us all busy—to say nothing of public works needed in flood control, soil conservation, elimination and improvement of grade crossings and kindred projects. The ideals set forth in the Unemployment Conference of 1921 have been with me all during my public life. I accepted the principle of public works proposed at that time. When this issue came to a practical test in the La Follette Amendment to the Emergency Relief

Bill of 1931, I voted for the careful provision for public works which it provided, although but eleven other Senators did so. The first billions released by the RFC were spent in employment which paid full wages with no restrictions of production. We safeguarded labor on public employment through fair contracts under the Davis-Bacon Act in those days, and we must return to those standards if labor is not to continue to be crucified through political partisanship.

The answer to labor's need is a permanent program of public works. We should be done with this Feast and Famine work program of government agencies which respond only when ballots are to be counted. Moreover, when Congress next convenes, legislation embodying the purpose of the Austin Amendment should be passed to make the spacing of WPA workers for political purposes the crime in name for which it is a crime in actuality. A permanent program of public works should budget and estimate in advance our needs for projects of this nature in city, county, state and nation. Thus complete plans would be available so as to avoid waste and confusion of hasty planning.

Public work, like social welfare legislation, is the right of the worker. Workers pay for it through taxation and help to meet labor's need in this way. The projects must be useful, the hours equal to those in private employment, the pay equal and the work done in an honest and efficient way. No worker can do an honest day's work on an empty stomach or on half-pay. Public work, like social welfare legislation, is not the gift of any one political party. Those who view it as a partisan prize are its worst enemies. These programs of economic improvement are the right of the people and the earned fruit of labor. They are for the benefit of labor, are paid for by labor, and come in no other way. Public work is not a political gift, not a ballot-box chaser, nor the government's gesture toward sweet charity.

Encouragement for free enterprise, with honest and substantial labor agreements, is more effective for labor's needs than an unrestrained public spending program. The voluntary way is the surest and best way for American labor, but under no circumstances should labor be compelled to choose between private organization at fair wages and publicly paid labor organization at low wages. Three million workers on PWA at low wages, if subject to unlimited political manipulation as in my State of Pennsylvania, constitute a threat to all free labor.

Any labor force of three million workers, whether in the sweatshops of Europe or Asia, or on government payrolls in America, will compete unfairly with American labor as a whole if continuously underpaid.

If Communism means nothing better than a very common way of life which seeks to pull down our people to lower standards of living than Americans as a whole have hitherto enjoyed, we want none of it here. If Fascism means the ruthless destruction of individual liberty and responsibility at the command of an all-powerful state, we want none of it

here. We want no Fascist or Communist dictators in America. The time is now at hand when we can not tolerate any further extension of any form of radicalism in this land or any possible threat of dictatorship from any source whatsoever. The Constitution of the United States is labor's surest protection from any attempted despotism, either of industry or politics. Let us continue to stand by the Constitution, and when needed changes are required in the fundamental law of the land, let us take the issues involved directly to the people and amend the Constitution in the orderly way provided in the document itself.

President Green: I thank Senator Davis for his visit here and for the most educational and interesting address he delivered. We are glad to have him here as our guest. I am sure that we all enjoyed his speech and that we will read it over again, because it will be included as a part of the proceedings of today's sessions.

We have another visitor here who will address us now. He is the Congressman from this city. He represents the constituency of this great city of Houston in the Congress of the United States. I will ask D. W. Tracy, William J. Moran and Charles H. Poe to escort the Congressman to the platform.

(The committee escorted the Congressman to the platform.)

President Green: Now, I am happy to present to you a very sympathetic friend, one who lives here. He cannot misrepresent himself here because the people know him. He is talking in the community where he resides, and if he makes any mistakes we will have some of our friends tell us about it. But, aside from that little divergence of humor, I want to say we appreciate the very fine attitude Congressman Thomas has shown to the problems of labor. One of his characteristics is that he attempts to master every piece of legislation upon which he casts a vote. I am pleased to present to you a resident of Houston, a Congressman representing a very fine district in the United States, and a sympathetic friend of labor.

CONGRESSMAN ALBERT THOMAS

Mr. President, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen: I deem it a high honor to have the privilege of addressing you. There are far too many public officials, national, state, city and county who give to the labor movement a superfluous amount of lip service; but when it comes time to act, invariably they become fault-finders—this and that is wrong. Their spirit is willing but their flesh is always too weak to act. I am reminded

of a little yarn which illustrates the point I want to make.

Up in the piney woods of Nacogdoches where I was born and reared the colored folks were having one of those old-fashioned, thirty-day Methodist revivals. They had laid aside their crops and having nothing to do until gathering time came again, they ate watermelon in the day and attended the revivals at night. They imported a minister an impressive looking man weighing 240 pounds, and he preached long and loud against the devil and all his works. Some mischievous white boys decided to dress up one of their number like the devil, and when the preacher started on his way against the devil that night, this fellow would jump up into the window and make his appearance. He did so, and when the audience saw him they went from there in a hurry. The preacher looked around in utter bewilderment, spied the devil, and he, too, went for the door. The devil jumped down, ran around, headed off the preacher and pushed him into a corner.

The preacher said, "Mr. Devil, I want to have an understanding with you. I know that in the past two weeks I have been saying some terribly mean things about you, but I want to tell you I have been with you in spirit all the time."

I want to tell this distinguished crowd I am not only with you in spirit but I voted for you.

The city of Houston, and for that matter all of Texas, has the honor of being host to this distinguished crowd, because the labor leaders throughout Texas were pioneers in the labor movement in the past.

In 1889 the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers sent the first duly authorized labor legislative committee ever to attend a session of our state legislature. The purpose of that committee was to represent all of labor. In quick succession, the Brotherhood of Railroad Conductors, the Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen sent their authorized representatives to our capitol. Presently, in 1903, all of organized labor in Texas joined together and formed labor's Joint Legislative Board. That board was not only first in Texas in 1903, but it was the first Joint Labor Legislative Board ever to function throughout the United States.

Bear in mind that this Joint Legislative Board was plowing in virgin soil, because in 1903, Texas, like most other states, was not then tremendously interested in labor legislation. Just what did that solid front board accomplish? During the session of the Legislature in 1903 and the two sessions immediately following, thirty-six labor laws were passed. It was during that time Texas passed her first child labor law.

It was obvious to us that the credit should go for those thirty-six laws, and it was equally obvious that a united, single purpose, harmonious labor movement was the dynamo that furnished the power for their passage. I hope the time is not distant when we shall have throughout the United States a united, harmonious labor movement.

Far too often, my friends, the public misunderstands the meaning and the purpose of true labor legislation. Far too many people believe that labor legislation is craft legislation wherein labor seeks an advantage. That is a mistake and an erroneous idea of labor legislation which should be corrected. All true labor legislation contains one of three cardinal principles. They are, first, public, not class welfare; public, not class health; and public, not class general education. What is good for organized labor is good for all of the public.

Let me congratulate you delegates upon your selection of your national officers. You should be extremely proud of Mr. Green and his most capable staff. William Green is a fine Christian gentleman, a natural leader who, through hard work and constant study and actual experience, has qualified himself to fulfill the duties of his high office in a most creditable manner.

We people here in Texas are well represented by my friend and my fellow townsman, A. S. McBride, President of the State Federation of Labor. Locally we have many capable and high type men. We can always depend upon my friend and your friend, A. J. Bannon, President of the Houston Trades and Labor Council, W. W. Strong, State President of the Allied Printing Trades Council, and our genial E. E. Stokes, General Chairman of this most successful committee, who has walked at least 899 miles making it a success. And last but not least, we of Houston have given to you our own Dan Tracy, International President of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

Sometimes, Mr. President—and you know that better than any one else—we see that one of the main points of a liberal, active Congress defeated by and through its administration. I want to say now that I want to see the prevailing wage applied to every FHA project throughout the United States. Furthermore, I want to see the FHA give to the workers an opportunity to own their own homes. The FHA can take no safer risks than enabling the workers of the country to own modest homes within the range of \$2,000 or \$4,000. To this day the workers of the country who have a wage running from \$1,100 to \$1,700 a year are in the no-man's land in house ownership.

In our daily lives we come in contact with many theories and schemes to solve our economic problems. Some of them are fantastic; some of them are more or less workable. The longest step that can be taken in the right direction toward that end, and certainly the first step that should be taken, is to bring about a complete and perfect understanding between labor, business and government. To perfect and bring about that understanding and co-operation between labor, business and government, some essential principles must be clearly and unequivocally recognized, and those principles must be recognized seven days out of the week without holiday and without exceptions in their application. In my humble judgment there are four principles, first, what is good for organized labor is good for the rest of the country; second, collective bargaining is here to stay, it is a right that industry and

business should never question; and, third, business is entitled to a fair profit; fourth, government should not tie down labor and business with rules and regulations.

It logically follows from a statement of those principles that labor and business should jointly work out their own wage and hour schedules and not the Government. However, there are some barnacles that only the strong arm of the Federal Government can remove.

As a member of the Labor Committee of the House of Representatives, I played a small and modest part in drafting the Wage and Hour law. The South, Mr. President, has been literally bled to death for a number of years because of unskilled workers who were not organized and because they were not able to protect themselves. The wage and hour law will set right those sweatshops which have been pauperizing our workers.

During the deliberations of the Labor Committee of the House of Representatives on the Wage and Hour bill I suggested to my colleagues upon several occasions that in about four years, or sooner, after the passage of the wage and hour law it should be repealed. My thought in making the suggestion was this: That as soon as the evils which the law aimed at were removed, that organized labor would then be able to stand upon its feet and to run the show far more satisfactorily to every one concerned than could the Government, through the developing of unions for unorganized and unskilled. Organized labor then will be able to carry on that needed work set out in the wage and hour law.

The American Federation of Labor has always been progressive and liberal. Its principles and purposes are broad in their scope. The Federation has never favored one section of the country over another, and that being the case, President Green, let me appeal to you to throw the might and the power and the great influence of the American Federation of Labor to the aid and rescue again of the South, in order to remove a heavy yoke that is now, and has been for many years, weighing upon our economic system. I refer to that unfair differential in wages. The South

is suffering from that, and has suffered for a long time, and when I say the South I am primarily pointing to the workers and to the labor movement of the South. If we can get that removed, certainly the labor movement there will progress. The labor movement has made great progress under President Roosevelt, the greatest commoner this country has ever produced, and I say the labor movement will continue to progress under President Roosevelt.

Surely short hours and increased pay are to come, and certainly, gentlemen, we cannot stand at this time, or any other time as far as I am concerned, a 15 per cent reduction in the pay envelopes of our million railroad workers. It gives me a headache when I hear a man drawing a salary of \$100,000 a year advocate giving one of his employes a 15 per cent reduction. Let me say to you, furthermore, that the labor movement is just now beginning to go places.

Let me tell you a little yarn which illustrates my point and then I am through.

A colored boy was going home one night and on his way he had to pass a graveyard. That boy, like most of the rest of us, when we pass a graveyard, let his imagination run away with him. He looked over his shoulder and saw a ghost walking behind him. He ran and ran, in fact, he ran so fast his shirt tail stuck out like a window shade in a breeze. Finally he thought he had outrun the ghost and sat down and chuckled because of that fact. Presently the ghost stepped up and said, "Boy, that was some close race we had!" The boy jumped up and said, "Yes, but you ain't seen nothin' yet!"

I hope your stay will be most pleasant, and I hope that as a result of this meeting you will all go home inspired, with your chin up and your spirit at fighting pitch.

President Green: We thank Congressman Thomas for his visit and for his splendid address. We appreciate it very, very greatly.

At 12:45 o'clock p. m., the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock p. m.

Fourth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 3:00 o'clock.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Greasy, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabey, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

Additions to Committees

President Green: The Chair desires to make additions to several committees, as follows:

Claude M. Baker, to the Committee on Resolutions.

Nicholas M. DiPietro, to the Committee on Education.

Henry E. Clemens, to the Committee on Labels.

William H. Harris, to the Committee on Legislation.

E. D. Manning, to the Committee on Shorter Work Day.

Glenn L. Mitchell, to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

Letter From U. S. Senator Connally

President Green: I will ask Secretary Morrison to read this letter addressed to the convention from United States Senator Connally, of the State of Texas.

Secretary Morrison read the following:

UNITED STATES SENATE

Marlin, Texas
October 1, 1938.

Hon. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
and Members of the Federation.

My Dear Friend Green:

It affords me rare pleasure to join the Texas Federation of Labor and the people of Texas in extending a most cordial welcome to Texas and to Houston to the officers, delegates and visitors attending the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor has rendered to the laboring men and women of America an outstanding service for a long period of years. It has served not alone its own membership but in improving the relations of labor and employer, it has served the country and the public. It has been responsa-

ble for vastly improving the condition and advancing the interests of its membership and thereby has lifted the level of living for all who toil. It has accomplished much toward advancing the cause of collective bargaining and bringing about reforms in working conditions and standards of living.

I count it a happy privilege to share with other Texans a hearty welcome to your splendid organization and its fine membership and I heartily hope your sessions may prove pleasant and profitable.

Sincerely,

(Signed) TOM CONNALLY,
United States Senator.

President Green: Father Maguire, who has worked so closely and so successfully with our labor movement in Illinois and Chicago, is here as our guest. Many of you who have been attending conventions of the American Federation of Labor know Father Maguire and have listened with rapt interest to the addresses he has delivered at previous conventions. I am going to have him address the delegates now, and I will appoint on the committee to escort him to the platform Brother Lynch, President of the Pattern Makers International Union, Delegate Burke, of the Plumbers and Steam Fitters, and Delegate Soderstrom, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Please find Father Maguire and bring him to the platform.

(The committee escorted Father Maguire to the platform.)

Now, it affords me very great pleasure to present to you our guest and our speaker for this hour. I repeat again what I have already said, that most of you know Father Maguire personally. A large number of you have heard him speak at conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Out in Illinois he works very closely with our Illinois State Federation of Labor and with the Chicago Federation of Labor. He has helped them in the promotion of their economic policies, and particularly in the promotion of their legislative program. We hold Father Maguire in high regard and high esteem. He is our friend.

I take great pleasure in presenting to you Rev. J. W. R. Maguire.

REVEREND J. W. R. MAGUIRE

President Green, ladies and gentlemen, delegates to the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—after the results of this ball game I am not in a

fit condition to make any kind of speech. I commend the Yankees to Mr. John Coefield. I think they ought to be enrolled in the Plumbers.

Before this morning I never knew that a good Methodist could be the Pope, but out of his big, generous heart today your distinguished President assumed papal functions and made an Archbishop out of a Bishop. Only a Pope could do that. I am very much disappointed that he did not make a Bishop out of me. The only way I shall ever get to be a Bishop is if the American Federation of Labor makes me one.

Seriously, ladies and gentlemen, I am very much gratified in being honored by the invitation of your President to address this great convention. As President Green has already mentioned, I have had this honor on several previous occasions, and I find it very difficult to resist any invitation to address a meeting of the American Federation of Labor, because it has been a deepseated conviction of mine for a long number of years that the great organized labor movement is perhaps the greatest force in the world today to secure a greater measure of social and economic justice in these troubled days and preserve genuine democracy.

There are a few things that I feel are worthwhile saying to you at this time. I do not have to tell you that both economic and social justice and democracy are being very seriously threatened and have been for many years. I have been an advocate of the organized labor movement because I believe that through the forces of collective bargaining we can best preserve what is worth preserving in the so-called capitalistic system and also protect and defend democracy. Many just criticisms, of course, can be hurled against the capitalistic system. It is, after all, a human institution, and, like all human institutions, imperfect.

On the other hand, there is a great deal that protects and conserves essential human dignity in the capitalistic system, and those elements ought to be preserved. With all its faults and with all its defects, even with all its absurdities sometimes, democracy in the long run offers the best form of government yet to be tried in this world.

I am perfectly willing to admit that various forms of autocratic governments at times may be far more effective and efficient than democracy. But one serious defect of all forms of autocratic government is that these governments are good when you have exceedingly good men at the head of such governments. If you can have an individual with the intelligence of an archangel and all the virtues of the saints in the Martyrology, then you might have a good autocratic government. But human nature being what it is, democracy on the whole best secures right of human life and a greater measure of right and justice.

In these days when democracy and economic justice are being seriously threatened, the world and the United States in particular cannot possibly do without a strongly organized labor movement. The world today is threatened by the twin menaces of Communism and Fascism, and when I use

the term "Fascism" I include of course its German variety, Nazism.

I want you to understand that Communism, Fascism and Nazism, did not just grow like Topsy. They came into existence out of exceedingly bad and unjust economic and social conditions. Communism came in Russia as a consequence of the misrule of the Czars and the Russian nobility. For years radical propaganda of various kinds had been spread in Russia, and when the Russian army in the World War had been betrayed by their own rulers, the revolution took place and Communism was established.

Communism means the revolt of the proletarian class, with common ownership of all the means of production and the domination and dictatorship of the proletarian class, with a consequent totalitarian state.

Shortly after the World War, on account of the precarious condition of the middle class in Italy and as an answer to the growing menace of Communism, Fascism came into existence, and Fascism differs from Communism mainly in this, that it is opposed to Communism. Fascism means the revolt of the middle class, or the Bourgeois class, with the domination and dictatorship of the Bourgeois class, and the Totalitarian State.

And understand that both Mussolini and Hitler speak of state socialism and the Totalitarian State.

No freedom and justice loving citizen can possibly tolerate for a single moment the totalitarian state, because the underlying philosophy of the totalitarian state is, as Mussolini has succinctly summed it up, "Everything within the state and nothing outside the state." In the totalitarian state the state does not exist for the good of the individual, but the individual exists for the good of the state, whereas in any rational concept of government it is perfectly obvious that the state is only a means to an end, the end being the securing of the greatest good to the greatest number of citizens. But in any totalitarian concept of government the citizen is subordinated to the ultimate good of the state, the good of the state being an end in itself.

Obviously, that is irrational and absurd, and yet we find in this twentieth progressive century of ours many important countries have surrendered themselves to the totalitarian states of either Communism, Fascism or Nazism. And do not for one single minute, ladies and gentlemen, imagine that it cannot happen here. It can happen here. So far as ultimate social and economic developments are concerned, we are perhaps twenty or thirty years behind Europe. That is not a criticism of the progressiveness of the United States, but it is only a statement of a simple, elementary economic fact. The old doctrine of laissez faire, of the liberal economists, of Adam Smith and Ricardo and the rest of the school of liberal economists, worked well enough for a time. When it was true that economic opportunity existed in the West here and the slogan was, "Go West, young man, go West," and competition was not as keen as it is today, the doctrine of laissez faire worked very well. But it was never a true

doctrine. To put it in plain and simple terms, it simply meant "each man for himself and the devil take the hindmost"—and may I say that during the last fifty years or so his Satanic majesty has found the taking pretty good at both ends of society.

But when we caught up, so to speak, with economic development and there was no longer unlimited opportunity, then the absurdities of the doctrine of laissez faire began to be apparent, and Europe suffered first from the absurdities of this doctrine, and the belief that government should not in any way interfere with the orderly processes of industry and that unlimited competition would bring about the maximum amount of economic and social justice gradually was demonstrated to be absurd in European countries.

And so we had the debacle of the days immediately succeeding the World War, and Communism came in Russia and Fascism in Italy. Then the Versailles treaty imposed a great many economic injustices upon conquered peoples, and the logical result of the Versailles treaty was personified in recent years in Adolph Hitler. All of these things came out of the want and the pressing necessities of the masses of the people. And if we continue as we are in the United States, with industry apparently unable to furnish the means of livelihood to everybody that needs it, and with millions of people out of work and in want and on the verge of starvation, because there is a fearful iron and steel logic to empty stomachs, it is quite possible that even a freedom-loving people like those of the United States might demand the greater effectiveness and efficiency of the totalitarian state under either the form of Communism or Fascism.

I don't want to be understood here as being a prophet of woe, and I don't mean to imply that we are necessarily going to have either Communism or Fascism. I am only pointing out the ultimate possibilities, but I don't believe that those things will come to pass in the United States for the simple reason that there are certain important factors working against that. One of them, a very important factor, is a strongly organized labor movement.

We have been struggling through some years of depression. The depression struck us first in the end of 1929, a year when we were at the peak of our prosperity, a year in which the total value of our manufactured products, including agriculture, amounted to seventy billions of dollars. I am talking just in round figures. When you talk in such astronomical sums, a few millions one way or the other doesn't matter. In that year we had a total purchasing power of about fifty billions of dollars, which meant that there was a surplus of manufactured products of twenty billions over and above what we could buy.

President Hoover and his advisers went into a huddle, and President Hoover came up out of the huddle with the profound pronouncement that the cause of the depression was over-production. We all settled back in our chairs, if we had any left, with a profound sigh of relief because we now understood all about it.

Over-production in what sense? In the sense that we produced more things than we could use? Not at all. Over-production in the sense that we produced more things than we could buy? Yes. But those two things are entirely different. We had never and probably never will produce more things than we can use. In 1929 we had enough automobiles to carry all the people in the United States, men, women, children, simultaneously on a joy ride. And yet there were 15,000,000 families whose expectancy of life was greatly enhanced by the fact that they did not own an automobile, nor even a Ford.

There is no nation in the world that has such a passion for having strange and ugly and weird noises impinging upon its ears, as long as they come from a distance, as we people of the United States. I mean, to use a horrible phrase of modern salesmanship, we are radio-conscious, and yet there were 15,300,000 happy and blessed families—and I often wonder whether they were the same happy and blessed families that didn't own an automobile—that did not own a radio, but the damned fools wanted one, of course. We have, I suppose a greater passion for bathtubs than any other nation in the world. During the World War, despite the fact that I was a Chaplain, I went one time A. W. O. L. To the non-military in this organization let me say that means "absent without leave." I can now safely confess it. I made a pilgrimage to Chartres, to see the most beautiful cathedral remaining in the world after the destruction of Rheims. I arrived in the evening, and I walked over the town square after I had supper towards the Cathedral. To my amazement and somewhat to my discomfiture I saw an American military policeman coming out of a house in the very shadow of the Cathedral. So I made the best of it. I walked up to him and asked him if there was an American provost marshal in town and whether I had to register in and out, and he said there was. I said, "How long have you been in this town?" He said, "Six months." I said, "How do you like it here?" "Oh," he said, "these damned frogs don't know nothin'." I said, "What makes you say that?" "Well," he said, "I have been living in this dump here for six months and it ain't even got a bathtub in it." I said, "That's too bad. They do have quite a beautiful cathedral, do they not?" He looked up at the towers of the cathedral in the shadows of the night and as I left he said, "I guess it's all right, I ain't been in it yet."

Of course the only trouble with the M. P. was that he had the standards of civilization of a plumber. Of course, I don't mean to say that the standards of civilization of a plumber are not very high, but I want to submit that they are not the only ones. There are other standards besides high grade plumbing. He thought these "frogs" as he put it, knew nothing, despite the fact that they had the most beautiful cathedral in the world, because they didn't have a bathtub.

That illustrates the point I want to make. We are bathtub conscious, and yet a survey made in 1920 of the leading cities in the United States, the big cities like the place where these Yankees come from and Chicago, where the poor Cubs come from, cities of that

kind, we found 15,000 families that lived in homes that did not have any bathtubs, and 10,000 of those families living in dwellings that I would not dignify by calling homes—dwellings that did not even have a sink and running water.

And yet we were told that in 1929 the cause of the depression was over-production. It was not, it was under consumption.

How are we going to rectify this condition? We have the same thing recurring from time to time. We have gone through another period of it just a few weeks ago. We have tremendous plant capacity in this country. If we ran all the shoe factories in the country full time we could produce 750,000,000 pairs of shoes a year. The maximum market for shoes in the United States in any one year was 330,000,000 pairs.

I could go on all day giving examples of what appear to be excess plant capacities, but it is only excess plant capacity over the ability of people to purchase the product that can be made.

Obviously, the remedy for this is to put more purchasing power into the hands of the masses of the people. We have to go back to first principles and remember that industry does not primarily exist for the making of profits, but industry primarily exists in order to furnish everybody able and willing to work with a means of livelihood. That is the primary purpose of industry. It is the only reason why anybody should work.

If industry fails to furnish jobs to everybody, then it is certainly the business of some force in society to see that industry does fulfill its primary purpose. We have in the Declaration of Independence a statement that governments exist under heaven to secure the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. If it is the business of government to secure the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, then it is the business of government to see that the people have the necessary means of livelihood. In a society that is founded on the principle of private ownership, where there is not enough productive property to go around, and the only means therefore that the rest of the people have to secure access to the fruits of the earth is by their labor, then it seems to me that part of the business of organized society is to see that everybody is secure in a job. The right to a job has not yet been clearly defined in the same way that the right to one's property has been defined.

I have a right to my pocketbook, no matter how flat it may be, and if any one else takes my pocketbook away, organized society has police and the thief can be arrested and put in jail, provided he has succeeded in stealing not too large an amount. Possibly if he succeeds in stealing a sufficiently large amount he might go to the United States Senate—and that is almost as bad as going to jail.

Here I am, a man out of work, and I go to agencies A, B, C, and all through the alphabet, and they say they have nothing for me and I am without a job. An organized so-

ciety should secure me the necessary means to a livelihood.

Now, of course, there are various ways in which this situation can be rectified. You can adopt the methods of Communism and have government take over industry and run it, supposedly for the benefit of the people, or you can have a Fascist government that will set up an industrial dictatorship over industry and tell industry what to do about it. Perhaps those methods are effective, I don't think they are.

Most people object to Communism because it is radical, as though there was some harm in that word. My objection to Communism is that it is reactionary and conservative. The Communist indicts the capitalistic system on the ground that the ownership of production is in the hands of a small group of powerful people, and that this group is growing smaller and smaller all the time. I agree with their indictment but I differ with their remedy. What is their remedy? They say to take the ownership of production out of the hands of this small group of individuals and put it in the hands of another small group, the government. The Communists say that is not fair, they want to put it in the hands of the people. Well, who are the people? You and I, presumably. But we can act only through government. Organized society can act only through government, and organized government, when established, is relatively a small group of people. If you take the ownership out of this small group of individuals you will put it in the hands of another group of individuals, and the prediction of Herbert Spencer will be fulfilled, that if socialism comes it will only be wiped out by the bloodiest revolution the world has ever seen.

Governments govern well in inverse proportion to the amount of power they possess, and no government should have more power than is necessary to keep public order and safeguard the public welfare. The Communists want to put in the hands of government the greatest power government has ever had, namely, ownership of industry and control over the means of livelihood of the people. That is the Communists' remedy. And if pushed to the logical conclusion, the Fascist remedy is no different.

I make this suggestion: That on one hand the employers of the country may be organized, provided on the other hand labor is 100 per cent organized. I can remember the time in the steel strike of 1919 when Judge Gary banged his fist upon his desk and said, "I am not going to allow any man, even the President of the United States, to tell me how I am to run my business." That day is past. On that occasion I suggested to Judge Gary that the steel corporation was not his business, that it belonged to thousands of stockholders, and that besides the money invested in the steel industry there was an investment equally sacred and more important, and that was the investment of labor. The laborer invests in industry the brawn of his arm, the power of his body and the strength of his mind, and sometimes his life, and that is as sacred an investment as is the investment of money. And therefore the workers of the

world have a right to the process of collective bargaining, to have some determination of the factors that vitally concern them, namely, wages, hours and working conditions. You are only going to preserve democracy and save what is worth saving of the capitalistic system when you have a strongly organized labor movement. True, collective bargaining can secure shorter hours, higher wages and better conditions. It is far better to have those concerned in industry, labor and management, determine these things, than to have it arbitrarily done by government. Let the government sit as an umpire to keep capital from imposing upon labor and labor from imposing upon capital. If you have a strongly organized labor movement you can trust in the hands of the working people of the country to see that a greater measure of justice is done, that a higher wage will be paid to enable the mass of the people to buy the products of industry and to see that hours are shortened so that the millions of people now out of work can be returned to work.

You have heard from time to time a certain measure of criticism of some of the measures the government is undertaking at the present time. I am aware that a certain amount of disaster lies ahead in unlimited government spending; I am aware that taxes are mounting to a dangerous height, but what are we going to do? We cannot allow the unemployed to starve, and if industry refuses to employ people, then the only thing that the government can do is to tax industry and feed the unemployed.

Ladies and gentlemen, remember that every one of us lives directly or indirectly off industry. Those who live directly off industry are those who are employed in industry and produce the goods; the professional classes and the service occupations live indirectly off industry, and government lives off industry through its taxing power. Now, if industry fails to support people directly or indirectly, then government has to tax industry to support those people out of work. Now, it is all right for the industrial Bourbons to complain of high taxes, but I would listen with more respect to those complaints if they could tell us how to keep people from starving to death. Some day the knowledge will penetrate the thick skulls of the captains of industry that it is better to employ people and pay them for production than it is to have government take money away from industry in taxation and pay these people for doing little or nothing. Until that day, and not until that day, can you do away with the evils of WPA and other government agencies to keep people from starving to death.

As a matter of fact, there is no reason in the wide world in a rational economic system why everyone should not be employed and enjoy the comfort they should have in a country such as ours. Eighty per cent of the people who are receiving any kind of income are receiving less than a family living wage which will be around \$2,000.00. There is no reason for that in a country as rich as ours.

In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor, I plead with you, first, to be vigorous in your campaign for the organization of the unorganized. Get

every man and woman that works into the ranks of organized labor. Then through the force of collective bargaining improve wages, shorten hours, and better working conditions. That is the democratic way. And for this the ranks of labor ought to stand united. I am perfectly aware of all the unfortunate circumstances that occurred in the last few years. I am perfectly well aware of the very serious provocation the American Federation of Labor has received. I am entirely sympathetic with the stand the American Federation of Labor has taken. I am also convinced that the American Federation of Labor has tried sincerely and honestly to preserve an important principle, the principle of democracy, and at the same time to keep the door open to peace. But, nevertheless, I think I may say this—unpleasant though it may be—that from the point of view of the nation, from the point of view of those who are sympathetic with labor, from the point of view of working people, the present unfortunate split in the ranks of labor is getting to amount to a national nuisance. I know where the blame lies, and I suppose that all we can do is to pray that humility and a real love and devotion for the masses of the working people may finally enter a certain head.

I have just one word of encouragement. You of the American Federation of Labor are the heirs of a great tradition; you are the heirs of men who were willing to sacrifice and to suffer for the cause of labor; you are the heirs of men who could not be frightened by the bars of prisons, or the clubs and arms of police in the service of government that served only your masters. You need today exactly the same courage and devotion. You, of course, now are legally recognized; you have the right under law to join unions of your own choosing and enter into collective bargaining through representatives of your own choice, "free from restraint, coercion or intimidation on the part of employers." You have still to battle against those who blindly resist the rights of organized labor. You must not only think of your own personal interests; you must think of the great masses of organized labor of the country.

You who are leaders of labor should consider yourselves leaders in the cause of economic and social justice. You men who serve are the real heroes of the world. And understand, ladies and gentlemen, it takes as much heroism and more enduring sacrifice to fight the battles of peace than it does to fight the battles of war, and the victories of peace are far more important than the victories of war, less spectacular but far more real, and they require the virtues of the soldier, the virtues of courage and determination, of self-denial and self-sacrifice.

Yours is a great crusade. The only reward I can offer you is that 30 and 40 and 100 years from now men in conventions such as this will look back across the years and recall your efforts with love and veneration and respect, as we now recall the names of those great heroes who founded the great American labor movement.

Therefore I say to you, go on unafraid. Yours is the battle of justice, yours, in so far as it is the cause of justice is the cause of God, and the cause of God cannot lose.

President Green: We appreciate very greatly the scholarly address delivered by Father Maguire this afternoon. He has expounded the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor in a remarkable and detailed way. I know that every delegate and every visitor here this afternoon has listened with appreciation to the logic of this address, its scholarly character and the high and lofty points he reached in the course of his address. We were glad indeed this afternoon to listen to such a magnificent address.

We thank you, Father Maguire, for coming here to deliver your address this afternoon.

I want to present to you for a minute or two a representative of the labor press. All of us appreciate the service rendered to us by the labor press. We have here the editor of a labor paper in Chicago. I present him to you for an address, Brother Charles Wills, editor of the Chicago Federationist.

MR. CHARLES WILLS
(Editor, Chicago Federationist)

President Green and fellow delegates of the 58th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and friends: In behalf of the editors of labor publications advocating the policy and principles of the American Federation of Labor, I wish to express appreciation for the great privilege accorded by President Green of presenting to this convention the importance of properly publicizing the activities and achievements of this great Federation of Labor.

I am here to submit a definite message on the importance of the labor press and its mission to this assemblage. In preparing for this occasion I naturally dug into the recorded past history of the American Federation of Labor conventions and found in almost every annual report many laudatory remarks of recognition of the great service rendered by the labor press as a decisive factor in the shaping of organized labor progress.

In my opinion there is only one reason why any publication has a right to exist as a regular medium. That reason is because it serves and advances the interests of the reader.

All of us know that there do exist today publications that were designed as conveyors for advertising, propaganda sheets which serve no purpose except to try to seduce the mind of the reader so that he will readily accept specious arguments as fact, and publications, yes, even chains of publications, that are big business and little else.

A labor paper, perhaps more than most any other type, must have the interests of the reader, which means the organized worker, in mind, first, last and all the time.

This does not mean that the labor paper should be entirely filled with educational labor propaganda. There must be some, of course, if the paper is to do its job. But this should be interspersed with stories of the activities, both business and social, of the many organizations

which are within the scope of the publication's interests.

It has been proven many times that there is nothing which makes any publication of more general interest than the frequent use of names of the people who are interested in it and read it. This is the reason so many country weekly newspapers have been able to publish profitably for years even though every one of their subscribers is probably a regular reader of a metropolitan daily.

Most readers of labor papers have never had the opportunity of seeing their names or those of their friends and associates in print as long as they lead decent lives and keep out of the toils of the police.

This fact, I believe, should be recognized and made much of as an opportunity to build reader interest in the labor paper. With the use of the type of material that includes many names, to awaken a live interest. Then you can follow this up with current news of interest to labor, editorials on labor's position with respect to current problems and educational matter that should be brought to the attention of every labor man and woman.

My personal criticism of most labor papers that I have seen is that they do not fully take advantage of the many opportunities to build a personal interest in the paper first and then proceed from there to do the educational job.

It is my experience that most of us will go to almost any lengths to avoid original thinking. The same goes for the reading of articles too patently educational. We must have our grains of knowledge sugar-coated so that they can be absorbed with a minimum of mental effort. If the labor paper is to do its most effective job, this fact, I believe, must be always kept in mind.

In order to have the proper influence and standing in the community that they deserve, labor papers should be owned, or at the very least, entirely controlled as to advertising and editorial matter by unions or by central bodies.

Experience has proven that the club of a labor paper is often too great a temptation to put in the hands of a few individuals who are quick to observe that the prestige of the labor movement can easily be used to their own financial advantage.

It is only when the paper is in the hands of a thoughtful, honest and constructive union organization that a continual lookout can be kept against the abuses of power which often creep into individual activity.

While there should be a sympathetic interest between the editorial and business department of a labor paper, the editorial department should be entirely supreme. Only in that way can it be assured that editorial matter which appears in the paper will so appear for the one and only reason that the reader is best served.

While advertising in the average publication is the life blood of the paper and has to be protected at all cost, advertising in a labor paper has more restrictions on it. Your labor paper can only accept advertising from concerns whose relationships with labor are fair. Your labor paper must always be entirely free to say just what it feels is necessary about any employer, notwithstanding the fact that he may

be a regular advertiser. If this is not true, the labor paper becomes just another publication and thereupon ceases to perform its function as a free agent to public labor news from the standpoint of the worker.

Why should the worker, who is a member of organized labor, subscribe to and support his own labor paper?

To us who have long been associated with the publication of a labor paper, this question would seem to answer itself. But because we know from our own experience that so many union men and women do not support their labor papers, there must be some who do not fully realize its importance to them and to the good of the whole movement.

The strength or the pack is the wolf and no movement is stronger than the enthusiasm and activities of those connected with it to bring about the success of all. As the labor paper is a most important link in the tying up of the loose ends of union activity in one connected whole it is one of the most important factors in the continued progress of the labor movement.

As we have said before, the paper can and should be made so interesting that the members would wish to read it as a matter of news and interest, still even though this were not done the way we would like to see it, still every union man and woman owes it to his interests in his own labor movement to subscribe to and read his labor paper. Only in that way can he or she lend the support so necessary to the labor movement.

Members of labor unions who depend on word of mouth or the comments of newspapers or magazines of general circulation for their opinions on labor affairs are always unfitted to give competent judgment to these matters.

It is just simple arithmetic. Newspapers and magazines depend on their advertising for their income and profits. They sell their publication at a price that is but a fraction of the cost of paper and ink in many cases. Therefore they must have advertising. Advertising as you know comes from employers of labor.

We all have found out by now that the opinions of employers quite often differ from our own. Yet in the daily papers and general magazines you will never find any viewpoint expressed that does not have the OK of the majority of employers. It must be so. If these publishers dared step over the line and sympathize with the viewpoints of the workers—pop, goes their advertising and the sheriff tacks up his sign.

We must recognize this fact and therefore realize that it is impossible for labor ever to get a fair shake in print except from their own papers which never have and never can afford to place the yoke of the advertiser about their neck.

Because this is so and because it is so important to the labor movement that not only the membership but also the general public have an opportunity to truly size up labor affairs, the labor press is an indispensable part of the labor movement.

But it is so easy to allow the responsibility for the success or failure of this all important labor press to rest on the shoulders of the other people. Whenever a union member does

not subscribe to and support his own labor paper, it means that others of his group who do so are forced to carry an unfair share of the load. This is so because small circulation is much more expensive than large circulation per unit printed. Therefore, the subscription price of the papers per year must be higher to the members who do carry the load.

If every member of organized labor would subscribe to the labor papers that serve their interests, circulation would be so increased that it would be possible to furnish these papers at much lower cost per member per year. And this does not take into account the prestige and influence which would come with such a move.

As we see it, the labor press has grown up slowly without much definite plan. Like Topsy, it just grew. It couldn't grow fast because those factors that make for rapid success in other publication fields are denied to the labor press. By that we mean large circulation, big advertising schedules and the money to produce publications that could compete in appearance and general interest with many other publications.

We have every respect for those pioneers of the labor press field who suffered privation and discouragement in their efforts to establish labor papers in various sections of the United States. Then, as even now, they were handicapped by the lack of support of the movement itself. Everybody professed to believe that the labor paper was a good thing and desirable but so many times the burden was shunted onto the few who backed up their opinions with cash for subscriptions and support.

Advertising in the old days was harder to secure than it is today. Employers were more hide bound in their opinions. They felt that any support given to labor mediums was money spent to wreck themselves. While something of that same idea remains today we find an increasingly enlightened viewpoint in many places.

But the labor paper that does not support itself is on thin ice. And by support itself we mean, does not have sufficient support of the membership to pay its way regardless of advertising. While advertising revenue is a very helpful and desirable thing, still no labor paper can afford to put themselves in the place where they must depend on it in any way for the existence of the paper.

This is another reason why every union man and woman must recognize that it is incumbent upon them to do all that they can to further the success of their own papers.

So much is being accomplished and so much more could be accomplished by our labor press if we would have this support. And yet how little is asked of the membership to bring this about. A few dollars a year subscription price to the paper from each member. A few minutes time to read it and be informed on labor matters so that they can intelligently discuss with their associates and with those who are influenced by these ideas to see that in the labor movement they themselves can find the help they need to improve the conditions under which they live.

Labor, too, is judged by outsiders by the interest they show in their own business. It is

always discouraging to me to have to admit that with the large number of workers who are affiliated with the Central Bodies of Labor, that so few of them are regular subscribers to our Labor Paper. It always seems to me to be a reflection on the interest those professed union people have in the labor movement.

We claim that one of the differences between the members of the A. F. of L. and some other outside labor organizations is that we are not just "dues paying members." We have flattered ourselves that our membership is so much a part of the whole that they have the enthusiasm and the interest to support everything that has indications of being of value to the movement.

And yet in the case of our labor press, who can claim that this is true? But it can be true. If every delegate who attends this great convention would make it a point to go home and work among their own associates to secure a keener and more effective support of their own labor papers, such an impetus would be given the labor press as has never been known.

If conditions such as prevail in some sections of the world today obtained here in this country we could not have a labor press at all. Then we would all be setting up such a hue and cry as could be heard from one end of the country to the other.

But we do have it. We have the facilities and the ability to put before the workers of this country the FACTS as we see and analyze them. Why do we not have a greater awakening of the job that we are doing among the rank and file to the point that they subscribe to and read their labor paper?

I have already suggested what you might do to assist in promoting your local labor publication. I now ask that you thoroughly analyze the statements I have made. I want you to reflect on what publication, if any, supported your organization and properly presented your case to the general public.

You will have to admit it was the labor newspapers. You could not expect the dailies who are depending upon large advertisers to champion your cause. There are many organizations represented here in this convention who can give testimony that cannot be questioned, as to the support received in my home district, Chicago, by our labor paper and broadcast station, WCFL. Other districts had the same experience.

Therefore, in conclusion, I urge that you assist in building up a publicity medium that will give to you the service necessary to advise the public of the noble purpose for which this Federation of Labor was organized, and its determination to meet and defeat all obstacles until these purposes have been accomplished.

Again, in behalf of my associate editors who are loyal to the principles of this Federation, we extend to you our appreciation for the support and cooperation we have received from you in the way of subscriptions. We shall continue to serve your best interest; the columns of the labor press will always be open to you, and finally we thank the Executive Council for their splendid report in which they made mention of and praised the work that we have done and the loyalty of our publication to the American Federation of Labor.

May I ask that you take a greater interest

in behalf of the labor press, and help us build a mouthpiece that will have greater power and influence in bringing the message of organized labor to those who desire the real facts of the aims and objects of the American Federation of Labor.

I thank you. I hope I have been able to deliver the message of my associates to you, and I urge an awakening in you, and if you don't like the type of labor publications we are giving you, for heaven's sake, show some kind of business integrity and develop your own means of expression, because you can't expect it to come from the other side.

President Green: In your name and in your behalf I thank Brother Wills for the address he delivered this afternoon.

Now the Chair recognizes Vice-President Duffy, Chairman of the Committee on Organization.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Vice-President Duffy: I would like to ask Brother Joe Ozanic, secretary of the committee, to come to the platform. He will read the report. He is a new delegate from the Progressive Miners' Union of America.

Delegate Ozanic, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Organization has carefully and seriously considered and discussed that part of the Executive Council's Report under the caption

"EXTENSION OF OUR ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN"

appearing on pages 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, and 86, of the Executive Council's Report and it is with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction we learn of the work done, the gains made, the charters issued and the Councils established during the past year, as well as the prospects in view for further progress and advancement in the near future if funds can be provided for that purpose; and funds must be provided if the Executive Council is to carry on and continue this work, which has been ordered and placed upon their shoulders, by the 1934, 1935, 1936 and 1937 conventions of the American Federation of Labor. Because of the issues involved and the information supplied your Committee feels that part of the Executive Council's Report herein before mentioned should be read, so no misunderstanding may exist as to what is really and actually wanted. The cooperation, help, assistance, advice and encouragement of National and International Unions is desired and wanted at all times, so is the cooperation of all City

Central and State Bodies, in order to make this organizing campaign a success.

The Council in its report on this matter says:

While the national and international organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have carried on organizing work within their respective jurisdictions in a highly successful way, the American Federation of Labor itself has extended its organizing work among the unorganized workers in the fields outside of the respective jurisdictions of affiliated national and international unions. This action is in conformity with instructions of the San Francisco Convention of the American Federation of Labor which was held in 1934, and all conventions of the American Federation of Labor which have been held since that time.

In order to facilitate the organizing work of the American Federation of Labor an Organization Department was created and a Director of Organization placed in charge. Through such Department the organization activities of the American Federation of Labor were coordinated and the intensity of our organizing campaign increased. Lewis G. Hines, who had served as an organizer for the American Federation of Labor, was appointed Director and placed in charge of the Organization Department.

Unorganized workers in every section have manifested increasing interest in organization and have responded to the appeals of our organizing staff to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, in a most wonderful and successful way. We have organized many thousands of workers in industries where no semblance of organization had ever before existed. For instance, in the agricultural and cannery industries in California, on the Pacific Coast and elsewhere, thousands of workers were organized into unions directly affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who had known nothing about organization before. Our experience gained in this particular field shows that these workers, notwithstanding they are employed in seasonal industries, remain loyal and steadfast to the American Federation of Labor when they become organized.

The fields in which the American Federation of Labor has specialized are among those employed as office workers and those classified as white collar workers, beet sugar workers, cement workers, gasoline station attendants, and in the flour and cereal milling, fabricated metal, aluminum, agricultural and cannery, chemical, distillery and communications industries, as well as miscellaneous workers employed in other fields.

The organizing staff of the American Federation of Labor has been aggressive and alert. The workers who become organized have manifested a fighting spirit and as a result, contracts have been negotiated which provide for increases in wages and improvements in working conditions. On the other hand, through the mobilization of their economic strength in well-established organizations, they have in numerous instances successfully resisted any and all attempts to impose reductions in wages. In accordance with the traditional policy of the

American Federation of Labor strikes have been inaugurated and supported where it became absolutely necessary in order to maintain the integrity of local federal labor union wage scales established and conditions of employment gained through organized effort and collective bargaining. State Federations of Labor and City Central Unions have given our organizing staff and the American Federation of Labor most valuable support.

We review with a feeling of deep satisfaction the progress made in our organization work during the past year, and we are gratified, indeed, over the success which attended our efforts. The workers everywhere are turning to the American Federation of Labor. They are learning through experience and by contrast with a dual, seceding movement, more and more of the real value and worth of the American Federation of Labor. Public opinion, which develops but slowly in favor of or against movements which are launched in the economic, social and political life of the Nation, has crystallized in support of the American Federation of Labor. We have more real friends outside the American Federation of Labor than we ever before had in all the history of our great movement.

The call for assistance and help coming from the unorganized workers of the Nation is increasing and the demands made upon us for organizers to perfect organization among unorganized workers, is greater than ever before. We have found it impossible to respond as fully as conditions demand to the appeals which have been made for field workers, organizers, and assistance. It is the purpose and policy of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with all national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in carrying on their own organizing campaigns, and in addition concentrate our efforts in carrying on organizing work among those employed in the industries named in this report and in the miscellaneous industries where little or no organization has ever existed.

The American Federation of Labor has gone to the limit of its financial ability in carrying on organizing work in all sections, industries and communities. We will continue this policy. Every appeal for organizing assistance and help will be met so far as our financial resources will permit. In order to do this and to carry on our organizing work in a bigger, broader and even more aggressive way, it is necessary that adequate funds be provided.

The Executive Council recommends, therefore, that this, the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor, authorize and direct the continuance of the assessment of one cent per member per month, which was legally and officially levied at the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Denver, Colorado, in October, 1937, for another year. The funds provided through the payment of this assessment will enable the American Federation of Labor to continue its organization policies, maintain the gains we have already made, and render additional service both to national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to the unorganized workers of the nation.

Your Committee concurs in this part of the

Executive Council's Report and commends the Council for so faithfully carrying out the directions of our last convention.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Federman, Fur Workers: Mr. President and fellow delegates, I would like to know why in this report on the Executive Council no mention is made about certain local unions which were affiliated with the International Union that broke away from the International when it went over to the C.I.O., from last year's convention up until now. I want to give you the little information on the question of the furriers.

In our city eight months ago we broke away from the International Union, dominated by the Communist Party. At that time we did not have any finances, and there are still \$7,000.00 in the bank. The trial will take place in the next few weeks.

We appealed to President Green and he gave us full assistance and great support. We are still battling the fur workers affiliated with the C.I.O., not only in Toronto, but in Seattle, Washington. We also have a local union in New Jersey, and in other cities we are preparing a big organization drive of the fur workers in general in the United States and Canada.

That is why I say they should be mentioned in this report. As far as the recommendation of the Committee on Organization is concerned, I urge the delegates to be unanimously 100% behind it, because of the fact that today, when we are going to have a dual trade union center, it is not only necessary to organize the unorganized workers, but even those that are organized should come back into the American Federation of Labor, because we all realize there is only one trade union center in the United States and Canada.

We also know that for the last ten years we have been fighting industrial unions. You will remember the time when it was Communist domination in the industrial unions and you will remember the remarks and the statements that were made not only against President Green, but even against John L. Lewis and the others.

But after ten years of fighting they finally had to give up the industrial unions, because it was a dual union to the American Federation of Labor.

Fellow delegates, it won't take very long until all the other unions realize there is only

room in the United States and Canada today for one trade union center, under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: Perhaps the Chair ought to make a brief explanation in reply to the inquiry made by Brother Federman, of Toronto, Canada. I cannot tell at the moment just why we did not refer to the campaign of organization which has been carried on among the fur workers. The facts are that the organizing campaign in the fur workers ought to have been included in the report of the Executive Council. We have made progress in organizing Federal Labor Unions composed of fur workers, and Brother Federman, I think represents three Federal Labor Unions organized at Toronto, Canada. As he explained, we have organized fur workers in Seattle, Washington, New York, and in other places.

I am glad to make this explanation because we did not wish to overlook the inclusion of the fine work which has been done in the organizing campaign carried on among the fur workers of the country.

Vice-President Duffy: I only want to say this, that we dealt with that part of the Executive Council's report as it was presented to us. Now if the delegate from the fur workers had come before the Committee on Organization we might have been able to have something in our report relative to the work done in Toronto, but that matter was not before us.

This part of the report of the Executive Council deals with organizing, organizing activities, the extension of our organizing campaign, and the Executive Council recommending a continuance of the payment of one cent per member per month for the next year.

The Committee on Organization concurs and approves, and that question is now the main question before this convention.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

SPECIAL ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES

For the information of the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention, the Executive Council submits herein a more detailed report upon organizing activities within the different fields in which the American Federation of Labor has specialized in its organizing work.

Office and White Collar Workers

We have continued the organization campaign among office workers and white collar workers, including insurance agents, which was inaugurated by the American Federation of

Labor several years ago. During the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor an Office Employees International Council was formed. The local unions composed of office workers established in the different cities and towns throughout the Nation became affiliated with this Council. New local unions of white collar and office workers have been established in many cities. The membership of these local unions has increased in a very substantial way. Sixty-eight active local unions of office workers have been formed. Organizers are specializing in carrying forward organizing work among office and white collar workers. Many agreements have been negotiated with employers. In every instance higher and better wages have been secured and provisions for improvements in working conditions have been incorporated in all contracts. Because of the aroused interest in organization manifested by office workers and white collar workers everywhere, it is clearly evident that many thousands of office and white collar workers will be organized during the coming year.

Your Committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Beet Sugar Workers

In September, 1937, the American Federation of Labor inaugurated a campaign among the employees in this industry, and up to the present time twenty-three local unions have been established in the States of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Colorado, Montana, Utah, Wyoming and Washington. Separate agreements were negotiated covering wages, hours, recognition and conditions in the various companies as the local unions were organized. A conference was called on July 24, 1938, of the aforementioned local unions for the purpose of preparing a basic agreement for the industry. In addition, the ground work for organization in this industry has been laid in the States of Michigan, Ohio, Wisconsin and Indiana, where organization will be completed at the opening of the campaign season around the latter part of August and early September.

Your Committee concurs in this part of your Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Cement Workers

The Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which was held at San Francisco, California, in October, 1934, directed the Executive Council to launch and carry forward a special organizing campaign among those employed in cement manufacturing plants. This action was undoubtedly taken by the convention because of the unorganized condition of those employed in this important industry. There was no organization existing among these workers in the cement industry at the time when the aforementioned action was taken. The instructions of the convention were complied with and a campaign of organization launched among those employed in cement manufacturing plants as quickly as it was possible to do so. That campaign of

organization has been carried on continuously and most aggressively. As a result local organizations have been established in practically every cement manufacturing plant throughout the Nation. Eighty-two local unions have been organized. These local unions formed a National Council of Cement Workers under the supervision and direction of the American Federation of Labor. This Council is functioning in a highly successful way. Annual meetings have been held and through said Council the work of organization has been coordinated and a greater degree of uniformity in the development of wage scales and working conditions has been achieved. Contracts have been negotiated between these federal labor unions of cement workers and their employers at practically every cement manufacturing plant in the Nation. These contracts represent decided improvements in wages and working conditions. Many new contracts have been negotiated and many old ones have been renewed. These cement workers have successfully resisted every attempt that has been made to reduce their wages even though these attempts were made during a period of widespread unemployment such as existed during the past year. We review with a feeling of deep satisfaction the progress which the American Federation of Labor made in the organizing campaign it launched in the cement manufacturing industry.

Your Committee feels that wonderful work has been done in this industry in organizing and chartering eighty-two local unions and establishing a National Council of Cement Workers under the supervision of the American Federation of Labor. We therefore concur in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Aluminum Workers

We have carried forward our work of organization among those employed in the aluminum manufacturing industry with renewed vigor during the past year. In this particular field, however, the secession, dual movement has carried on a raiding policy. We met this challenge in a firm and uncompromising way. There are eighteen federal labor unions of aluminum workers chartered by and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Wage scales have been negotiated between these aluminum workers and their employers. It is our purpose to continue our organizing campaign in a firm and determined way among those employed in the aluminum manufacturing industry.

Your Committee concurs in this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Flour, Feed and Cereal Mill Workers

We have centered our efforts in a special way in organizing work in this particular field. Notwithstanding many difficulties which we met we have made most decided and grati-

lying progress. We have succeeded in organizing practically 40 per cent of those employed in the grain processing industry. We have organized eighty-eight local unions among those employed in the milling industry. The National Council of Grain Processors has been set up. This Council is functioning in a most harmonious and satisfactory way. Organization has been carried on in the field of flour milling, cereal manufacturing, feed manufacturing and rice milling. Contractual negotiations have been completed with practically every large milling company operating in the United States and the dues-paying membership has shown a steady increase. Practically every member is covered by contract which safeguards his seniority rights, provides for a general 40-hour week (with few exceptions), time and one-half over the 8-hour day and the 40-hour week, vacations of two weeks for employees with more than a year's service, and the elimination of most of the evils which have existed in the industry in the past. The National Council of Grain Processors has shown a steady increase in membership, gradually moved into new territory, and is now in a concerted drive for members in the rice milling industry in the South and the Southwest.

Your Committee is gratified with the work accomplished in organizing the Flour, Feed and Cereal Mill Workers and those employed in the grain processing industry. Eighty-eight Local Unions of workers in the milling industry have been formed and a National Council of Grain Processors has been established and contracts have been entered into covering hours, wages and working conditions.

Your Committee feels the Executive Council is to be congratulated on the showing made in organizing this industry. We therefore willingly concur and approve of this part of the Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Fabricated Metal Workers

We have organized a very large number of those employed in the fabricated metal industries of the Nation. Fifty-four local unions of fabricated metal and enamelware workers have been organized and chartered by the American Federation of Labor. A Council of Fabricated Metal and Enamelware Workers has been created and is serving as a clearing house for information and as an instrumentality through which these newly organized workers can coordinate their economic, financial and industrial interests. Our organizers have been alert and active, responding quickly to every request for service that reached them from unorganized workers employed in this important industry. This is a growing industry. Furthermore, it is highly competitive. The need for organization both from the economic and competitive standpoint is very great. It is the purpose and determination of the American Federation of Labor to continue to carry on an aggressive organizing campaign in this field.

Your Committee concurs and approves this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Textile Workers

The American Federation of Labor has engaged in organization activities among those employed in textile manufacturing plants in a number of communities. Because of the chaos and division which was created within the ranks of the textile workers by the dual Committee for Industrial Organization, textile workers are confused. Many of them became discouraged and disheartened. The indications are that they are now turning to their parent body, the American Federation of Labor. We have organized a substantial number of textile workers. We are certain that the continuous campaign which we will carry on in this field will bring satisfactory results. It is our purpose and determination to organize those workers who wish and desire to become a part of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee approves this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Lumber Workers

The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have carried forward a most intensive campaign among the lumber, logging and sawmill workers of the Northwest. This became necessary because of the dual, seceding C.I.O. movement which raided this field where the workers had been organized into unions affiliated with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. The fight which grew out of this attempt of the C.I.O. to raid organized lumber, logging and sawmill workers became intense in many communities. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America have been winning their fight. Lumber, logging and sawmill workers who had been persuaded to leave the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America and become associated with the C.I.O. have learned through bitter experience of the serious mistake they made. Many thousands of them have left the C.I.O. and returned to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. In all this bitter contest the American Federation of Labor has given to the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America a full and complete measure of support. We were glad to do so because the fight involved the question as to whether we would permit the dual, secession movement to raid local unions which had been formed and established by an international union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. We know it is the determination of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America to carry on the fight in the Northwest against the raiding tactics and policies of the C.I.O., no matter how long the contest may last, until the C.I.O. is driven out and the lumber, logging and sawmill workers are united in a harmonious organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee is gratified to learn that with the assistance and cooperation of the American Federation of Labor the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, has been so successful in opposing and repelling the C.I.O. in their efforts to take over the Timber, Lumber and Saw Mill Workers from the Brotherhood of Carpenters.

We commend the Executive Council for the firm and unyielding stand they took against the C.I.O. in the lumber industry in the Northwest. We therefore approve of this part of the Executive Council's Report and recommend that the Executive Council continue to assist the Brotherhood of Carpenters in this fight until the C.I.O. is driven out of that territory.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Agricultural, Cannery and Citrus Workers

The progress we have made in this particular field is little short of remarkable. We have established sixty-four local unions of agricultural, cannery and citrus workers. They number more than 21,305 workers. The success we have met in this field has been won against the combined opposition of hostile employers and the Committee for Industrial Organization, which has constantly attempted to raid our organized and established cannery and agricultural workers federal labor unions. We have found it necessary to be on the alert in order to counteract the efforts of the Committee for Industrial Organization to raid these splendid federal labor unions. In the efforts put forth to carry on their raiding tactics they have attempted to enlist the services and help of the National Labor Relations Board. We have been compelled to meet complaint charges filed by C.I.O. representatives who have sought to have our federal labor unions destroyed and contracts set aside. The hearing requested by the C.I.O. has been conducted in San Francisco for many weeks. It is an attempt on the part of the C.I.O. to prevail upon the National Labor Relations Board to invalidate contracts which were honorably entered into. We have met this attack with all the power and vigor at our command. We shall continue to do so. It is a part of the policy of the American Federation of Labor to carry on aggressive organizing work among those employed in the agricultural, cannery and citrus industry. We firmly expect to increase our membership in this particular field in a most substantial way during the coming year.

Your Committee approves of this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chemical Workers

Several former local unions have been re-established and a number of new ones installed

in this industry as a result of our efforts among this group of workers. The local unions already established are on a firm basis and considerable progress is being made in the industry. A number of contracts have been negotiated and are in force, and new ones are now being negotiated.

Your Committee approves of this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Distillery Workers

The American Federation of Labor made gratifying progress in the organizing work it has carried on among those employed in the winery and distillery industries of the country. We have organized twenty-five federal labor unions of distillery workers. Agreements covering practically all of these distillery workers have been negotiated. Wages and working conditions have been greatly improved. We have specialized in our efforts to consolidate our gains in this particular field and to go forward in all our organizing work. We have been compelled to meet the activities of the C.I.O. in this particular field. It is attempting to raid our established federal labor unions of distillery workers in a number of places. Notwithstanding this fact, we are meeting with a large measure of success. We expect to organize this field fully and completely within the near future.

Your Committee approves of this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Communication Workers

We have assisted the Commercial Telegraphers Union in the organization of communication employees, and more recently inaugurated a campaign among the employees of the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Your Committee approves of this part of the Executive Council's Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Miscellaneous

Outstanding among the miscellaneous groups organized are the following: Brush Workers, Salt Workers, Gypsum Mill Workers, Organ Makers, Refrigerator Workers, Warehousemen, Optical Workers, Drug Company Employees, Bag Makers, Sugar Refinery Workers, Green House Workers, Fishery Employees, Newspaper Employees, (various) Fertilizer Workers, colored Freight Handlers and hundreds of others too varied to be mentioned at this time. Furthermore, special assistance was extended to the following organizations:

Laundry Workers' International Union
American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
United Leather Workers' International Union
International Glove Workers' Union of America

International Metal Engravers' Union
 International Ladies' Handbag, Pocketbook
 and Novelty Workers
 United Brick and Clay Workers
 Commercial Telegraphers,

in their organizing campaigns. The officers and members of national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor extended most valuable assistance in all this organizing work. In addition, the rights of all these affiliated unions were protected and their jurisdictional authority fully recognized. The records show that during the months from July, 1937, to and including June, 1938, our organizers have applied for and charters have been issued to 809 local trade and federal labor unions. This figure does not include those applications which were forwarded to the various national and international unions whose jurisdictions covered such groups.

Your Committee approves this part of the Executive Council's report and again congratulates the Executive Council in the showing made during the past year in organizing work. We recommend that the organization campaign among miscellaneous groups be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair wishes to make this observation. The report of the Organization Committee will be included in the proceedings of today's convention. I know many of you must have listened with mingled feelings of admiration and surprise to this section of the report of the Organization Committee.

We could not all of us appreciate fully the great, extensive work that has been carried on by the American Federation of Labor during the past year. Here are the facts submitted in this concrete, definite report of the Organization Committee.

I presume that many of the delegates in attendance at this convention, back in your home communities and in your home localities where you reside and work frequently hear critics of the American Federation of Labor allege that we are standing still, that the American Federation of Labor is refusing to organize the unorganized. Some have even gone so far as to say that the American Federation of Labor does not even want to organize the unorganized.

Well, my friends, we are placing in your hands an answer to such criticism, and when it is directed at the American Federation of

Labor in your presence and in your hearing you can make answer by simply reading this true and correct report of the Organization Committee to this convention.

We have organized, as you will note, in fields where no organization ever existed before. We have organized hundreds of new local unions, as the report shows. Practically every national and international union has done likewise. Some national and international unions represented in this convention have doubled their membership during the past year. This is a glorious page in the report of the Executive Council to this convention. I am proud of our achievement, and I predict that next year we will do more than we have done during the past year.

The Chair recognizes the secretary of the committee for a continuation of the report.

Delegate Ozanic, Secretary of the Committee, read Resolution No. 9 and the report of the committee thereon.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters, rose to speak on the question.

President Green called attention to the fact that the hour of adjournment had arrived and suggested Delegate Randolph withhold his remarks until the following day, when he would be recognized by the Chair.

Delegate Randolph agreed to the request.

Announcements

President Green: The Chair will now recognize the chairmen of committees for announcements.

Vice President Rickert: As previously announced, the Committee on Adjustment will meet in Parlor A, Rice Hotel, tonight at 8:00 o'clock. The committee desires to have the representatives interested in the following resolutions brought before it: Resolution No. 71, Masters, Mates and Pilots versus Longshoremen; Resolution No. 72, Stove Mounters versus Sheet Metal Workers; Resolution No. 73, Stove Mounters versus Foundry Employees; Resolution No. 74, Building Service Employees versus Hotel and Restaurant Employees; Resolution No. 125, Carpenters versus Upholsterers.

At 5:30 p.m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Friday morning, October 7, 1938.

Fifth Day—Friday Morning Session

Houston, Texas,
October 7, 1938.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Greasy, Hewelth, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucna, McDevitt, Mabae, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Paten, Webb.

INVOCATION

(Rev. W. E. Shuttleworth, Pastor, Park Memorial Baptist Church)

Our Heavenly Father, we come this morning in this great convention assembled, with bowed heads and humble hearts because of Thy many goodnesses and mercies Thou has extended toward us all the days of our lives. We thank Thee this morning, our Heavenly Father, for these men and women who come from throughout these United States and Canada, and islands of the sea, and the East, and Europe. We pray, our Heavenly Father, that Thy benediction will be upon them. Guide them in their deliberations that they may promote peace and harmony in the organizations of labor.

And, our Heavenly Father, we pray Thee that Thy blessing shall be upon these gathered here as well as those whom they represent and upon their families. May Thy Holy Spirit guide them aright as they plan and as they put into perfection the plans they make. Guide them, we pray; bless our nation; grant that peace may be in all the nations of the earth, and that men may come to love each other, both labor and capital working together for the promotion of the common good of all humanity throughout the world. Bless the presiding officers and every one who shall contribute anything to this meeting today. We ask that in the name of Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Washington, D. C., October 5, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Rice Hotel, Houston.

Your telegram October 5 pledging support to railroad workers in their fight to maintain existing wages was read to the heads of all rail unions today and I was directed to acknowledge with grateful appreciation this assurance of support. With every good wish

for a most successful and constructive convention and kindest personal regards.

GEORGE M. HARRISON,
Chairman,
Railway Labor Executives Assn.

New York,
October 4, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
58th Convention, Rice Hotel, Houston.

Permit me in name of International Ladies Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union to express our well wishes to the 58th Convention of the American Federation of Labor. Regret exceedingly that our last convention for reasons best known to you personally failed to elect delegates to your convention. Be assured that our International Union is today more than ever loyal to the Federation and wishes the convention success in all its deliberations. We are confident our physical absence from the convention will in no wise jeopardize our legitimate plea for extended jurisdiction to include the tannery workers. May the conclusion of your sessions find a greater trade union movement in America.

HARRY GEVERTZMANN, Sec'y-Treas.,
International Ladies Handbag, Pocketbook and Novelty Workers Union.

Supplemental Report, Committee on Credentials

Secretary Her read the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined credentials and recommends that the following be seated:

Lowell, Mass., Central Labor Union—Sidney E. Le Bow, 1 vote.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Stokes of the Local Committee on Arrangements, again announced a rodeo parade at 10:00 o'clock Saturday morning; that the rodeo performance would be held at Buffalo Stadium both Saturday afternoon and Sunday afternoon; that transportation had not been arranged, but that taxis and buses were available; that ladies were requested to register at the information booth for the San Jacinto trip next Wednesday, and register for the sight seeing trip Thursday; that the local ladies had provided souvenirs for the lady delegates and visitors, which they could secure at the information booth. He also announced that a good program had

been provided for the colored delegates for Sunday, and requested them to get in touch with Chairman Everett, who would take care of them.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Organization, Vice President Duffy.

Vice President Duffy requested Secretary Ozanic to come to the platform.

President Green: When we adjourned yesterday afternoon we had under consideration Resolution No. 9, introduced by Delegates A. Philip Randolph and M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Vice President Duffy: When we adjourned last night the committee had submitted its report on Resolution No. 9. At that time Delegate Randolph was on the floor, and President Green asked him if he would mind holding over until morning, which he agreed to do. The question is now before you.

Resolution No. 9 and the report of the committee are as follows:

Protesting Constitutional Provisions of Trade Unions Barring Negro Membership

Resolution No. 9.—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The color bar and various subtle forms of race discrimination, some open and others disguised, operate to curtail the right of Negro workers to various jobs, without regard to skill, training and experience; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination by trade unions tends to divide the workers upon a basis of race and color, thereby playing into the hands of the employer who fundamentally cares no more for a white worker than he does for a black worker; and

WHEREAS, Whenever a trade union excludes a worker merely because of race or color, such exclusion weakens the entire labor movement, and lessens its power to fight for decent wage rates, humane hours of work and improved working conditions that will assure living standards commensurate with health, comfort and decency; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 58th Annual Convention, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record calling upon all national and international unions and departments to eliminate the color bar and all forms of discrimination which serve to exclude workers from membership on account of race or color; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor call upon the conventions of national

and international unions whose constitutions have color clauses and that practice discrimination against Negro workers, to create a committee to report on the question of the color bar and various forms of race discrimination to their next convention, for discussion and abolition.

Your committee concurs in the intent of this resolution and recommends it to the Executive Council in the spirit in which it is submitted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Randolph, who will speak upon the resolution and upon the committee's report.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention—I rise to support the report of the committee and to add a few remarks. The members of the committee discussed this question to some extent. There were no dissenting voices, although there was some expression of apprehension with respect to the question of autonomy of national and international unions. However, I explained to the committee that I thought the convention could at least call upon the national and international unions to eliminate the color bar and provide some basis for discussion of this question by this convention, and so the committee concurred in the resolution.

Now the American Federation of Labor itself has frequently taken a position on this question of negro workers. Whenever the colored workers have been excluded from national and international unions, Federal charters have been issued and these negro workers brought into the American Federation of Labor. Of course Federal charters are not always effective agencies in organizing the workers, especially if the locals are small, because of the lack of financial resources. Nevertheless, it must be stated that the Federation as such has always taken a position in favor of organizing the negro workers.

There are about twenty national and international unions that exclude negro workers by the color bar and various other forms of discrimination. There are many international unions that take in negro workers. There is Vice-President Joe Ryan's organization, the International Longshoremen's Association. There are several international negro vice-presidents of that organization. There is the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers' organization. They have had a negro international vice-president for some time. The International Hotel and Restaurant Employees have recently seated and elected a negro international vice-president. The Musicians'

Union has thousands of negro workers in its ranks.

But as I have before indicated, there are twenty or more unions that do not permit negro workers to join at all, and it is an outstanding disgrace to the trade union movement. There is no doubt about this matter.

There is no international president who would himself attempt to justify the exclusion of a worker merely upon the basis of race or color. I have had some of the international presidents tell me that they are in favor of negro workers joining their union, but that their southern constituency was opposed to it, that the southern members would not stand for it. And so this resolution is calculated to help educate the workers in the South to realize that they have everything in common with their black brothers and nothing in opposition.

As a matter of fact, the black men and the white men of the South are both in poverty. We are being exploited and oppressed and outraged by the employers, and they have everything to gain through power that can emanate from organization. Therefore, the black brothers and the white brothers of the South should not fight each other. Their salvation lies in helping each other, and that is the purpose and intent of this resolution.

I think this resolution is a distinct improvement upon the handling of this question by previous conventions, and it is calculated to have a wholesome and educational effect upon the negro people of the country.

May I say that President Green has always responded to the call of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, its officials and members have a deep affection and high esteem for President Green. Even before we had Federal charters he came to the rescue of the organization in giving co-operation.

And so the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters takes the position that in order to help bring the negro workers into the American Federation of Labor, some bona fide attempt must be made by the American Federation of Labor itself to get negro workers in. That is why I hope this convention will adopt this resolution, because it certainly will work for the betterment and the advancement of the relations between the negro and white workers throughout the nation.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Davis, of the Teachers' Union.

Delegate Davis, American Federation of Teachers:

Mr. President, on behalf of the organized teachers of America, I rise to support the motion by Brother Randolph. If there is any one principle that the American Federation of Labor has always stood for, it has been the principle of equality and brotherhood and against prejudice in any of its forms. One of the greatest obstacles to the abolition of exploitation is class prejudice and race prejudice.

Another great principle which the American Federation of Labor has stood for has been opposition to Fascism. I have just returned from Europe, where I have seen the Fascist countries in action, and one of the basic principles of Fascism is racial prejudice. I saw it in action in Germany, where they shaved the heads of the Jews, where they put them in concentration camps, where they smashed the labor unions.

Prejudice is one of the basic factors in the Fascist system which the American Federation of Labor has frequently gone on record against. Now we cannot speak against prejudice in Fascist countries while we retain in our own country prejudice in any international union of workers. Therefore, it is essential that while we stand absolutely opposed to dictatorship and Fascism abroad, we should also stand absolutely opposed to any form of prejudice within our own ranks.

One of the methods of demonstrating to the world that we are genuinely opposed to every Fascist method is to pass the resolution proposed by Brother Randolph. I could have wished that we might have adopted this resolution from the floor of the convention, but it seems to me it is a great step forward. We can pass this on to the Executive Council for them to take constructive steps in really building brotherhood and fraternity in fact in every union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, as we always do in theory. I therefore hope this resolution will receive the support of every delegate.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Request for A. F. of L. Organizer for Western Canada

Resolution No. 68—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, John P. Redmond, James A. Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has no paid organizer west of Fort William in Ontario, Canada; and

WHEREAS, Many local organizations not affiliated with the American Labor movement have been organized in this territory; and

WHEREAS, The members in these various organizations are not imbued with the sound principles of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The International Association of Fire Fighters, in convention assembled did approve of a request being made to the American Federation of Labor that a paid organizer be appointed for the district west of Fort William, Ontario, to Vancouver, B. C., in Canada, and that this request be presented to the convention of the American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the fifty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor, do hereby endorse and request for the appointment of said paid organizer, for the aforementioned district.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and refers it to the Executive Council to put into effect if the funds of the Federation permit.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Organization of Western Union Telegraph Employees.

Resolution No. 97—By Delegate Frank B. Powers, The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Western Union Telegraph Company during its entire history has been bitterly opposed to organized labor, and

WHEREAS, With the active assistance of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, the Commercial Telegraphers' Union has signed up a large majority of Western Union employees in Washington, D. C., and

WHEREAS, The thanks of those Western Union members of the CTU, as well as other divisions of the CTU, is extended to the American Federation of Labor for its assistance, and

WHEREAS, Western Union employees in other cities are gradually swinging away from their company union affiliation and only require personal contacts with organizers to line up with the CTU, and

WHEREAS, The CIO affiliate, American Communications Association, heavily financed for the past year and a half by the CIO, and known to be led by Communists or Communist followers, is striving in every way possible to capture this important telegraph communication link for the Communist Party, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor declares itself to be wholeheartedly in favor of continuing the work of organizing the Western Union Telegraph Company, and to that end pledges all possible assistance

to the Commercial Telegraphers Union, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urges that all affiliated organizations assist in this campaign by assigning organizers and co-operating in any other way possible with the Commercial Telegraphers' Union.

Your committee concurs in this resolution and recommends it be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FRANK DUFFY, Chairman
JOE OZANIC, Secretary
W. H. ROBINSON
JOHN P. BURKE
FRANK GILLMORE
PATRICK H. REAGAN
MATTHEW TAYLOR
EDWARD CANAVAN
ANDREW J. KENNEDY
JAMES BOVE
CHRIS LANE
JOHN J. SCULLY
JOHN B. PREWITT
EARL JIMERSON
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH SCHMIDT
J. W. BUZZELL
G. R. TSCHIRN
CECIL EKLUND
Committee on Organization.

Vice President Duffy: That is all we have to report up to the present time.

President Green: That completes the partial report of the Committee on Organization. The committee will be continued and later on will submit a report on any other matters that may be referred to them.

We have scheduled for this morning the submission of an address by the legal counsel of the American Federation of Labor, Judge Padway. I will ask a committee composed of Delegates Harvey Brown, of the Machinists; Morris Feinstone, of the Hebrew Trades Organization, New York, and Bertram Day, of the Kenosha, Wisconsin, Trades and Labor Council, to escort Judge Padway to the platform.

The committee complied with the request, and escorted the speaker to the platform.

President Green: I am very happy this morning in that I am privileged to present to you the legal counsel of the American Federation of Labor, Judge Padway has been serving in a most wonderful and valuable way as counsel for the American Federation

of Labor during the past year, and as a result of his experience he has been able to understand, perhaps as no man connected with our movement could understand, the mental attitude of the members of the National Labor Relations Board and the significance of a number of decisions rendered by said Board. I want to say in his behalf that he has worked untiringly for us. He has given us the benefit of his trained professional service. I appreciate very greatly the fine, unselfish, valuable service he has been rendering the cause of organized labor, and particularly the American Federation of Labor. You know that for years he served as counsel for the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor. He comes, therefore, as a trained counsellor. He has equipped himself through education to qualify as a great lawyer, and then supplemented that with a special study of labor's legal problems and legal procedure. I have found that no man in Wisconsin is held in higher regard by the working people of that great state and that splendid organized labor movement than Judge Padway. We hold him in the same high regard. I am happy and pleased to present to you this morning the counsellor of the American Federation of Labor, Judge Joseph A. Padway.

HONORABLE JOSEPH A. PADWAY
(Counsellor, American Federation of Labor)

Mr. President, Delegates to this Convention,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

You are indeed kind to me, Mr. President, and I appreciate wholeheartedly your generous statements concerning me and my work. If the services I have rendered to the American Federation of Labor as its legal counsel are of value the credit is not entirely due me. Every lawyer agrees that the necessary attribute for good law work is to have a good, understanding client. In you, Mr. President, and in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor under whose direction I perform my work, I have a good and understanding client. I shall continue to render service to you and to the Federation to the best of my ability, and, I hope, with some degree of success.

When I addressed your Convention at San Francisco in 1934, on the subject of "Labor And The Law," I stated that the next five years would bring forth greater judicial pronouncements affecting labor than had been made in the previous twenty-five years. I made the prediction that the United States Supreme Court and the Courts of the various states would hand down their most momentous decisions in the field of labor.

I made the prediction on the basis of legislation which had just been enacted, and legislation which was being discussed with a view to enactment. These enactments were

so fundamental and revolutionary in the field of labor relations that court litigation was inevitable. Some of these enactments passed in recent years are the following:

In 1932 the Congress of the United States passed what is commonly known as the Norris-LaGuardia Act, the purpose of which was to limit and curb the power of courts in the issuance of labor injunctions.

In 1933, the National Industrial Recovery Act was passed, the purpose of which was to encourage national industrial recovery so as to overcome unemployment and bring about a reorganization of industry which had been demoralized during the preceding depression years.

In 1934 the Railway Labor Act was passed, the purpose of which, among other things, was to provide for prompt disposition of disputes between carriers and employees.

In 1934 the so-called "kick back" statute was passed which provides for fines and imprisonment for anyone who shall be guilty of inducing a worker to give back part of his wages for work performed on public projects.

In 1935 the National Labor Relations Act was passed which provides among other things for guarantees to workers of the right to self-organization and the duty of employers to bargain collectively with the representatives of employees.

In the same year the Davis-Bacon Act was amended. This enactment provides for minimum and prevailing wage rates on public construction projects.

In 1935 the Social Security Act was passed to provide for old age pensions, old age retirement benefits, unemployment insurance and aid to the states for dependent and crippled children, disabled and blind persons and other welfare projects.

In 1936 a law was passed making it a felony to transport strike breakers in interstate or foreign commerce.

In 1938 the Fair Labor Standards in Employments Act was passed which provides for minimum wages and maximum hours in industry.

These enactments have not only created great economic problems for the American Federation of Labor, but have presented complex legal problems which the courts of the country have been called upon to adjudicate, and in the adjudication of these problems decisions of far reaching consequence to the welfare of labor have been pronounced, and decisions of great consequence are yet to be pronounced by the courts. Therefore it is essential that cases which arise in connection with the legislation I have referred to shall be presented to the courts in a thorough and comprehensive manner based upon an understanding of the philosophy of the organized labor movement and with the aim in view of protecting and preserving the rights of organized labor. Perhaps that is the reason that you, Mr. President, and the Executive Council, have honored me with the appointment as legal counsel for the Federation so that I may assist in the presentation to the courts of the legal problems to which I have referred.

With your permission I shall follow the plan of my previous talks before your Conventions, and I will discuss with you some of the more important decisions affecting the fundamental rights of organized labor which have been rendered in the past year.

Boycott

Goldfinger v. Feintuch (New York Court of Appeals, Decided December 7, 1937.)

The subject of boycott has been the source of much concern to the organized labor movement. Courts have not agreed on what constitutes a legal or illegal boycott. However organized labor has suffered considerably from decisions declaring the boycott to be illegal. I have not time to review the entire history of the boycott, but the old timers in the labor movement will remember the famous Danbury Hatters case which resulted in a judgment against the labor union of about \$250,000. The Loewe Company of Danbury, Connecticut, had refused to unionize its plant. The union instituted a nation-wide boycott against its goods. The United States Supreme Court declared the boycott to be illegal under the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The homes of members of the Hatters Union were attached, and ultimately the unions were obliged to pay over a quarter of a million dollars in settlement of the judgment. This decision was rendered by the United States Supreme Court in 1905. From that time on, organized labor has sought to overcome the effects of the decision, and to procure a reversal of it.

The decisions which have followed the famous Danbury Hatters case are decided on the issue of whether the case involves the so-called primary boycott and the secondary boycott. Most courts have held that the primary boycott is legal while the secondary boycott is illegal. The primary boycott is a direct boycott, as for instance the picketing of an employer with whom the employees have a labor dispute, or the placing of an employer with whom the unions have a dispute on an unfair list. The secondary boycott involves practically the same acts as a primary boycott only the dispute is not with the place picketed or the person put on the unfair list.

For instance, we will assume that there is a labor dispute between a labor union and the Kohler Company, manufacturers of plumbing fixtures. Now the picketing of the Kohler plant and the placing of Kohler upon the unfair list is a primary boycott. But suppose a plumbing contractor sells Kohler fixtures and he refuses a request of a union not to sell them. The union then pickets such contractor and puts him on the unfair list. That has generally been held to be a secondary boycott and illegal.

However, a decision was handed down December 7, 1937, by the New York Court of Appeals in the case of Goldfinger v. Feintuch which marks great progress for organized labor in respect to the right to boycott a storekeeper selling the products of a manufacturer against whom a strike was in progress.

Briefly, the facts are these: A manufacturer of meat products refused to unionize his

plant. The unions not only picketed and boycotted the manufacturer, but they picketed and boycotted storekeepers who sold the manufacturer's products. The storekeeper sought an injunction claiming that this was a secondary boycott and illegal. In clear and unmistakable terms the highest court of the State of New York said:

"Where the manufacturer disposes of the product through retailers in unity of interest with it, unless the union may follow the product to the place where it is sold and peacefully direct the public to refrain from purchasing it, the union would be deprived of a fair and proper means of bringing its plea to the attention of the public. . . ."

In a concurring opinion, it was said:

"I agree that peaceful picketing of the plaintiff's place of business, by the defendant union, for the purpose of inducing the plaintiff's customers to refrain from buying non-union products of a manufacturer, which are on sale by the plaintiff, is lawful. That is not a 'secondary boycott'. . . ."

That marks a great stride for organized labor in the law of boycotts. One or two states had previously held a secondary boycott to be legal, as for instance the State of California, but never had so clear a pronouncement been made as was made only a few months ago in the case I have referred to. And how do you think the court got around the overwhelming number of decisions by which it previously held the secondary boycott to be illegal? It did it by the very simple process of applying common sense, reason and logic to law. It merely said that this class of boycott is not a secondary boycott; it is a primary boycott, and being a primary boycott it therefore is legal. The decision is of great consequence to organized labor for only a few weeks ago in my city the milk drivers' union on the basis of this decision, was permitted to picket grocery stores selling milk of a dairy distributor who was non-union. So effective was this method of picketing that the employer was very quickly brought to time and he entered into a closed shop contract with the truck drivers' union.

Hand Bill Ordinance

Amy Lovell v. City of Griffin, (Decided March 28, 1938.)

Another case of importance to organized labor about which you ought to know is the case of Lovell v. City of Griffin, decided by the United States Supreme Court March 28, 1938, dealing with the constitutionality of the hand bill ordinance. The City of Griffin, as had many other cities, passed an ordinance which prohibited the distribution of circulars, advertising literature of any kind, etc., within the limits of the city without first obtaining a permit from the city authorities. Such distribution was declared to be a nuisance and punishable as an offense against the law.

A woman by the name of Amy Lovell was arrested for distributing pamphlets on the streets. She was convicted and fined \$50 or 50 days in jail. The United States Supreme Court held this ordinance unconstitutional

as an interference with the freedom of the press. The court said:

"The ordinance is invalid on its face. Whatever the motive which induced its adoption, its character is such that it strikes at the very foundation of the freedom of the press by subjecting it to license and censorship. The struggle for the freedom of the press was primarily directed against the power of the licenser. . . .

"The liberty of the press is not confined to newspapers and periodicals. It necessarily embraces pamphlets and leaflets. These indeed have been historic weapons in the defense of liberty, as the pamphlets of Thomas Paine and others in our own history abundantly attest. The press in its historic connotation comprehends every sort of publication which affords a vehicle of information and opinion.

"The ordinance cannot be saved because it relates to distribution and not to publication. 'Liberty of circulating is as essential to that freedom as liberty of publishing; indeed without the circulation, the publication would be of little value.'"

The labor movement is vitally interested in this decision because there are still communities in the United States which, in order to suppress the lawful activities of labor organizations, deny to workers the use of meeting halls, the right to distribute union literature, etc. Of course, we must not overlook the fact that a city has the right to adopt reasonable restrictions for the purpose of regulating the method and manner of distributing hand bills or literature, as the court points out. Making a nuisance of distribution by littering the streets may, within reasonable limits, be restricted.

Norris-LaGuardia Act

The New Negro Alliance et al. v. Sanitary Grocery Company, Inc., (Decided by U. S. Supreme Court March 28, 1938.)

Edward Lauf et al. v. E. G. Shinner & Co. (Decided by the United States Supreme Court February 28, 1938.)

Two interesting decisions have been handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the last year construing certain phases of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. Those of you who were here last year will recall that I discussed the American Furniture Company case, decided by the Supreme Court of the State of Wisconsin, and the Senn case, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. The principle pronounced by the Court in the American Furniture Company case was this: That there was a lawful labor dispute when a union demanded of an employer that he sign a closed shop contract even though not one of his employees was a member of the Union. The Court held that picketing was lawful in furtherance of such a demand. In the Senn case the United States Supreme Court held that a labor union had a lawful right to picket a contractor who refused to conduct a union shop because the union required him to lay down the tools of the trade and to cease working in competition with his employees. The court so held even though the

employer was a small tile contractor employing but two men and would have to go out of business if he quit working personally with the tools of the trade. The basic principle on which the cases were decided dealt with what constitutes a lawful labor dispute under the terms of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

Since the American Furniture Company case and the Senn case were decided, employers have continued their attacks upon the Norris-LaGuardia Act in an effort to get the court to hold that certain controversies are not lawful labor disputes.

Employers believed that in the case of the New Negro Alliance et al. v. Sanitary Grocery Company Inc., they finally had a case which would compel the court to hold that certain facts did not constitute a labor dispute. The facts were these:

The New Negro Alliance was an organization for the advancement of the welfare of the negro race. The Sanitary Grocery Company operated retail stores. The Sanitary Grocery Company did not employ colored persons in some of its stores. The New Negro Alliance requested the company to employ negro clerks as well as white clerks. The company refused, and the alliance commenced to picket.

They carried signs urging negroes not to patronize the particular stores of the company. The signs read "Do Your Part! Buy Where You Can Work! No Negroes Employed Here!" Now the question presented to the court was this:

The employer contended that there was no employer or employee relationship between the New Negro Alliance organization and the company and therefore an injunction should issue against picketing. This was a very clever way of getting around the American Furniture Company case, and an effort to defeat the very excellent decision in that case, because if the court held that the Alliance could not picket the stores of the company because there was no employer-employee relationship between the Alliance and the company, then by the same reasoning a union could not picket the employer for the purpose of inducing him to unionize his shop if no employees of the shop were members of the union. The Supreme Court, however, refused to accept the logic of the lawyers of the company. On the contrary it held that it was a labor dispute within the provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. The United States Supreme Court said:

"We hold that the Act applies and the trial court erred in ignoring its provisions regulating and limiting the exercise of the court's jurisdiction. . . .

"There is no justification in the apparent purposes or the express terms of the Act for limiting its definition of labor disputes and cases arising therefrom by excluding those which arise with respect to discrimination in terms and conditions of employment based upon differences of race or color."

Organized labor should be very pleased over this decision. First, because it recognizes the lawfulness of a protest against racial discrimination, and second, it gives to the term

"labor dispute" the broad interpretation which labor has contended for in construing the Norris-LaGuardia Act. It is to the advantage of organized labor to obtain as broad and comprehensive a definition of a labor dispute as is possible under the terms of the Act.

The other decision of the United States Supreme Court involving the interpretation of the Norris-LaGuardia Act is *Lauf v. Shimmers*, decided February 28, 1938.

It was my privilege to have tried this case before the District Court of the United States and to have argued it in the Circuit Court of Appeals. The principle involved in this case is similar to the one involved in the American Furniture Company case, that is, the employer refused to deal with a union on the basis that his employees, who were meat cutters were not members of the Meat Cutters Union. However, the American Furniture Company case was based upon a state law, but the *Lauf-Shimmers* case involved a Federal Law. In other words, the employer sought through an attack upon the Federal Act, to secure a reversal of the American Furniture Company and *Senn* cases. The employer was successful before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. In other words, I lost the case before the Chicago Federal Court.

The United States Supreme Court reversed the Circuit Court of Appeals and gave complete approval and a broad definition to that provision of the Act which defines a labor dispute. The court quotes from the provision:

"The term 'labor dispute' includes any controversy concerning the terms and conditions of employment, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing, or seeking to arrange terms or conditions of employment, or concerning employment relations or any other controversy arising out of the respective interests of employer and employee, regardless of whether or not the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee."

The foregoing language was put into the Act to overcome the narrow interpretation of the provisions of the Clayton Act as to who may be parties to a labor dispute. The United States Supreme Court in the *Lauf* case said the law means exactly what it says, that is, a union may have a controversy with an employer over demands for a closed shop even though the disputants, which are the union and the employer do not stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee. Thus, the fate which befell the Clayton Act at the hands of a conservative court is not the fate of the Norris-LaGuardia Act which has been interpreted by a liberal court.

Judge Dickinson's Decision in Food Fair Stores, Inc., v. Retail Clerks Protective Ass'n, et al. decided June 8, 1938 and affirmed by the Third U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

However, contrast the decisions I have just discussed with a decision handed down by the Federal District Court for Philadelphia a few weeks ago. In this case there was

presented a problem involving facts within the Norris-LaGuardia Act and the National Labor Relations Act. Here again the question before the court was whether the employer was entitled to an injunction to restrain an A. F. of L. union from picketing a store A. F. of L. unions and C. I. O. unions were endeavoring to organize the Food Fair Stores in Philadelphia. The Company claimed that it was willing to deal with any union the Labor Board would certify as the bargaining agent. A proceeding was pending at the time before the Labor Board involving representation. Judge Dickinson of the United States District Court held that the anti-injunction provisions of the Norris-LaGuardia Act did not apply in cases in which the National Labor Board has assumed jurisdiction. In other words, he finds that any dispute before the Labor Board virtually nullifies the benefits of the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

That was a very bad decision for organized labor, and in an American Federation of Labor release dated June 9th, 1938, and approved by President Green, I criticized this decision in the following language:

"Now comes Judge Dickinson and uses the Wagner Act to defeat the purposes and benefits of the Norris-LaGuardia Act, notwithstanding the fact that the Wagner Act specifically provides under Section 13 that 'nothing in this act shall be construed so as to interfere with, or impede or diminish in any way the right to strike.'

"By this decision this federal judge reverts to the old reactionary stand of the federal courts in maintaining 'government by injunction.' Notorious decisions of federal judges had for years denied to workers the lawful right to strike or to exert economic pressure in 'utterance of lawful labor disputes. This brought about the Clayton Act, limiting the power of judges to issue injunctions in labor disputes. The judges in construing this act so perverted it that the American Federation of Labor was compelled to seek further relief.

"Judge Dickinson's decision is a travesty on justice. The American Federation of Labor will fight it to the bitter end. The rights of workers to exert economic pressure in furtherance of their legitimate demands must and will be preserved as written in the Norris-LaGuardia Act.

"The American Federation of Labor will appeal this case to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and if necessary to the Supreme Court of the United States. This precedent must not be established."

The decision was appealed to the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. That court by a divided vote, affirmed the decision of Judge Dickinson, but said the District Court "reached the right conclusion but based its order upon the wrong grounds." The Circuit Court of Appeals said that the Norris-LaGuardia Act was not superseded or nullified by the National Labor Relations Act. That was a correct interpretation of the law but the Circuit Court of Appeals gave as its rea-

son for upholding the injunction against picketing the following: That since the employer was willing to negotiate with either of the two rival unions and willing to deal with the union certified by the Board as bargaining representative, there was no labor dispute. Since there was no labor dispute the court holds that an injunction may issue.

The Lauf v. Shinnars case was called to the attention of the court and it endeavored to distinguish this case by stating that in that case there was no rivalry between two unions. The fact of the matter is that there was rivalry between the two organizations in the Lauf-Shinnars case. A company union was recognized by the Shinnars Company while the A. F. of L. union sought a contract.

The Food Fair case is extremely important because if it is not reversed all that will be necessary to procure injunctions against labor unions engaged in a controversy with an employer is to have some rival organization make claim to representation and file a petition with the Labor Board and thus it will be held that there is no labor dispute.

President Green has directed me on behalf of the American Federation of Labor to participate in this case and join in an appeal to the United States Supreme Court in order to reverse this very disastrous opinion.

Judge Moran's Decision in the City of Reno v. Charles Reel and Alvin Ray, (Second Judicial District Court for the State of Nevada, decided June 2, 1938.)

Another important decision to which I wish to direct your attention is in the case of City of Reno v. Reel, decided by a trial judge in the State of Nevada. The City of Reno, like many other cities and some states, has a law which in effect prohibits "all picketing of business establishments for the purpose of inducing anyone to quit employment, or to refrain from seeking or freely entering into employment, . . ." or from boycotting employers with whom employees have a controversy. Anyone convicted of violating the law was subject to a fine up to \$300 and imprisonment up to sixty days. Two working men were convicted of picketing and fined. The labor unions attacked the Act as unconstitutional. Judge Moran hearing the case on appeal held that the ordinance was unconstitutional. He relied chiefly on the authority of the Senn case which I referred to earlier in my talk. He quotes that portion of the Senn case wherein Justice Brandeis says this:

"Members of a union might, without special authorization by a State make known the facts of a labor dispute, for freedom of speech is guaranteed by the Federal Constitution."

Now when I talked at Omaha this Labor Day I was informed by labor union officials that Nebraska also has a law which prohibits picketing in furtherance of labor disputes. This law is now being tested in the Supreme Court of Nebraska.

California Anti-Picketing Referendum

A few weeks ago I was sent by President Green to California to assist in the Cannery cases which are being tried before the National Labor Relations Board at San Francisco. Mr. Vandeleur and other officials informed me that petitions for the enactment of stringent anti-picketing laws were being circulated by anti-labor organizations for the purpose of preventing picketing and imposing other hardships on labor unions. In fact, some counties have already passed such laws. For instance, I have before me one of the petitions which is being circulated containing the proposed law. It provides for compulsory incorporation of unions; compulsory arbitration; the licensing of union business agents; the revocation of union charters for violation of law. It prohibits any person from acting as a union official or business agent who has not been an active union member for six months. It prohibits strikes unless the workers of the employer have by majority vote approved of the strike.

In Shasta County an ordinance has been passed which requires every organizer or business agent to secure a license from the Board of Supervisors. It provides that the Board will conduct a hearing; that it will publish a notice of the application for four successive weeks; that it will then determine whether the applicant is of "good moral character etc." and if the Board does not find the applicant to be of good moral character it will refuse the license.

If the license is granted, a fee of \$25 must be paid every three months for its continuance. If the ordinance is violated a fine up to \$500 and six months in jail is provided for.

Another proposed law provides who may be officials of a union, how many officers the union may have; certain oaths are prescribed. It regulates the class of membership, requires the filing of annual reports, and otherwise operates the union by law. The penalties here are more severe. They run up to \$1000 with a minimum of \$50 fine and a maximum of 500 days in jail. This law regulates strikes and provides for compulsory arbitration; imposes liability for acts of pickets whether authorized or not; provides that labor organizations may be dissolved.

You may now appreciate the importance of the case of Senn v. Tile Layers Union because that case being the expression of the highest court of the country renders all these drastic and reprehensible laws unconstitutional. However, organized labor will be plagued with them. Unions will be involved in considerable litigation respecting them, and no doubt some reactionary judges will be found to uphold them. It is a desperate situation and brings on a fight which will have to be met, and waged, similar to the one waged by the A. F. of L. against the injunction evil before the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia Act. President Green has directed me to join with the officers of the California State Federation of Labor in their legal attack upon these drastic and illegal laws.

National Labor Relations Act

The position of the American Federation of Labor in respect to the National Labor Relations Act and the Administration of it by the Board is set forth in comprehensive form in the report of your Executive Council which is on the table before you. I do not think it will be amiss for me to amplify some of the matters discussed in the report.

I believe that President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have made it clear that the American Federation of Labor is as strong today for the basic principles set forth in the Act as it was when it fostered its adoption before the Congress of the United States. There can be no misunderstanding as to that. The basic principles on which the Act is founded—that is the right of workers to self-organization, the right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, the right to engage in concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection,—are principles of the American Federation of Labor from which it has never wavered. Likewise, the duty imposed upon employers to bargain with the chosen representatives of employees, and the obligation on the part of employers to refrain from unlawfully interfering with workers in the exercise of these rights are basic principles for which the American Federation of Labor has stood since its organization of this body down to the present day.

But the report of your Executive Council condemns in no uncertain terms the construction of certain fundamental provisions in the Act in a manner which tends to destroy the basic structure on which the American Federation of Labor is founded. The report of your Executive Council likewise condemns the methods of administering the Act by the Board, which reflect bias and prejudice against the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, and which are detrimental to the interests of the American Federation of Labor. Your report states:

"On May 15, 1935, Senator Robert F. Wagner arose in the Senate and said of the National Labor Relations Act:

"'Anyone familiar with these laws will recognize at once that there is nothing in the pending bill which places the stamp of governmental favor upon any particular type of union.'

"Had the National Labor Relations Board construed and administered the Act in the spirit and on the basis of the foregoing declaration, we would not now have occasion to complain. Instead of indulging in justified criticism, we should be proclaiming unqualified approval of the Board and its administration.

"It is with deep regret that frankness impels us to say emphatically that the N. L. R. B. has administered the Act contrary to its letter, spirit and intent, with manifest bias and prejudice against the A. F. of L. and in favor of dual and rival organizations. We condemn this unholy al-

liance between a Government agency exercising quasi-judicial jurisdiction and the CIO."

The report says further:

"Our suggestions for caution have gone unheeded. The administration of the Act has not been in impartial hands. On the contrary, flagrant bias and prejudice exist on the part of the members of the board as is evidenced by decisions intending to undermine and destroy American Federation of Labor unions.

A study of numerous cases discloses:

The Board has thwarted the intent of Congress in respect to what shall constitute an appropriate unit for the purpose of collective bargaining.

The Board has by its decisions determined that craft unions or other labor unions of long standing and affiliated with the A. F. of L. have no right to free choice and self-organization. The Board has assumed the power to make the determination of the proper unit contrary to the desires and wishes of craft groups or other recognized constituted unions affiliated with the A. F. of L.

The assumption of power by the Board to disregard existing units of long standing and to substitute its own ideas and judgment of what shall constitute the proper unit, has caused disintegration and in some cases virtual disestablishment of American Federation of Labor Unions.

The pronouncements of the Board respecting the proper unit indicate a determination on the part of the Board to comply with the contentions and demands of the CIO and to favor CIO unions in an effort to destroy A. F. of L. unions."

Now let us review a few of the decisions by the "Board."

Allis Chalmers Case

In my talk to you last year at Denver I called attention to the pending Allis Chalmers Company case. You will recall the facts of that case. The CIO had petitioned for a plant-wide unit. The A. F. of L. unions, particularly the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and Firemen and Oilers resisted this petition. They demanded that the workers employed as maintenance electricians and as firemen and oilers be constituted a separate unit so that these groups could vote and elect their own bargaining agent. It was my privilege to have tried and argued this case before the Board. At the time of the argument at Washington President Green, President Tracy, President Wharton and President Frey were present. We told the Board that a decision constituting a plant-wide unit as the appropriate unit for collective bargaining was contrary to the spirit and intent of the law and would be destructive of A. F. of L. Unions. We warned the Board that such a decision would be resisted to the utmost as being an illegal interference with the rights of workers to become and remain members of A. F. of L. unions. We expected, and had the right to

expect, a favorable decision. We did obtain a favorable decision, that is, the majority of the Board, Chairman Madden and Donald Wakefield Smith, decided that the maintenance electricians and the firemen and oilers would vote separately and each respective group select its bargaining agent. To this extent the decision was a victory for the A. F. of L. However, we requested that other distinct groups like the machinists, the pattern makers, blacksmiths, etc., should likewise be constituted separate units, even though the majority of the workers in those groups were affiliated with the CIO. This the Board refused to do. Even as to the maintenance electricians and the firemen and oilers, the Board virtually said that if they voted for the CIO they would be merged with a larger group, thus wiping out their identity as a distinct group.

We hardly expected that any member of the Board, in view of the statement made by Senator Wagner when the bill later was before Congress, and in view of the assurances given the American Federation of Labor that its integrity would not be invaded—we hardly expected that any member would brazenly pervert the spirit and intent of the law so as to recommend and hold that the distinct groups such as maintenance electricians, firemen and oilers, were to be denied the right to vote and make the selection of their bargaining agent by majority vote. But what does the record disclose? When the decision was handed down, Board Member Edwin Smith dissented. Let me read to you his dissent:

"The decision vests in the hands of a small group of employees the choice of determining whether in this mass-production plant, employing nearly 10,000 workers, a complete industrial unit, or one from which one or more crafts have been severed, is most appropriate to promote collective bargaining. By this pseudo-democratic method a determination of the greatest consequence to the other employees in the plant is left in the hands of groups known to be hostile to industrial organization. The wishes of the great majority of the employees are ignored. The device of holding such an election to resolve the conflict between industrial union adherents and craft conscious groups, as here represented by the oilers and firemen, is obviously inadequate to throw any light on the problem of what is the most appropriate bargaining unit. Permitting minorities to set themselves off, as all the indications are they would do in this instance, succeeds in providing full self-determination for the minority but only at the expense of entirely disregarding the interests of the majority."

Let us get the significance of that dissent. Board member Edwin Smith complains that the determination is left in the hands of groups known to be "hostile" to industrial organization. Why does he not speak of "hostility" of rival or dual organizations to the A. F. of L. organizations which have existed for almost half a century before the C. I. O.? Why the use of the word "hostile"?

Why the implication or insinuation that hostility on the part of the A. F. of L. to the CIO is a gross wrong? Of course, he does not say hostility to the CIO. He says hostility to industrial organization. Even that statement is not true, for the issue is not craft union vs. industrial union, and the groups involved were not hostile to industrial unions. They were loyal to their own organizations—organizations which had been founded almost half a century ago,—organizations in which they had a spiritual right as well as a property right. By every test of the law and of what is fair and just, the maintenance electricians and the firemen and oilers had the right to be constituted separate units for the purpose of selecting their own bargaining agent by a majority vote. I term this dissent of Edwin Smith as hostility on his part to these craft unions. I say that he stepped down from the role of judge, in which capacity he is supposed to act, and became a proponent of the CIO. I state to you that Board member Edwin Smith, in expressing himself as he did in this dissent, became a recruiting agent for the CIO. I go further, and I say that although Board member Edwin Smith has a right to these opinions, and even though he makes them on the basis of an honest expression of his beliefs, he has rendered himself incapable of sitting in controversies where the subject for determination is the appropriate unit in cases where the A. F. of L. and the CIO are contesting the unit. If a trial judge in a court of law had so expressed himself, any future case involving the same issues would result in the removal of the judge from the case by the filing of an affidavit of prejudice. There being no such provision in the law for the filing of such an affidavit, Board member Edwin Smith continues to sit in cases involving the same issue, and with greater vehemence than that expressed in the *Allis Chalmers* case, continues to pronounce the philosophy of this dissent. He persists in advocating the undermining and destruction of our unions. He has dissented a number of times.

Fairbanks Morse Case

In the Fairbanks Morse case decided May the 16th, 1938, he stated that he would deny to pattern makers the right to be constituted an appropriate unit for collective bargaining. In this decision he said:

"In accordance with the view taken by me in previous cases, I hold that the unit composed of Pattern Shop employees found by the majority of the Board to be an appropriate unit for collective bargaining is, under the circumstances of this case, not such an appropriate unit."

"... To split off the minority group of skilled pattern makers from the general body of production workers, although possibly constituting an advantage to a small number of workers, also constitutes a threat to the collective bargaining effectiveness of the rest of the workers, both skilled and unskilled. . . . On the other hand, there is no evidence that the Amalgamated could not bargain successfully for

the pattern makers. I would deny the position of the Association."

What more need he have said, unless it be that the pattern makers are fools for remaining members of the Pattern Makers Union: that they should quit and join the CIO because the CIO can bargain just as successfully for them as can the pattern makers union.

Finch Case

In another case (Joseph S. Finch & Co.,) decided May 2, 1938, involving a whiskey distillery which employed carpenters he held that the carpenters should be fused with the plant unit under the banner of the CIO. He said:

"The subsequent efforts of the Council and the Brotherhood to establish separate collective bargaining for the crafts which they sought to represent are not sufficient in themselves to raise a doubt as to the appropriateness of the more inclusive unit.

"I would dismiss the petitions of the Council and the Brotherhood of Carpenters and certify the United (C.I.O. Union) as the exclusive representative for those employees which it claims constitute the appropriate unit."

Serrick Case

In these cases, he was in the minority. However, we were apprehensive lest he might some day win over one other member of the Board whereupon the attack upon the fundamental structure of the A. F. of L. would become a reality. We had not long to wait. Hardly a year had passed from the day he dissented in the Allis Chalmers case when the decision in the Serrick Corporation case, (decided July 29, 1938) was handed down. In this case he won over Donald Wakefield Smith, and the two now constituting the majority, fulfilled the ambition of Edwin Smith.

Both the CIO and the A. F. of L. were organizing at the Serrick Corporation plant in Muncie, Indiana. The CIO was organizing on a plant-wide basis. The International Association of Machinists was organizing two unions, one a tool and die makers union of skilled workers—and another of production workers. The machinists had organized on that basis, for many years, long before the National Labor Relations Act was ever thought of. Yet Edwin Smith and Donald Wakefield Smith wrote this into the decision:

"... Furthermore, for the purposes of this act, and under the circumstances of the present case, the division of the respondent's employees by the I. A. M., International into two locals for organizational purposes must be deemed artificial. Since the I. A. M. sought to organize the tool room employees separately and at approximately the same time, solicited and carried on organizational activity among production employees and continued to do so up to the time of the hearing, in fact its

methods of organization must be regarded as an attempt to enroll all the respondent's production employees in direct competition with the U. A. W., which was organizing on an industrial basis. Therefore, the I. A. M. cannot be heard to maintain that the craft unit is appropriate."

So here we have it. The Machinists union organizing two locals must be denied the right to do so because it is artificial. The Board is now telling the International Association of Machinists how it must run its unions. It must run its unions to conform to the standard set up by the United Automobile Workers because it is in competition with the United Automobile Workers which was organizing on an industrial basis. I suppose if the United Automobile Workers Union was not organizing on an industrial basis, but along other lines, the machinists would most likely have to conform to those standards.

Not only is this an unlawful and unjust invasion of the rights and integrity of the International Association of Machinists, but it is a concrete example of government interference by bureaucratic decrees with the right of labor organizations to lawfully govern their own affairs.

This portion of the decision was too much for Chairman Madden, and in a mild manner he dissented from it. He said:

"I concur in the decision and in all of the opinion except that part... beginning with the words 'Furthermore, for the purposes of the act,' and ending with the words, 'that the craft unit is appropriate.' I think that this language is unnecessary for the decision of this case and that therefore no opinion should be expressed upon this subject."

I characterize the foregoing statement of Edwin Smith and Donald Wakefield Smith in the Serrick Corporation case as a perversion of the spirit and intent of the Act and an unlawful exercise of discretion and an abuse of it.

Let me give you some of the facts in the Serrick case. A strike occurred at the plant. It gave rise to court proceedings. Judge Guthrie called the parties in and had them agree that they would go back to work on the basis that the Board would hold an election and certify the bargaining agent selected by the majority. Did the Board honor that decision? It did not. It did not do anything for a year. In the meantime trouble was brewing. Most of the employees had joined the machinists union. The tool and die makers were organized 100 per cent in the Machinists Union and had a closed shop contract. The production workers were practically 90 per cent in the Machinists Union. One morning the CIO resorted to force. It padlocked the gates to the plant and permitted no one to enter. The Machinists Union wrote to the Board protesting this delay in handing down a decision. The Board came to life and within a few days handed down its decision,—and what did it decide? It decided not to hold an election. On the contrary it certified the CIO union without an election, and did so on the

basis of CIO claims to membership a year old.

But the National Labor Relations Board has not heard the end of that decision. It will have its repercussions in and out of court. Either the National Labor Relations Board will reverse the principles of that decision, or the courts or Congress will do so. The International Association of Machinists and the American Federation of Labor have said that that decision shall not stand.

Invalidation of Contracts

Other precedent-making decisions evincing bias and prejudice on the part of the Board against the American Federation of Labor unions and in favor of CIO unions concern the invalidation of contracts entered into between the A. F. of L. unions and employers. This is quite serious.

National Electric Products Company Case

The National Electric Products Company case of Ambridge, Pennsylvania, was discussed last year. I shall not discuss it further except to say that the vote of the employees justified the contentions of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

But another case which does deserve some comment is the Consolidated Edison Company case now on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. A contract had been entered into between the Consolidated Edison Company and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers recognizing it as the bargaining agent for its members. It had some 28,000 members,—way beyond the majority. The CIO attacked this contract, and after a hearing the Board invalidated these contracts and ordered the employer to post notices to the employees that they were free to quit the A. F. of L. Union and free to join the CIO union. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers appealed to the Circuit Court of Appeals, and while the court sustained the Board in some of its findings, in upholding the order invalidating the contracts it virtually condemned the Board for doing so. In fact, it told the company and the electrical workers union that they may immediately execute new contracts "on the same terms as the old."

The case is on appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States and I have been directed by President Green to write a brief and to argue the case in the Supreme Court. The argument will no doubt be held the latter part of this month or the beginning of next.

Now you may ask, on what basis does the Board claim the right to invalidate these contracts? It does so on a rule formulated by it in construing what constitutes unfair labor practices on the part of an employer by way of encouraging employees to affiliate with a certain union. It may be termed as the rule of "favoritism," and I can explain it to you in this way. If a minor supervisory employee, such as a foreman, straw boss, or group leader speaks favorably of the A. F. of L. and urges fellow workers to join the

A. F. of L., the employer is held responsible for such statements, and contracts have been invalidated because of them.

However, to understand the full import of this rule and its injustice I should explain that contracts have been invalidated in instances where the so-called supervisory employees doing the talking were eligible to membership in the contesting unions—that is in both the A. F. of L. and the CIO, and they had not the right to hire or fire, and though no high official of the company had authorized such employees to talk for or against any union nor had any such official ratified the statements made. I say to you that a critical examination of these decisions, and knowing the attitude of the Board, that they were rendered to aid and assist the CIO which was then in controversy with the A. F. of L. What other conclusion can we arrive at when we come to consider the invalidation of elections based upon a similar position on the part of the Board?

Tennessee Copper Company

Take for instance the case of the Tennessee Copper Company where the officials of the company declared that it was willing to deal with any union certified by the Board. An election was held and the A. F. of L. union won out. Immediately the CIO petitioned to set the election aside. The Board conducted a hearing, and in the face of a certificate by the Regional Director that the election was fairly conducted, it set the election aside and ordered a new one in twenty days. What was its basis for setting it aside? It held that the so-called supervisory employees such as foremen and the like had made statements favorable to the A. F. of L. and statements derogatory to the CIO. The company officials had not authorized these statements. The foremen had not the right to hire and fire. The statements were merely shop gossip and nothing more, yet the Board set the election aside and ordered a new one in twenty days. Of course we do not know why the election was ordered as quickly as twenty days except that perhaps the CIO believed it could capitalize on the order setting aside the election and win out if an election were held promptly. Usually in similar cases the Board has not ordered an election for some months to come. It holds that the company's influence must be abated through the lapse of time. But this was a rush job, quick service,—speed was essential. Rarely do we get such speed, service and attention.

We asked the Board for an opportunity for an oral argument. It denied the request, President Green became aroused at the injustice. He directed me to institute a suit to prevent the Board from holding that election at that time. We instituted the suit, whereupon the Board promptly notified us that it would grant our request for a hearing and would not proceed with an election on the day designated. On the basis of that promise we withdrew the suit. We have since had the oral argument. We have not yet received a decision, but neither has the CIO had its second election.

Mobile, Alabama, Dry Dock Case

In a similar case where the A. F. of L. asked for an election to be set aside, and the union had filed affidavits showing bribery of workers by giving them liquor in order to vote for the CIO the Board refused to set the election aside. It even refused to grant a hearing.

Aeolian American Corporation Case

In contrast with the cases I have discussed respecting invalidation of contracts entered into between A. F. of L. unions and employers and the setting aside of elections won by the A. F. of L. because of alleged favoritism on the part of the employer I should like to direct your attention to the case of Aeolian American Corporation decided by the Board September the 8th, 1938.

The CIO commenced to organize this plant some time in April, 1938. In May 1937 some employees to counteract the CIO efforts commenced to organize a company union. Solicitation of membership by the company union officials took place in the plant during working hours and in the presence and with the knowledge of foremen and other officials. At the same time the CIO was likewise soliciting membership in the plant. The company's mimeographing machine was used for notices and the like by the company union. On June 8th the company union had a bare majority of employees as members. It called on the employer, asked for recognition, asked for a closed shop and asked for a ten cent increase in pay. The company immediately recognized the company union as exclusive bargaining agent, granted them a closed shop contract and entered into one and gave an eight cent increase in pay instead of the ten cent raise demanded.

The Board on this evidence decided that the CIO's petition should be dismissed; that the company union was proper and lawful even though it admitted in the opinion that there were suspicious circumstances in connection with the speed of recognition. It brushes aside the open solicitation in the plant by saying that the CIO was afforded the same opportunity. It negated the fact of the use of the mimeograph machine by holding that the company stated it would have granted the same privilege to the CIO if it had asked for it. And then to cap the climax of this unusual decision, two employees were discharged for refusing to join the company union within the time limit set for joining. These employees had been active in the CIO when they were discharged. They begged for permission to join the company union and to hold their jobs. The employer said he would discuss it with the company union officials. When the employees later returned they were told that the company union officials were adamant and would not take them in and that therefore their discharge must be permanent. The Board finds that the employer acted in good faith because he testified that he would have kept them in his employ but couldn't do so because of

his closed shop contract with the company union.

I am trying hard not to exaggerate the facts. I believe that I am understating them rather than emphasizing. Now the Board declared the company union to be a lawful organization, the closed shop contract to be valid and the employees to be legally discharged, all of which indicates that in a controversy between a company union and the CIO the company union gets a better break than does the A. F. of L. in a controversy between the A. F. of L. and the CIO.

Recently Mr. Madden stated that the critics of the Board in respect to the dismissal of the Harlan County Kentucky proceedings should take a day off. May I return that gratuitous advice to Chairman Madden and state that he and his two colleagues should take several days off, peruse this remarkable decision, and after they have done so that they laugh, because despite affected innocence it is a joke. I should like to meet the person or persons who wrote that decision and submitted it to the members of the Board for their signature. He surely perpetrated a ghastly joke upon the Board.

Significant is the comment of the Labor Relations Reporter, a weekly service devoted to the law of industrial relations. In its summary it says as follows:

"The National Labor Relations Board in an important decision upholds the validity of a closed-shop contract with an inside union and dismisses a complaint against an employer despite circumstances which usually result in findings of unfair labor practices. . . ."

I wonder how President Tracy feels when he analyzes this case and compares it with the Jefferson Electric Company case in which his closed shop contract was invalidated and the company ordered not to recognize the I. B. E. W. and the membership cards examined microscopically and the majority rejected upon pure prejudicial inferences. The I. B. E. W. in the Jefferson Electric Company case, also in the Consolidated Edison case, was really placed in the category of a company Union and treated as illegitimate while a company union is given the blessing of legitimacy.

Harlan County Kentucky Coal Case

And since I have mentioned Harlan County Kentucky I want to make a brief mention of that case because the Board not only puts itself on the back on account of the great accomplishment in finally subjugating the coal operators of Harlan County in compelling them to bargain collectively with the United Mine Workers, but it upbraids those who dare to question the conduct of the Board in approving the contract entered into and dismissing the proceedings.

Now let us get the issue respecting the facts of the case straight for the purposes of the record. No one affiliated with the A. F. of L. has to my knowledge criticized the fact that the coal operators of Harlan County have abandoned their fight against unions and

against bargaining with unions. If that was all there is to the problem we would join in the congratulations that the Board extends to itself. However, the Board has repeatedly and sanctimoniously declared that the employer must not favor one union over another and must not choose the union for his employees. Lo and behold, this proceeding pending before it because the employer refused to permit bargaining is dismissed with the approval of the Board and with knowledge of the fact that the employees were not accorded the right to select their union or bargaining agent and with knowledge of the fact, if the newspaper reports are true, that the United Mine Workers and the employer entered into a contract recognizing the United Mine Workers as the bargaining agent regardless of the wishes of the employees. And that is our complaint. These miners are eligible to membership in the Progressive miners and many have indicated their desires to join the Progressive Miners. It was the duty of the Board not to have approved a settlement which constituted the United Mine Workers as the bargaining agent for employees without first affording the employees an opportunity to accept or reject the United Mine Workers. The Board may say the contract covers only those employees who are members of the United Mine Workers and that it is not a closed shop contract and that the check off provided for in the agreement is applicable only to the members of the United Mine Workers. Well, that too is a funny one—as funny as the Aeolian decision. If there is anything that can be nearer to a closed shop contract I would like to see it. If any employee of these coal operators can work for them under the terms of that contract and not become a member of the United Mine Workers I should like to have it pointed out to me.

I cannot believe that the Board is so dense as to construe this contract as anything else than an instrument providing for recognition of the United Mine Workers as the exclusive bargaining agent of all the employees employed in the mines.

Pacific Coast Case

Another case of importance which vitally affects the interests of the American Federation of Labor is the so-called Pacific Coast case. The Board held all of the ports on the Pacific Coast constitute a single unit for all of the longshoremen working in those ports. It certified the CIO on the basis that it had a majority of all longshoremen in all of the ports. It refused to certify the longshoremen in Tacoma, Washington, and other ports where the A. F. of L. had strong unions, and in which places the A. F. of L. longshoremen were in the majority. The Board directs an association of employers to deal as one employer with the CIO as the bargaining representative for all the longshoremen of all the employers on the Pacific Coast ports. If this principle is permitted to stand there is no reason why the Board may not combine all the employees of an association of steel companies, or of automobile manufacturers, into one unit and thus force out A. F. of L. representation regardless of A. F. of L. majorities in specific individual plants.

Now I am quite aware that the Board contends, and others may contend, that that is an ideal set up for collective bargaining. England will be pointed to where a number of employers bargain as a group with all workers in the particular industry or craft. It may be quite true such is an ideal method of bargaining. We may even concede for the sake of argument that it would be an ideal way to bargain for the longshoremen on the Pacific Coast. But that presupposes that all of the employers are willing voluntarily to bargain on this basis and that the majority of employees of each employer are willing to so bargain. It presupposes a voluntary arrangement which may be ideal, but under no circumstances was it ever intended, nor does the law permit. A. F. of L. majorities in a particular city working for a particular employer to be denied their right of selection and be compelled against their wishes to accept a dual union with which they refuse to affiliate, as the bargaining agent. Not only does it destroy the A. F. of L. unions, but it permits the rival or dual union to compel the discharge of A. F. of L. workers who refuse to affiliate with the CIO. Take for instance the local in the city of Tacoma. Although the overwhelming majority are in the A. F. of L. the Board has certified the CIO as the bargaining agent. The CIO has the right to secure a closed shop contract from the employer. Upon obtaining it, it may demand the discharge of all AFL employees who are not members of the CIO union.

If the Act permitted the making of closed shop contracts regardless of the wishes of the majority, or if the Board abstained from entering into jurisdictional controversies and rival unions were permitted to make closed shop contracts regardless of majorities, a different situation would be presented. But since the Wagner Act does not permit closed shop contracts with unions representing a minority, then the Board should administer the law fairly and as Congress intended. It should not permit a contract to deny to the majority of the workers of an employer the right to select its bargaining agent. It has not permitted A. F. of L. minorities to make such selections. It has invalidated A. F. of L. contracts on the alleged basis that the employer entered into an agreement with a representative of a minority. It should interpret the law in the same way when a minority of longshoremen of any employer on the Pacific Coast seek to select the bargaining agent for the majority.

When President Green stated to the Massachusetts Federation of Labor Convention that Edwin Smith had by implication placed American Federation of Labor unions in the category of company unions, Edwin Smith retorted that the remarks of President Green were "reckless and untrue," and he added "No intelligent student of the American Labor movement would refer to the craft unions of the American Federation of Labor as company unions."

Well, the decisions speak for themselves and indicate quite clearly that it is Mr. Edwin Smith. By stating that no intelligent person Smith who is reckless and indifferent to the

would designate or classify craft unions as company unions he convicts himself of the lack of intelligence in respect to the subject under discussion.

It is queer that Mr. Edwin Smith is so sensitive to criticism of the decisions of the Board which manifest bias and prejudice. He does not like it. But he is not slow to criticize others vigorously and object to their decisions which seem to tread upon the toes and infringe upon the jurisdiction of the Board. In a speech made by him on the courts he said that the public "should be profoundly disturbed at the recent tendency exhibited in certain Circuit Court decisions to give little or no effect to the Board's findings of fact. . . . The Congress never intended . . . to delegate to them (the courts) the task of weighing the evidence which the Board had heard and coming to an independent conclusion as to whether the Board had correctly appraised it." All of which indicates that Board Member Edwin Smith can hand it out but he can't take it.

Yet he ought to appreciate our feelings when rights of American Federation of Labor unions in existence for Board half a century are taken away and trampled upon and our jurisdiction invaded and our union destroyed. Of course the Board puts itself on the back by continual reference to the fact that the courts have in most cases upheld its decisions. That is quite true, but the Board should likewise state that in matters of law the courts are obliged to interpret the Act in accordance with law, and in matters of fact, if there is any evidence to sustain the Board the court is obliged to sustain its rulings even though the court as an original proposition would have decided otherwise. The fact that the Board is sustained in its decisions on findings of fact does not mean that the Board has rendered a fair decision. In fact, the cry against the courts by Edwin Smith is that some courts have refused to sustain their findings of fact because the courts were shocked to find that there was no credible evidence to sustain the decisions of the Board. Courts have had occasion to warn the National Labor Relations Board of its partisan attitude on more than one occasion. The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in the Consolidated Edison Company case said "This procedure is not one likely to inspire confidence in the impartiality of the proceedings."

I have not the time to discuss numbers of other cases indicating bias and prejudice against the A. F. of L. Some of them are mentioned in the report. Likewise the report deals with other subjects evincing prejudice by the Board in the administration of the Act such as delayed hearings, delayed decisions, interfering with existing contractual rights and many others. I do not think that any reasonable or fair minded person could come to any other conclusion than that the Board is definitely pro-CIO. No doubt when the report of the Executive Council will come up for discussion before you you will be informed that your officers and the Executive Council have given considerable thought in respect to amending the act so as to overcome

the abuse of power and the arbitrary exercise of discretion by the Board.

Amendments

You heard President Green's statement in his opening address that the American Federation of Labor would present amendments of the Act to the next Congress. You will observe from the Executive Council's report, page 75, that the "Executive Council has given much attention to the subject of the revision of the Act." In my discussion with you this morning it is apparent that the unit rule, the power of the Board to invalidate contracts, the necessity for affording every party to a contract an opportunity to become and remain a party to the proceeding, the right of an interested party to intervene in a case as a matter of right instead of a matter of discretion, the necessity for some standard and qualifications of examiners, the clarification in the matter of the issuance of subpoenas, the subject of secrecy of files, the matter of the right of the courts to review facts as well as law, and the question of separation of administrative functions from judicial functions are pertinent subjects for thought and consideration.

As the report of the Executive Council indicates, the subject of amendments will be thoroughly considered by it, and no doubt, in due time, it will present to the Congress of the United States appropriate amendments.

However, there is one thing I should like to emphasize in connection with the proposals for amendments to the Wagner Act and that is that these proposals are made regardless of any demands for changes in the Act by employers or their associations. The proponents of the CIO,—that includes the Board personnel,—will raise the cry that some of the proposed amendments to the act are similar to those proposed by employers; that will be their method of attack upon those who propose amendments. Another cry will be raised that if labor proposes amendments to the act it will bring on repressive proposals by employers and their associations. It therefore is made clear here and now that proposals for repressive measures by employers will be fought vigorously and forcefully. To be more specific, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, in a release on August the 25th, 1938, issued a number of suggested proposals for change. The Chamber of Commerce suggests among other things that it be made unlawful to interfere with employees by inducing or compelling them to become members of labor unions through threats or intimidation. That sounds very well on its face, but it is merely a subterfuge for denying legitimate and effective organization.

In another proposal it is suggested that it shall be unlawful to interfere with a free exercise by any person of any constitutional right. That is another subterfuge to deny fundamental rights of workers to strike and picket peacefully.

Another proposal is to outlaw the sympathetic strike and to make it unlawful to induce any person to violate a labor agreement. One can well understand that this can only

result in bringing back the abhorrent labor injunction under the claim that a contract is being violated, and it may permit the return of the "yellow dog contract." Labor will never permit this.

A further proposal is to make it unlawful to transport across state lines any person for the purpose of coercing workers to participate in a strike. Under this law President Green, or I, as your counsel, would be prohibited from going into another state to advise workers to strike. It would be held that such advice is coercion and thus would subject the person giving the advice to punishment.

These proposals and many like them are definitely condemned. They are proposals to re-establish rights of anti-union employers to refuse recognition to lawful labor unions and refuse to bargain with representatives chosen by employees. It is an indirect attempt to give force and vitality to the company-dominated union. One is at a loss to comprehend how employers or their associations can be so stupid as to suggest any such proposals in this day and age.

The Company Union has got to go. The Wagner Act does not go far enough in outlawing it, and the Board has not as yet definitely taken the step outlawing the company union on the fundamental basis that it is not a union, it is not a labor organization. It cannot exercise freedom of choice in selecting representatives for collective bargaining and it is not a collective bargaining agency as contemplated within the Act. It must be eradicated, for it does no good. It neither helps promote and advance the legitimate interest of workers in industry, nor does it contribute anything for the gains and benefits it receives through the activities of legitimate labor unions.

Sound thinking employers, employers desiring to bargain collectively upon a truthful and honest basis, will not recognize a company union. It is quite lawful and proper for an employer to announce to his employees and to the world that he is willing his employees shall join a legitimate national labor organization and that he will bargain and deal with such organization of his employees. Regardless of what the Board may say I maintain that it is within the intent and spirit of the act for an employer to announce to his employees as well as to the world that he does not want a company union in his plant.

Mr. President, I have spoken at length but on matters I have deemed important. I thank you for the opportunity of presenting these views to this great convention.

President Green: You have made it clear that you deeply appreciate the informative and analytical address delivered by our counsel, Judge Padway, this morning. I know he has been extremely careful in the choice of words and in the use of language. He has made it plain to us all that he has dealt with facts, with realities, because he was conscious of the fact that his address would be included in the proceedings of this convention and would be

available for study and analysis by the members of the Labor Relations Board and their associates in its administration. I am sure that no statement Judge Padway has made can be challenged. He has made a correct, true report of the experience of the American Federation of Labor and of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor with this Government agency. I thank Judge Padway in your name and in your behalf for that address he delivered this morning.

Delegate Lynch: In the course of the remarks of Judge Padway in covering the Fairbanks-Morse case in Beloit, Wisconsin, he inadvertently and mistakenly mentioned the name of Donald Wakefield Smith in connection with that report. For the purposes of the record I think the Judge will agree with me to substitute the name of Edwin Smith. And in addition, that the final decision in that case gave the Pattern Makers the right to bargain in that case.

President Green: The Judge admits he got the wrong Smith, and the record will be corrected accordingly.

Vice President Tobin: I would like to say a word about the splendid address delivered by Judge Padway, who is the attorney for the American Federation of Labor and the attorney for several of our international unions, among them the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. I subscribe to the correctness of every statement he made as far as I am concerned and could understand and follow them.

I read Judge Padway's report to the Executive Council, embodying almost exactly the same complaints; but in all of his address—and I know he is as good a friend as we have in the legal fraternity in our labor movement—he hasn't offered any suggestions as to what we are going to do. I know there are contemplated amendments to the law, and I want, if it is humanly possible, to clarify it. Now, every man who has ever been engaged in a strike in your organizations where they were set back in that strike have criticized the officers handling the strike. What we want to know is what we can do to remedy this situation. That is the question confronting the labor movement.

There are two Smiths on the Labor Board. The chief offender, according to the address of Judge Padway, based on facts, comes from Massachusetts. He was Labor Commissioner

down there, as I remember. In talking to some Massachusetts men who are here and whom I have known for years and know his history, I have been informed, he was absolutely satisfactory and approved by the Massachusetts labor movement while he was Commissioner of Labor. He was considered a conservative in politics. But, lo and behold, the atmosphere in Washington must have done something to him. The rumor is that he has just come back from Mexico where he dealt with the Communists down there. He accompanied the President of the CIO. What I cannot understand is what has happened to so completely change such an individual.

The first thought that would strike our minds is, "well, let us have a Board that will decide in favor of the American Federation of Labor"; but immediately the other side would shout from the housetops, that the Board was prejudiced in favor of us. The next question is, well, couldn't the President appoint a man who he knew would be friendly to the Federation, another friendly to the CIO, or supposed to be, and a third of a neutral mind—if such a human being can be found in Washington. And just as soon as that Board got to function and we got the best of every bargain the Administration would be confronted with arguments from the other side telling the Administration they were going out to destroy them because such a Board was prejudiced against the CIO.

I wrote the strongest letter I think I ever wrote to a public officer in my life six or seven days before I came to this convention, condemning this Board. I want to show you just how we stand now.

Where they haven't given a decision that has been favorable to us, as has been stated by the Judge in his report to the Council, they have deliberately and willfully, in my personal judgment, withheld decision. A case of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters has been before them since March 1, involving only a few, but the principle is important. But they have refused since March 1, on an insignificant case, apparently, to give any kind of decision. Now I have no proof for what I say, and maybe I am wrong, but I have an idea that there is some influence outside of the Board that has held up the decision, and I am going to find out. I say that to state my position.

Now the next remedy is to amend the Wagner Act. And that is the danger, and

it must be done, because I believe it will be impossible for any Board to function and satisfy labor on both sides. But as soon as we start amending the Wagner Act we will be confronted with amendments by the other side, by enemies of labor, by political office holders that are antagonistic to us, and we will destroy the very Act we gave our very life to in an endeavor to place it upon the statute books of this country. Still we have got to face facts. The Congress of the United States in its next session should amend it and clarify it if it is humanly possible to do so.

Now, when we were discussing what we called then the Wagner Act, the Labor Relations Act, every labor man in and about Washington appeared with Senator Wagner in conference, endeavoring to so draft the wording of that law that there would be no chance for misinterpretation. We have had experiences with the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, where the very things the Sherman Anti-Trust Law intended to do, namely, to eliminate labor from its provisions, were afterwards read into the Sherman Anti-Trust Law against labor, and consequently, as a result of that experience and several other experiences every labor official in Washington and every member of the Council was endeavoring, with the aid of Senator Wagner, recognized as having a splendid legal mind, and with other legal minds in Washington, some of them in the Senate, sitting in conference in the American Federation of Labor Building, in two sessions as I remember to perfect the law. And when we had the job finished as we thought it should be finished it has come back to haunt us, to injure us, to create greater friction than has ever obtained before.

Sitting in the Executive Council one day with my associates I distinctly remember asking Senator Wagner if craft unions were protected. He said "yes." He wrote the section protecting craft unions. It was as near what could be written in the law to protect craft unions as anything that could be conceived.

I asked him: "Senator, is there any way in which, in your mind as a lawyer and your associate lawyers in the Senate who are supporting this bill, that this can be construed as entering into jurisdiction disputes between regular labor organizations?" He said: "No, under no circumstances can any Board enter into jurisdictional disputes. That isn't the

purpose of the law, it isn't the intent of the law, and I don't know how any Board could ever see it in that light."

I talked to Senator Van Nuys and a dozen other senators about this, because we had more at stake in this particular law than any organization within this Federation, for the reason that the organization I am a member and an officer of, touches every craft and we are in daily contact with every union in our employment inside and outside of this American Federation of Labor. You can therefore understand my desire to be sure of our ground.

In the report of the Executive Council to this Convention here are the words of Senator Wagner, May 15: "Any one familiar with these laws will recognize at once that there is nothing in the pending bill which places the stamp of governmental favor upon any particular type of union."

Well, that is not as clear as letters I have had from Senator Wagner, but it is clear enough on certain points . . . that in jurisdictional disputes between legitimate unions or between regular unions in the building trades or within any craft unions here, it was not the purpose of the Wagner Act to interfere. I am satisfied that some of the Board members are as unsatisfactory to Senator Wagner as they are to us. But he is in public life, coming from a state that has a large number of men from both sides of the question, but with all his splendid service he isn't going out of his way to antagonize thousands of voters in Syracuse and other cities. I know he is as much disappointed over the actions of the Board and the confusion it has caused as some of our labor leaders.

Now while this controversy was going on, pending the adoption of this legislation, men in both House and Senate had to be won over. I will say now—whether you will agree with me or not—it has done more to strengthen our relations with our employers than any law that was ever enacted.

We have a man in this convention today who sits up here in front, and as a result of the Wagner law he was made the labor counsel of one of the most antagonistic corporations there had been in this country for thirty years. It is a national chain store institution, and for twenty-five years we fought them in every city in the country to organize them. Now they have selected a man who, I believe, is friendly to labor, to

be their counsellor, their adjuster, and I know it has emanated from the Wagner Act. So it is throughout the country. But as to the amendments that are our supposed remedy, I venture to say that whoever is here at our next convention and the succeeding conventions, no matter how you amend it, you will still have misunderstandings.

When we drafted this Wagner Act and when our Council approved of it as the best thing we thought we could get into law, we had to keep in mind the Supreme Court, which in those days was not quite as friendly as it is now. We were always afraid from our experiences and as a result of our years of labor that our work would be kicked over by the prejudiced, biased Supreme Court that obtained at that time. Some of the Senators wanted to go further. They wanted to go so far that the legislation would be considered as bordering almost on Socialism.

But with those great minds in the Senate, consulting with your Executive Council and with the attorneys of the Executive Council, we knew just about how far we could go in order to have the Act sustained by the Court.

There is no need of my going into what happened to the Court. The Roosevelt Court Bill did not go through. I have no hesitancy in saying that I favored it. I knew just the wrongs and rights of the workers. Although his program did not go through that Court very quickly understood the pulse of our people, and to the surprise of many of us laboring men, the Supreme Court sustained the Wagner Act.

The C. I. O. were in here, members of the Federation at that time. John L. Lewis and Dave Dubinsky were sitting on the Executive Council, and when we finally got through with our discussions everything seemed to be as harmonious as it could be among a body of labor men, all of them trying to do the best they could for their respective organizations and for the labor movement as a whole.

Then what happened? We had a division in labor, a division which should not have obtained. As a result of that fact certain organizations pulled away from this Federation and refused to abide by the action of the majority, we have a division in labor that is serious, and all the legislation they can enact in Washington cannot straighten out these questions of bitterness until labor is cemented into one body and one fold, as it should be.

I don't say that you should sacrifice any

of your principles that govern your organizations and the constitutions upon which you have been elected. You have no right to do that. I don't say that I have the right to surrender jurisdiction, but I do say we should not leave this convention, with all of the misery that is going on, without making some further attempt to come together with the contending parties in the labor movement. There is nobody who has gone through this fight any more intensely than the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

Looking over the strength of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the figures will show that instead of losing members we have gained practically 100,000 members in the last two or three years. We have now a membership of perhaps 325,000 or 330,000. That is not, however, the question at issue. We are still willing to battle, but isn't it reasonable to say that battling as we are, we are dissipating that energy, that aggressiveness that we might well use in the interests of the great multitude who are still in need of being organized throughout the United States, under such laws as the Wagner Act?

We, the Teamsters, will go on. Without boasting, let me remind you that neither the CIO or any other union will stop us. This was proven when the shops closed down in the case of the truck drivers' strike recently in New York and New Jersey.

In this country at the present time there are close to 7,000,000 men and women organized, the highest number of organized employees with signed contracts now obtaining in this United States that ever obtained in the history of the labor movement. It is by far the greatest membership of any trade union movement in the world. The British movement comes close, with something over 5,000,000 in its splendid unions. I just came back from their Congress. I attended every one of their sessions. To the seven and one-half millions of men and women that we have already organized, we could easily add two and a half million more, and in one organization, working solidly together, even with the natural run of disagreements which will obtain and which always did obtain in this labor movement—(this is my thirty-second consecutive convention of this Federation and there never was a time when there was not misunderstandings)—but if we had ten millions of organized workers in this country, which we could have in two years, then we could add

ten or fifteen million more of their friends and families, making a total of 25,000,000—and that is conservative—then we could tell any administration, whether Republican or Democratic, what the American workers were entitled to, and what they should have.

That is the key to the whole situation, this division in the labor movement. You will notice in the report of Judge Padway, with whom I spent most of yesterday afternoon, that there were very few cases before the Labor Board dealing with employers and labor unions and the American Federation of Labor. Eighty-five per cent of them were disputes between the American Federation of Labor and the CIO. If we could eliminate the present division without sacrificing our honor and our principles and our craft unionism upon which we are founded, to any extent then we will have rendered a real service to labor and business. I say that personal feelings, individual hope of future publicity, or the desire for continued publicity or personal ambition—and very little of this selfishness obtains, but if it does obtain, such considerations should be set aside and trampled upon in the interests of the ten million workers of our country that ought to belong to this Federation.

You know I have more trouble with some of the organizations in this Federation than I have with the outside organizations. I have no scruples about going to the CIO and telling them to keep their hands off our jurisdiction, if they attempt to take anything away from us, but I do have considerable misunderstanding and real difficulty and very bitter arguments with organizations right inside this Federation, who have willfully refused to carry out decisions of this Federation. I am not going to bring that question up now, but I do not like to hear men on the Executive Council or out of the Executive Council in this Federation condemning industrial unionism, fighting for the principles of craft unionism, adopting industrial unionism and taking every employee themselves under a blanket agreement into their organization as a craft union.

Some of these men are very bitter against the industrial form of organization obtaining in the CIO. I think in time we will adjust those differences, when the heat of passion has cooled down and when we get acquainted with the new condition of justice pertaining to organization that has obtained in our country in recent years.

Everything that Judge Padway has said is right. His denunciation, based on facts is justified, but whatever board you have down there will not settle the question. We will stand by our declaration to maintain craft unionism as much as it is humanly possible, but for the sake of cementing this Federation together, no matter who shall be my successor or somebody else's, as labor men our first consideration should be the multitudes that are engaged in these battles, with strikes that are obtaining without any authority, to the end that there be one organization of the workers of our nation.

If you leave this convention without giving specific instructions to this Executive Council that you have created—because after all this Executive Council is the servant of this body, and I have been a member a good many years,—if the delegates go back to their people and have it shoved down their throats that we did nothing, then the responsibility is on you and not on the Executive Council.

Before I came to this city I read a message that was sent here by the President of the United States. I think it is a great advancement for this labor movement when the chief executive of our nation, no matter what party he belongs to, sends such a message of appeal to any body of working men and women. I was in London when his first message was sent by Mr. Roosevelt to the leader of the German Government, Adolf Hitler, and the entire British nation, every class, including the trades unions in their congress voted almost unanimously for war. Before I left England the entire British nation in and outside the Congress expressed a feeling of gratification and admiration for the man who had delivered such a magnetic message. It is considered even by the anti-British press and the anti-Roosevelt press, whose editorials I have read, it is considered in inner circles in European affairs that the President of the United States in his message to Hitler and Mussolini was responsible for the conversations between Mussolini and Hitler. In Europe they gave him nearly as much credit for the prevention of that awful slaughter, where 15,000,000 men were already mustered, as they did the Prime Minister of England, Mr. Chamberlain.

The war is over in Europe, we hope, for some time, and while I have been pessimistic in the matter, I am of the opinion that the allied powers of the world, Japan excluded,

took the measure of the leader of the German Government. I think there is some sincerity in his statement, as a result of what has happened, that he is going to endeavor to maintain peace.

But the President of the United States sent you a message, as he did the ruling powers of the world. I do not have it here. I was not in your city when it came. He asks you, in the name of the workers of America, the toilers whom he is struggling to help—and everything that went through on the Wagner Act was approved by the President of the United States, in every conference that he then held with leaders in the Senate his advice and counsel was considered—he has asked you in the name of the common workers and all the workers of our country not to close the door against peace. He has prayed to you, and between the times he has almost said, "If you expect us to go on in the future we must have a solid labor movement behind us, not only to sustain what we have already done, but to encourage us and back us up in securing more legislation on behalf of the workers."

I hope and trust that you will pay some attention to that, the first message of its kind that ever came to one of our conventions, and that you will not leave this convention, as I said a moment ago, without telling us in the Executive Council in no unmistakable language, go and meet those people if you are called upon and try to bring about a settlement.

If there are points that you cannot agree upon, leave those few points to some unselfish, unprejudiced body or board to decide.

Some may say in that way we are giving away the rights of labor. But what are we up against today? The rights of labor now are in the hands of a distinctively prejudiced board. This is my last statement, and believe me, when I am talking to you I am not talking for the purpose of getting my name in the record. Act before you leave here.

The Brotherhood of Teamsters have 350,000 members who are in the middle of this war, and they have delegated me to ask you in this convention to help your Council, to co-operate, and above and beyond all, to instruct them so that all the responsibility will not be on them, so that when they leave this convention they can begin conferences to the end that we might bring together the seven million and a half workers now organized.

and then begin to add the other two and a half millions. If you will do that it will be worthwhile holding this convention.

I thank you.

President Green: We have just about approached the hour of adjournment, so the Chair will call for announcements.

**Sunday Church Services
Catholic Service**

Houston, Texas,
Sept. 30, 1938.

Mr. Frank Morrison,
The Rice Hotel,
Houston, Texas,
Dear Mr. Morrison:

There will be a Mass said at the Annunciation Church, Texas and Crawford, at 11 a. m. on Sunday, October 9, for the officers, members, delegates and friends of the organization.

We are happy to extend a cordial welcome at this time to all the members and friends of The American Federation of Labor.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. T. F. Hogan.

Protestant Services

By invitation from a number of Protestant churches, delegates to the convention will speak in various churches of this city on Sunday. Particular attention is called to the morning service at 10:45 at the Bering Memorial Methodist Church, Harold and Mulberry streets, where Mr. William Green will speak; and to the evening service at 7:30 o'clock at the Woodland Christian Church, 3216 Houston Avenue, where Mr. Joseph Jones, Fraternal

Delegate from Great Britain, will be the speaker.

(Signed) Rev. James Myers,
Federal Council of Churches
of Christ in America.

Announcement was made that the Houston local, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers would entertain with a stag party at the Rice Hotel Ball Room, Friday evening at 7:00, while the Ladies' Auxiliary would entertain the lady guests at the Texas State Hotel. These entertainments are for Electrical workers only.

Delegate Van Horn, Cigar Makers, announced that his organization had made provision for a quantity of union made cigars which could be purchased at \$2.25 a box.

President Green announced an important meeting of the Executive Council on Saturday morning at 11:00 o'clock.

Delegate Brewster, Teamsters' Union: Mr. Chairman, I would like to move at this time that Vice President Tobin's speech be printed in full in the proceedings of today.

President Green: It will be printed. It does not require a motion.

Vice-President Tobin: The Committee on Laws will meet me here immediately after the adjournment of the convention. I assume all amendments have to be in by this time. Mr. Chairman, is that right?

President Green: That is right.

At 12:30 o'clock, P. M. the convention recessed until 2:30 o'clock P. M.

Fifth Day—Friday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, J. M.; Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabey, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Schneider, H. A.; Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

President Green: The Chair desires to make a correction in the announcement made of a meeting of the Executive Council tomorrow. I announced that a meeting of the Executive Council would be held on the mezzanine floor of the Rice Hotel at 2:30 o'clock tomorrow afternoon. I wish to announce that the meeting will be held in Parlor C, on the mezzanine floor of the Rice Hotel at 11:00 o'clock tomorrow.

We have with us this afternoon our old friend who spends part of his time in the United States and part of his time at Geneva, Switzerland, and other important cities of Europe. All of you know him. Everybody knows him. He was formerly President of the Pattern Makers' League of America and Vice President of the American Federation of Labor. He has been serving with distinction and credit as an officer of the International Labor Office for labor, and in serving in that position he has rendered most valuable and distinct service in the cause of labor.

I know of many incidents that have occurred wherein it was made clear that in his characteristic fashion he was furthering the cause of labor. We are fortunate indeed in that he is privileged to serve in this highly important position. I am of the opinion that there is no man connected with the ranks of labor that possesses a better knowledge or a clearer understanding of the purposes of the International Labor Organization than our friend James Wilson. No man connected with it has been able to master the details of it in such a way as our good friend. He has always occupied a very warm place in the hearts and the affections of the men and women of labor. We are glad to honor him on all occasions, and we are glad to have him here at this convention. I take great pleasure in presenting to you our friend, James Wilson,

an officer of the International Labor Office.

MR. JAMES WILSON

President Green, officers and delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, ladies and gentlemen—I assure you that I esteem it an honor and a privilege to be here today to address you for just a few minutes on the work of the International Labor Organization, and to say one word of greeting in behalf of the Organization to this convention of the American Federation of Labor.

First, it is a pleasure for me to read to this convention this cablegram:

"Please convey to President Green and the delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor, on behalf of Mr. Winant and myself, our deep appreciation for the continued co-operation of the American Federation of Labor in the work of the International Labor Organization. Your efforts have greatly assisted in our work of bringing betterment into the lives of mankind throughout the world. Our best wishes and our warmest greetings." (Signed) Harold Butler, Director of the Organization.

I would like just for a moment to tell you something of the work of the last conference of the International Labor Organization held last June. You will recall from what has been previously reported to you that in the efforts of the workers to secure conventions dealing with the problem of the establishment of the 40-hour week that it was done industry by industry. At the conference in 1937, last year, the workers introduced a resolution to the conference asking that the governing body be directed to prepare a proposal that there should be one general convention establishing the 40-hour week. That resolution was adopted by the conference and the matter was up for consideration at this year's conference. The workers having assumed the position that there should be one general 40-hour week convention, were confronted with opposition from some of their best friends, on one convention covering all matters of employment. And the workers' group, after a considerable discussion, finally recognized that it would be practically impossible to secure such a far-reaching convention, with the result that they modified their position and were agreeable for two, three, four, or five different conventions covering industry, transportation and commerce.

This year no direct vote was taken upon the principle of the 40-hour week, but the conference prepared a questionnaire to be sent to the governments for study, to have the question of a 40-hour week in such shape that it could probably be acted upon at the conference next year. One of the things that has stood in the way of this question has been the preparations for war that have been going on in the different European nations. Armaments have been uppermost in the minds of the governments. There is no question,

judging from what the conferences are discussing, that there is coming a change in the minds of those who originally were opposed to these reforms as proposed and advocated by the International Labor Office. And I believe that it will not be long before there will be a general convention, or some three, four, or five of them, that will include all of the industries, and it will bring shorter hours of labor to the workers of the world.

I was particularly interested at the conference this year in following the work of the committee that was handling the subject of road transportation. For days and days this committee met, dealing with the subject of a 40-hour week convention for the road transportation workers of the world. It was one of the most enlightening things I have ever attended. It was really marvelous to see the representatives of labor and their friends handle this great problem. There is no question in my judgment that out of the questionnaires being submitted to the governments and from the investigation of the Office there will come to this group of workers a greatly improved standard of life, due to the activities of the International Labor Organization in this field.

This year there was but one subject on the agenda providing for a convention. This called for a uniform method of compiling statistics. While there is no place, in my judgment, where such accurate statistics can be secured as in the International Labor Office, on account of the different methods used in the different countries dealing with this question, it is not possible to obtain exact authentic data. Accordingly a convention was adopted this year and referred to the governments for ratification that when ratified by the governments will bring about a uniform system throughout the world, and consequently will aid in the gathering of these statistics in a manner that will leave no question as to just what they mean.

There are other things that I could discuss, but beginning on page 127 of the report of the Executive Council, the Council reports on some of the activities of the International Labor Organization during the past year. Of course it is not possible for the Executive Council to report on the many activities of the Office of that great organization in gathering information assembling all the facts on the subjects that are presented to the annual meetings of the Organization. In this Office is to be found the highest degree of efficiency in doing this research work and assembling it, which results in the reports of the Office and the very fine technical and scientific publications produced by the Office. And in turn, as a result of these investigations, there comes the final action of the annual conference in adopting conventions that have such far-reaching effects in the advancement and in the improvement in the conditions of employment of the workers, not only in the more backward countries, but in others that we look upon as more advanced countries. So, day in and day out, this office

is constantly on the job, doing its work ever with the high ideal in mind of bringing social justice to the workers of the world.

I mention this so that you may know that this Office is constantly at work, always under the direction of men whose hearts and minds are attuned to the high ideals upon which the International Labor Organization is founded. It is fitting that your Executive Council, in its report to this convention, refers to that genius, the late Albert Thomas, the first Director of the Labor Office. The tribute it pays to the present Director, Harold Butler, is deserved. Many of you have met him; he has addressed a convention of this organization, and frequently he has spoken of the men whom he has met here.

I have worked under his direction for some time now, and I know from personal contact with him that this tribute paid by the Executive Council to Director Butler is but a recognition of a great service rendered the peoples of all nations.

Since the founding of the International Labor Organization he has been identified with its activities, and when he concludes his work at the end of the present year he will enter into the work of establishing and directing a great university, enriched by his experience derived out of his service in the International Labor Organization, to teach the great principles of social justice. An American, John G. Winant, will succeed Mr. Butler, and your Council says in its report that this is indeed gratifying to American labor. American labor knows of the work of Governor Winant. This work prompts them to pay this tribute to him. There can be no question but that he will be a worthy successor to Mr. Butler when he assumes his duties on January 1st.

That portion of the Executive Council's report submitted to this convention which relates to the services rendered the International Labor Organization by Mr. Butler and Mr. Winant is deserving of special mention. The work of these two men represent in practical form a realization of the high ideals expressed by the great Gompers when the International Labor Organization was founded.

The Executive Council has, in my humble judgment, accurately interpreted the sentiments of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor throughout our nation.

Mr. President, in the absence of Mr. Butler and Mr. Winant—I am sure that it would be their desire that I express to you all on their behalf, which I presume to do, their deep appreciation and their hearty thanks for these very fine tributes expressed in such a way by the Executive Council of this great organization.

May I direct your attention to a further matter in the Executive Council's report. It deals with the action of the Senate of the United States in ratifying five conventions adopted by the International Labor Organization dealing with maritime matters. This is the first time in our history as a nation that we have ratified conventions adopted by the

International Labor Organization, and their ratification by other nations will make them treaties between the countries ratifying them. This is a great step forward by the Senate of our country, and this action by the Senate is greatly appreciated by the International Labor Organization. It is likewise greatly appreciative of the fine work done by the American Federation of Labor in bringing about the ratification of these conventions.

I would direct your attention to the fact that there are other conventions adopted by the International Labor Organization since our country became a member of it that could be and most likely will be ratified by the Senate; for example, the convention dealing with the question of holidays or vacations with pay for the workers. As a result of the adoption of this convention only a short time ago millions of workers are now enjoying vacations with pay who never heretofore had a vacation, even without pay.

There are other conventions of great importance referred to in past reports by the Executive Council to previous conventions of this organization. As our country is a part of the International Labor Organization and as our movement is greatly interested in the bringing about social justice, improved standards of living for the workers throughout the world, the Federation should see to it that all conventions adopted dealing with the improvement and the advancement of the conditions of employment of the workers throughout the world should be promptly ratified by the Senate of our country.

Now I could go on at length, but I realize that this convention has been exceedingly patient. I realize that you have much to do, so may I but refer to the fact that just recently the American Federation of Labor has issued a pamphlet, dealing with the work of the International Labor Organization. I commend it to you for your consideration. I suggest that you get it, read it and understand it, and always remember the International Labor Organization is an organization striving for the improvement of the standard of life of the workers in all of the countries of the world.

May I say in closing that one of the principles enunciated in the constitution of the International Labor Organization is the right of workers to organize. Regardless of what else may be done or what instrumentalities may be set up, there is nothing so effective for the improvement of the standard of life of the men and women of labor than strong trade union organizations. I wish for this convention and for the American Federation of Labor, continued success in the noble work in which it is engaged.

I thank you.

President Green: We appreciate very deeply this constructive address delivered by our friend, James Wilson. It will appear in the printed proceedings of today's convention.

Now we are going to hear from the Director of the Workers Education Bureau. You know we are always pleased to receive the an-

nual message submitted to each annual convention of the American Federation of Labor by our friend, Spencer Miller, Jr., the Director of the Workers Education Bureau. He has faithfully reported to each convention of the American Federation of Labor for years. I know he has some interesting information to give us this year. I know he has been actively engaged in carrying on the work of the Workers Education Bureau during the past year, and we appreciate very greatly the fine work he has done in this field.

I take great pleasure now in presenting to you Spencer Miller, Jr., Director of the Workers Education Bureau.

LABOR AND CULTURE

MR. SPENCER MILLER, JR.
(Director Workers Education Bureau)

President Green, and delegates to the convention: No student of labor problems can address a convention of the Federation in the state of Texas without recalling that it was at El Paso in this state 14 years ago that Samuel Gompers presided over his last convention and gave to the movement as his valedictory the immortal document on the Voluntary Basis of the Trade Unions.

Nor can one forget that it was in this state hardly a month after the Convention adjourned that Gompers returned from a fatiguing journey to Mexico City to breathe his last in a hotel room in San Antonio. Texas must ever have an honored place in the annals of the Federation, as indeed it has had added some romantic pages to the history of the American Nation.

Year and year it has been my function in addressing the Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to appraise the educational contribution which labor is making to our American life. For the labor movement is not only an economic organization but as well a great humanistic and cultural movement. By its creative efforts labor is adding continuously both to the wealth of the nation and to our cultural standards. It is a truism to say that it cannot be well with America unless it is well with her workers. May I add that the full flowering of American culture will not take place until working men and women have contributed fully and freely of their creative genius to that culture. Indeed the measure of our cultural advance as a nation will be the measure of the creative contribution of labor.

In the year's cycle that has closed since the last convention there have been many notable contributions by Labor to our cultural life that are worthy to be included in such an appraisal. I have selected a few of these outstanding contributions for enumeration today.

First of all I recall to your mind your responsible part in inaugurating the inquiry on vocational education which resulted in the Report of the President's Advisory Committee

on Education. The sequence can be rapidly traced. Three years ago at the Atlantic City convention three resolutions were introduced calling attention to the way in which Smith-Hughes funds "have been given to schools located wholly within private industrial plants and operated in a manner which seriously affected wage earners not only tending to overcrowd certain skilled trades, but in other ways to lower prevailing wages in these skilled trades, thereby increasing unemployment as well as lowering standards of living." I use the exact words of one resolution. Other criticisms were leveled at the operation of our system of vocational education which labor had helped to establish.

The convention with unanimity requested the President of the United States to appoint a commission to make a study of this particular abuse and the whole subject of vocational education. Such a commission was in fact appointed. After spending a year on this inquiry, they discovered that it was difficult to report on vocational education alone without reference to the larger field of education. Accordingly the terms of reference of the committee were enlarged and the time was extended. In December of last year the report of the committee was submitted. It represented a conscientious endeavor to explore the defects as presented by the resolutions of the American Federation of Labor and to make some concrete recommendations.

The criticisms of the Federation were substantiated and machinery established to prevent the recurrence of such an abuse by providing for the creation of local advisory committees on which labor was represented. But the President's Committee to which two representatives of the American Federation of Labor were appointed surveyed the status of American education and concluded that if any systematic effort was to be made to equalize educational opportunity to the people of this country that some program of Federal Aid to the states should be initiated over a six year period.

Specific proposals are made for six fields of assistance to improve both the content of instructions, the method of teaching and the administration of educational funds. While the Report does not go as far as some educational and labor leaders would like, it marks an important step forward in American education for which labor may feel gratified. It may mark a great step forward in the equalization of educational opportunities for the people of this country.

But what is of the utmost importance is that important changes have been made in administration of vocational education and a competent representative of labor has been appointed in the Office of Education which will be the most effective guarantee against the recurrence of the former abuses.

In the second place, I select as one of the notable educational achievements of the year the development of a radio educational program entitled "Americans at Work." We have fallen into the habit of talking about the coming of mass production and the elimina-

tion of skill from industry with a sense of finality. Much manual skill has been eliminated. But we have not realized perhaps how important a part skill still plays and what new skills are indeed replacing old skills in American industry. Furthermore, we get so in the habit of talking about what this or that industry does, that we forget that behind every machine, behind every great productive process there stands man the producer. The need to humanize industry is clear.

To meet this challenge we inaugurated last spring the new series "Americans at Work." Week after week over a network of 75 stations of the Columbia Broadcasting System the story of the contribution which American workers have made to carry on our complex civilization has been presented through the life stories of working men and women. In every case we have had the workers in the mine, mill or workshop tell their own story in their own way at their place of work. In every case there has been a documentary broadcast, dramatic, realistic and compelling. To these broadcasts for a half hour more than 1,700,000 Americans listen on a coast-to-coast hook-up every Thursday night from 10:30 to 11:00 o'clock, Eastern Standard Time (the very hour used by the President of the United States in his fireside talks.)

In this effort to dramatize the human side of American industry, we have had the generous collaboration of many of the national and international unions, and have developed a series of broadcasts which have been of the highest educational importance. But what is more, we have been able in these broadcasts to point out that in a technological civilization skill is still an indispensable element. In all some twenty-three programs have been presented over a nation-wide network, including such figures as the tunnel worker, steel worker, engineman, railway expressman, bricklayer, milk driver, postman, telegraph operator, and typesetter. Last night we told the story of the fisherman. On Thursday evening October 27, we are going out into the city of East Liverpool, Ohio, and there in the very heart and center of the pottery industry of American plan to tell not only the story of pottery in terms of the lives of potters, but are going to present to the American people something of the notable leadership which the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters has contributed to the preservation of skill and the stabilization of sound industrial relations.

Manifestly we cannot begin to cover all of the varied industries and occupations of this country. There are according to the United States Department of Labor no less than 15,000 different occupations. In their list, it would take us upwards of fifty years to cover all of these occupations. But we do propose to cover the main ones and we are inviting the collaboration of the various national and international unions not only in bringing this program to the attention of their membership but in cooperating in de-

velopment programs which will present the stories of their own industries to the American People. I want now to say to all of the delegates here, to any national or international union that thus far has not been included in this program, that would be interested in having the theme of their industry and of their union made a part of this program that we shall be very glad indeed to cooperate to the fullest extent in trying to arrange such a program for some future time.

In the third place the Labor Institute at Rutgers University, which has occupied such a commanding position in the field of workers' education, has this year given a notable leadership to the development of an educational program particularly within the membership of the New Jersey labor movement. Through collaboration of the Building Trades Councils and the Union Label Trades Council of the State, this Institute has focused attention on current and pressing problems of our day which have been of the highest value to New Jersey labor.

Two interesting direct results have come out of this institute. One has been the establishment of a Farmers' Institute, the other a Bankers' Institute. In the latter case under the leadership of the American Institute of Banking a two-weeks' program has been provided for bankers all over this country. It has been a notable development out of our small beginning.

What I do feel would be most appropriate is for the Federation of Labor to give serious consideration to the establishment of a series of similar institutes on a regional basis, where the leaders of labor might come together to consider their problems within a region on the basis of an objective analysis of their problems and policies. The Rutgers Labor Institute provides a substantial foundation upon which to develop such a project.

In the fourth place I refer to a unique and in many respects notable service to our cultural life rendered by the Baltimore Federation of Labor in co-operation with the Baltimore Museum of Art. Some months ago the Museum of Art in Baltimore, under the leadership of a new director, conceived of a plan of inviting the labor movement of that city to join in an exhibit on the theme of Labor in Art. He offered the facilities of a great municipal museum for the presentation of the part which labor has played in our life and the manner in which the artist has caught and held this expression of creative effort on canvas or in marble or bronze. Labor immediately responded.

Down through the years artists have come increasingly to take the great work themes for artistic expression and to portray our contemporary civilization. It remained, however, for the Baltimore Federation of Labor, in co-operation with the Baltimore Museum of Art, to make Labor in Art the theme of their Labor Day celebration. For the month following the Museum housed this unique exhibition. As one walked through room after room of this beautiful municipal museum and viewed the works of such great painters as George Bellows, Jonas Lie, John Sloan,

Claude Monet, Jean Millet, or the sculpture of such men as Jo Davidson and Max Kallish, one realized how enduring is the contribution of labor to the art of life of our world. What the Baltimore labor movement has done in thus calling the attention of the community to this exhibit, "Labor in Art," has been noteworthy. It has served to remind us all that labor in the days of its maturity, as it acquires more leisure, will insist more and more upon a democratization of our culture. This devotion of labor to the democratization of art and the diffusion of culture is a service of the greatest importance to the people of this nation.

It would be well for all labor movements in all parts of this country to take a leaf out of this precedent-establishing act on the part of Baltimore and see in what way they can in their own communities perform a comparable service. I can think of no service which would be of greater importance for labor at the present time than to arrange with their local museums of art for a similar presentation of labor in art in their own communities. Its effect upon the public mind would I believe be very far-reaching. It would speak to men and women everywhere in the language of beauty, which is a part of our universal language.

In the fifth place I call your attention to some of the significant findings of the American Youth Commission which have been recently published. Labor has been ably represented on this Commission which was set up by the American Council on Education under a grant from the General Education Board. Recently the so-called Maryland study of some 13,000 youths under the ages of 25 was published. It was a careful cross-section of all youth irrespective of race, creed or economic status. But the report contains information which is of the highest order of pertinence to a labor movement which has espoused the cause of youth and has stood as the unwavering defender of the right of every child to his full birthright of education and economic opportunity.

This and other reports of the Commission reveal that our youth population in proportion to adults has declined since 1870. In 1870 there was one young person to every two adults over 25 years, today there is only one young person for every three grown-ups. With 2,000,000 youths leaving school each year and entering the labor market this pressure from both the top and the bottom on jobs tends to increase. The result is a marked trend to exclude youth from employment under 21 years of age. This accounts in part for the fact that the average waiting period between the completion of schooling and the commencement of work ranges from one to three years.

Thus an analysis of the composition of the unemployed reveal that our youth who contribute one-sixth of the population contribute from one-third to one-half of the unemployed.

This study also reveals the striking fact that in the frame of American industry about 10 per cent of the jobs are professional or skilled jobs; 25 per cent are semi-skilled and 65 per cent are unskilled. The skilled require

a year or more of training. Of the number of the semi-skilled 90 per cent can be trained in short courses of from six days to six months. For the unskilled no training is needed. Furthermore it appears from this report that just as many vocationally trained youths are idle as those who have not been so trained.

I need not stress for you the disquieting picture which this survey discloses. It establishes beyond all question that we have a youth problem in America which must be solved if we are to have any continued health and stability in our social order.

In the sixth place I think it not inappropriate in this survey to call to your special attention the publication which is about to be made of the life story of one of the veterans in the American labor movement, who as President of the Workers Education Bureau made a substantial contribution to the Education of Labor. For years many of you knew James Maurer, a member of the United Association of Plumbers and Steam Fitters, the militant President of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor, and on two occasions a candidate on the Socialist ticket for the Vice-Presidency of the United States. It has been said and rightly said of Jim Maurer that while he did not always see eye to eye in his political philosophy with some of the other leaders of the labor movement, nevertheless his devotion to the American Federation of Labor and to the United Association of which he was so long a member has never been seriously questioned. Incorruptible, fearless, unselfish in his service, it has seemed to some of us that the story of his life should be a part of the permanent literature of the American labor movement. Accordingly we have arranged to see that his autobiography which he had written was edited and prepared for publication. I am very glad to be able to say to you that it will be published this fall, entitled "It Can Be Told." It will be a human document which I believe will reflect real credit both on him and on the movement as well.

In the report of the Executive Council to the American Federation of Labor you will find an account of the work and the service of the Bureau over the period of the past year. It is not necessary to repeat here what is written there. I should, however, like to revert to the theme which I have stated again and again both before the Conventions of the American Federation of Labor and before conventions of the state bodies, that the problem of labor leadership today is a more difficult and serious problem than ever before. Difficult because of the multitudinous demands which are made upon the leadership of labor not only to understand our multitudinous departments and divisions of government charged with the whole task of administering certain pieces of legislation, but primarily because of the fact that it has become extraordinarily difficult to find competent representatives of labor who could be released from the administration of their unions to serve on these public and quasi-public bodies. We know from our own ex-

perience that no quasi-public body can undertake adequately to serve the needs of the labor community unless some way is found by which the representatives of that community can express their own needs and their own desires. We have insisted on that procedure and practice and yet when it comes to finding competent members of the trade union movement to serve on these boards, it is extraordinarily difficult to provide the kind of men for these jobs. The results are in practically every case serious if not disastrous to the trade union movement.

Now it is true to say that every institution when it has achieved maturity and developed basic security must begin to set up some device for training its leaders, to provide some systematic way for continuity of administration. The trade union movement must one day develop its own civil service, its own group of men and women competent to their tasks, who will not be dependent upon the fortunes of politics as to whether or not they are to continue but who will be trained and established on their merits and will be able to carry on during the period of the satisfactory performance of their tasks. I cannot say with too great emphasis how important I believe is this task and the opportunity which the labor movement has at this juncture when it faces the future to set up such a civil service and make it a definite living part of the whole administration of the trade union movement.

May I add one other word about the services of the Bureau at this point. Year after year we receive requests from newly enrolled members of trade unions for help in public speaking. These new members are quick to grasp how important is the ability to speak in the equipment of a representative of labor. From time to time we have published books, pamphlets and manuals on the subject. Recently we have arranged with John M. Clapp, one of the foremost authorities on public speaking in this country and the author of our manual on this subject to prepare a three months' home or group study course especially designed for members of labor unions. That course is now ready and is available at the nominal cost of \$3.00. It is my mature judgment that a trade unionist who will conscientiously study this course can not only master the art of public speaking but greatly enhance his service to the movement.

In recent weeks the workers witnessed another retreat of the democracies in the face of the threat and mounting power of the dictatorships. At such a time it seemed appropriate to look back over the history of this Federation and see what have been some of the dominating principles which have endured since its establishment in 1881. Accordingly we have undertaken a research to determine to what extent labor in America has been faithful over the years to the principles of democracy and civil liberties. It is a notable record in which every labor man can feel proud. There are no less than 243 different and specific resolutions or official pronouncements since

the earliest convention to the present. From the first protests against convict labor "as a species of slavery in its worst form" in 1881 came to the demand for a boycott against Japan for its war of aggression against China in 1937, the pathway has been made straight for labor in its defense of Democracy and civil liberties. Few institutions in America can match this record and none that I know can surpass it.

And I say to you this afternoon that no representative of organized labor can examine this research study without feeling a new sense of pride, a new sense of honor in belonging to an organization which, down through the more than fifty years of its existence, has held up the banner of democratic principles and civil liberties.

This document, Mr. President, I propose to submit shortly to the American Federation of Labor. But I have come here this afternoon to say to you men and women of the movement that you are the possessors of a great heritage, a great heritage of a movement which down through nearly sixty years has not only kept the faith, but to a degree I suspect unequaled by any other agency in America, stood foursquare for the preservation of civil liberties in the world. And at an hour in the world's life when democracy is at a discount, it is well for us, it is well for the men of labor to look over their history and to make themselves aware of what has been the devotion of the leaders of labor for nearly sixty years to those great, enduring principles of democracy and human freedom.

And so I complete my review this afternoon by pointing to this record, your record, men of labor, of the manner in which you and the leaders before you have stood foursquare for the rights of men, and for the principles of democracy. May I in the words of Samuel Gompers this afternoon say to you:

"Let us keep the faith, let us adhere to these enduring ideals of democracy, of freedom and social justice."

Following is the document referred to by Mr. Miller:

DEMOCRACY AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

A Brief Outline of the Resolutions and Pronouncements adopted by the American Federation of Labor in Support of Democratic Principles and Civil Liberties from 1881-1937.

Prepared for the Workers Education Bureau of America, 1938.

1881—First Convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

For compulsory education as an instrument of democracy. (P. 3.)

Against convict or prison labor as "a species of slavery in its worst form." (P. 3.)

Against conspiracy laws directed at labor activities. (P. 4.)

Against foreign contract labor. (P. 4.)

Expression of sympathy for Ireland and for the oppressed of all nations. (P. 18.)

1882—Second Convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Calls for "political resistance to the men and measures now holding our lives and our thoughts in subjection." (P. 20.)

1883-4—Third and Fourth Conventions: Reiterate views previously stated.

1885—Fifth Convention:

Indicates interest in international problems of labor, calling for an international agreement on hours of labor, etc. (P. 14.)

Denounces Pinkerton Detective Agency and demanding legislation making its anti-labor activities illegal. (P. 15.)

1886—Report of Sixth Convention and First Convention under the name of the newly organized American Federation of Labor:

Reiterates previous views.

1887—Second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Against police violations of the constitutional rights of workers. (P. 29.)

For vigilance in the protection of constitutional rights. (P. 30.)

For compulsory education and the teaching of the science of government in the public schools. (P. 30.)

For international arbitration to avoid war, and expressing sympathy for Ireland suffering under the "coercion policy" of England. (P. 31.)

Against proposed extradition treaty with Russia . . . "The right of asylum for political offenses is, and of right should be, one of the most cherished of American institutions." (P. 30.)

1888—Third Convention under the name of the American Federation of Labor:

Against labor of children in orphan asylums. (P. 29.)

1889—Ninth Convention (Sic) of the American Federation of Labor:

Reiterates previous views.

1890—Tenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Favors ballot reform "by which the citizen (can be) protected from scrutiny and open coercion in casting his vote." (P. 16, President Gompers' report to the convention.)

Against child labor—"The hope of a perpetuity of free institutions is endangered when the rising generation is robbed of the opportunity to enjoy the healthful recreations of the playgrounds or the mental improvements of the school-house." (P. 15-16, President Gompers' report to the convention.)

Against use of Pinkerton men in labor disputes and their "prostitution of police power." (P. 34.)

For woman suffrage. (P. 29.)

Resolution against Negro discrimination in unions referred to Executive Council for action. The A. F. of L. "looks with disfavor upon trade unions having provisions which exclude from membership

- persons on account of race or color." The resolution requested the National Machinists Union to remove such conditions from its constitution. (Pp. 30-31.)
- 1891—Eleventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
Takes "the ground that the Trade Unions were broad enough and liberal enough to admit of all shades of thought upon the economic, political and social questions." (President Gompers' report, P. 15.)
For free speech—"We may have little, if any, sympathy with the expressions of those who are opposed to our system of government, or we may be their outspoken antagonists, but we should at all times maintain the constitutional rights of the people, of free speech and free assemblage." (President Gompers' report, P. 17.)
Denouncing suppression of a labor meeting in Chicago "as being dangerous, not alone to the working people, but to all classes, as it tends to the usurpation of the people's authority and the substitution of an authority entirely foreign to the spirit of American institutions." (P. 33.)
Favor compulsory education of children "so that they may be able to judge in after years of their standing, rights and liberties that are guaranteed to a free people of which they are part and factors." (P. 32.)
- 1892—Twelfth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
Condemn misuse of National Guard against labor. (President Gompers' report, P. 12.)
Advocate use of schools for public meetings. (P. 35.)
- 1893—Thirteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
Praise Governor Altgeld for pardoning the Chicago anarchists. (P. 32.)
Favor election of senators by popular vote. (P. 36.)
"Resolved, that the right to work is the right to life, that to deny the one is to destroy the other. That when the private employer cannot or will not give work, the municipality, state or nation must." (P. 37.)
Protest attack on free speech and free assemblage in Chicago. (P. 62.)
Attack law against seamen leaving ships in port as "involuntary servitude." (P. 46.)
"Resolved, we deplore the introduction of any sectarian or captious side issues among the working people. Such movements are destined to divide labor's forces and produce bitter antagonisms as they produce religious bigotry, provoke rancorous intolerance, and divert the working people from working out their own emancipation. . . . Resolved, that we here and now reaffirm as one of the cardinal principles of the labor movement that the working people must unite and organize, irrespective of creed, color, sex, nationality or politics." (P. 56.)
- 1894—Fourteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
Favor the initiative and referendum as instruments of democracy. (P. 46.)
- 1895—Fifteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
"The history of the trade union movement in all lands is the history of civilization and industrial progress; of an increase in the individual liberty and collective rights of man. . . . As trade unionists we have been taught to hate tyranny and oppression in all forms, and our teaching causes us to feel sympathy for, and when opportunity offers, extend a helping hand to, all those who struggle to free themselves from influences and powers which enslave and degrade mankind, and at this time it affords me pleasure to say, and I believe I voice the sentiment of every member of the American Federation of Labor in saying it, that every heartbeat of American Labor is an expression of our sympathy with, and our hopes for the success of the gallant band of patriotic Cubans who are now risking life and liberty in their efforts to obtain freedom." (President Gompers' report, P. 16.)
Protest curtailment of the franchise, referring to conditions in the South. (P. 35.)
Resolution of sympathy for the Cubans. (P. 81.)
- 1896—Sixteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
Request pardon for Alexander Berkman. (P. 52.)
Resolution to "discourage the enlistment of their (union) members into the National Guard in the several states." (P. 75.)
Favor annual elections for executive and legislative officers. (P. 75.)
- 1897—Seventeenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
The subject of injunctions is dealt with exhaustively in President Gompers' report and is taken up at almost every other convention. (P. 23.)
Oppose annexation of Hawaii. (P. 36.)
Demand amendment to the Constitution to prevent nullification of labor laws. (P. 74.)
- 1898—Eighteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
"With every step taken in the direction to cement the bond of fraternity and the recognition of the principle of solidarity in the international labor movement, we shall not only help to bear each other's burdens, but continually make those burdens lighter, and be the lever for that international brotherhood of man when the wars of nations shall be a thing of the past, and the song of the poet, the dream of the philosopher, and the hope of the philanthropist and humanitarian shall be achieved." (President Gompers' report, P. 17.)
Demand independence of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippine Islands. (President Gompers' report, Pp. 26-8.)

- Nineteenth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Reiterate previous views.
 For woman suffrage—"Disfranchised labor, like that of enslaved, degrades all free and enfranchised labor." (P. 163.)
 Against increase of army and condemning the use of troops to enforce injunctions. (Pp. 84-5.)
- 1900—Twentieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 "Trade unions should open their portals to all wage workers, irrespective of creed, color, nationality, sex or politics." (President Gompers' report, P. 23.)
 Condemning involuntary servitude in Hawaii. (President Gompers, P. 25.)
 That constitutional amendments in states and in the nation be submitted to a referendum vote. (P. 75.)
 For free school-books. (P. 122.)
 Condemn suppression of civil rights in Shoshone County, Idaho. (Pp. 141-2.)
 Oppose compulsory arbitration after report on laws of other countries—"The right to quit work, at any time, and for any reason sufficient to the worker himself, is the concrete expression of individual liberty." (Report of Committee on Compulsory Arbitration, P. 143.)
- 1901—Twenty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Campaign against contract labor law. (Pp. 76-83.)
 Denunciation of Anarchy on the occasion of the death of President McKinley. (P. 212.)
 Declaration of Principles—"We . . . stand for greater liberty and are determined so to act that the future shall be more congenial to the whole human family, and especially more bright and enjoyable to men and women bread-winners of North America, whom we directly and indirectly represent." (P. 234.)
 Opposition to compulsory incorporation of unions. (P. 144.)
- 1902—Twenty-Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 For protection of civil rights of union workers in Puerto Rico. (P. 133.)
 Against mistreatment of Puerto Ricans lured to Hawaiian sugar plantations by false promises; demanding that the government arrange to send them home. (P. 155.)
 For the granting of the rights of citizenship to Puerto Ricans and "disclaiming approval of the expansion policy of the federal government, and simply accepting the situation as we find it." (P. 226.)
 Against treaties which provide for arrest and return of deserting seamen—"Such laws or treaties are contrary to human liberty and a remnant of the period of human slavery." (P. 108.)
- 1903—Twenty-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Protest against the violations of "the American principle of equal justice before the law" in a circular letter sent out by the Executive Council. (P. 88.)
- 1904—Twenty-Fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Executive Council studies the Coeur d'Alene and Colorado situation. (Pp. 80-82.) Resolution of protest. (P. 182.)
- 1905—Twenty-Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Executive Council authorized to work for equal suffrage for women. (P. 233.)
 "Nor can we be indifferent to the movement and the struggles of the peoples of all countries for justice and for right . . . The centuries of tyranny and debasement endured in czar-ridden Russia are making way for a better time. It is indeed a commentary which all trade union opponents may take to themselves that when all else failed to accomplish any tangible result for the people's rights, the much-abused, little-understood strike—the strike of the Russian workmen—achieved in short order, not only large material improvements in their condition but political reform and regeneration." (President Gompers' report, P. 20.)
 Protest against atrocities in Russia—"bid them (the Russian people) God-speed in their great civil and industrial campaign until they shall have instituted in what is now the Russian Empire a representative government under the title of the Republic of Russia." (P. 175.)
- 1906—Twenty-Sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Support of Hague Conference for peace. (Pp. 206-8.)
 Urge election of judges for terms not longer than four years. (P. 158.)
 Protest in case of Moyer, Heywood and Pettibone. (P. 178.)
 Demand legislation to prevent use of armed thugs in labor disputes. (Pp. 228-9.)
- 1907—Twenty-Seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Favor direct primaries in elections and the restriction of the use of money in campaigns together with the compulsory publication of campaign expenditures. (P. 197.)
 Favors requiring unanimous vote of Supreme Court for nullification of legislation. (Pp. 316-17.)
 Protest labor conditions on Panama Canal even though workers "may be of a different race or nationality." (Pp. 204-5.)
 Regret that Hague Conference accomplished so little, but "we are strongly imbued with the idea that International Peace will come sooner and be more permanent as a result of the growth of the International Trade Union movement. . ." (P. 205.)

- For amnesty of political prisoners. (P. 365.)
 Expression of sentiment for repeal of Sedition Law. (P. 385.)
 For participation in the League of Nations. (Pp. 477-8.)
 Approve relief work in war-stricken countries. (Exec. Council rep. p. 169.)
 Insist on cessation of violation of free speech in Duquesne, Pa., and invite President of the United States to speak there on free speech under the auspices of the A. F. of L. (P. 423.)
- 1908—Twenty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Refer to Executive Council matter of arrest of Mexican Liberal Party members in the United States at the instance of the Mexican government; Executive Council to take matter up with proper authorities. "We further recommend that the Executive Council interview the President of the United States, to the end that the traditional right of asylum for political refugees shall be preserved in this republic"—referring to case of Jan Pouren in danger of being extradited to Russia. (Pp. 259-60.)
- 1909—Twenty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Demand establishment of Department of Labor. (P. 315.)
 "Your committee believes that the policy of maintaining a ceaseless watch over the authorities charged with the administration of the laws relative to the right of asylum for political refugees should be continued." (P. 331.)
 Bucks Stove and Range Company injunction and contempt proceedings considered at length. (P. 32-3.)
 Executive Council adopted protest against execution of the famous Spaniard, Francisco Ferrer and voiced "organized labor's protest, for the cause of free speech, free press and free education has found in Francisco Ferrer another martyr." (Executive Council's report, Pp. 104-5.)
 "The herculean efforts of the men of labor to arouse the people of the country to a realization of the danger which threatens our constitutional liberties will go down in the annals of history as one of the great crusades for the maintenance and advancement of human rights" . . . "Eternal vigilance ever was and always will be the price of the liberties of people." . . . "Free press and free speech were guaranteed that men might feel free to say things that displeased. . . . It was not necessary that we be given the privilege for the purpose of singing the praises of the powers that be. No Russian needs constitutional guarantee of the right to sing the praises of the Czar." (Report of President Gompers, pp. 20 et seq., under the title, "Free Speech—Free Press.")
- 1910—Thirtieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Protest by President Gompers in the name of the convention against the deportation of A. F. of L. organizer from Tampa during cigar strike. (P. 340.)
 Protest against police use of the "third degree." (P. 313.)
 A. F. of L. affiliates with the International Secretariat. (Pp. 125-6.)
 Endorse efforts to resist extradition of Russian refugee from Canada. (P. 283.)
- 1911—Thirty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Protest brutality against union men in Tampa cigar strike. (Executive Council report, Pp. 128-9.)
 Report of delegate to International Secretariat shows American Labor's concern with conditions and liberties of European workers. (Pp. 146-58.)
 For compulsory education of children between ages of six and sixteen. (P. 360.)
 Report on activities showing vigorous campaign against police brutality. (President Gompers' report, Pp. 41-5.)
- 1912—Thirty-Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Support provisions for referendum on constitutional amendments in New Mexico and Arizona. (Pp. 405-6.)
 Attack Burns Detective Agency and report of Executive Council on McNamara Case. (Pp. 151-4.)
 Support given to successful drive to eliminate property qualifications for public office in Quebec. (President Gompers' report, P. 17.)
 Demand that contempt cases in injunction proceedings be tried before Juries. (P. 349.)
 Support drive to restore citizens' rights to petition Congress on grievances of government employees. (Pp. 345-6.)
 Oppose intervention of United States in Mexican revolution; extending "cordial greetings and best wishes to the men in Mexico now struggling to abolish age-long wrongs by striking the shackles from the limbs and minds of men and women and to abolish the present land tenure." (P. 256.)
 ". . . regards with disfavor and apprehension any abridgement of the freedom of the press and views with displeasure the efforts which have been made through federal legislation and departmental rulings to limit or in any other manner interfere with that most essential condition of the freedom of thought and public expression—the freedom of the press." A. F. of L. to cooperate with Farmers National Congress in this matter. (P. 282.)
- 1913—Thirty-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Co-operation with National Popular Government League to defend democratic rights. (Executive Council's report, P. 71.)
 For popular review of judicial decisions nullifying laws. (P. 294.)
 For free speech and free press amendment to state constitutions. (P. 67.)
 "Only when each person is accorded the right to speak freely and truly that which he knows and feels and sees,

when mind has free intercourse with mind, can difficulties, problems, wrongs be thrashed out and the best solutions reached." (Executive Council's report, P. 77.)

Convention commends article in *Federationist* on "Slavery Under Our Flag—Abolish It" denouncing suppressions in Philippines. (Pp. 365-9.)

1914—Thirty-fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

For legislation against detective agencies in labor disputes. (Pp. 351-2.)

Support for Irish Home Rule. (P. 472.)

Deplore European War. "We stand for honorable peace on the economic field, but we demand justice as the fundamental condition for all progress . . . When justice is established, peace will follow." (P. 476.)

For disarmament "to the furthest extent consistent with the preservation of law and order throughout the world." (P. 473.)

Against private manufacture of arms and munition; for government ownership of munitions industry. (P. 467.)

1915—Thirty-fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Discussion of the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to initiate a labor peace congress. "It was thought that such a conference would have great weight in urging and presenting the welfare of humanity and in determining the nature of the decisions of the world congress." (Executive Council's report, P. 49.)

Against anti-Semitism, and calling upon the United States government "to urge upon the governments of the nations of other countries to cease discrimination wherever it exists and is now practiced against the Jewish people." (P. 461.)

Urging that the labor movement remain neutral in the European war. (P. 461.)

1916—Thirty-sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

For honest elections in Arizona and against the use of money to corrupt voters. (P. 367.)

Failure of Labor Peace Congress because of no response from abroad. "Somehow thinking people have been catching the meaning of democracy; they have come to realize that it means that the people—all the people—have a right to do things for themselves; that they need no longer to look up to others to do things for them, not even the things that pertain to government and international relations." Despite this hope, all efforts failed.

For labor representation on government bodies. (P. 349.)

Against censorship of moving pictures. "Freedom of speech is inseparable from free institutions and the genius of a

free people." (Executive Council's report, P. 114.)

Against police brutality in Puerto Rican strikes. (Executive Council's report, P. 166.) Ask congressional investigation of conditions in Puerto Rico. (Executive Council's report and testimony of President Gompers before Senatorial Committee. (P. 170-1.)

"Moral and material assistance" pledged to Jews and other persecuted political, racial and religious minorities in Europe. (P. 393.) Special Committee on Militarism opposes the spirit of militarism. (P. 383.)

1917—Thirty-seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Executive Council opposed conscription law. "The organized labor movement has always been opposed to compulsion. It has maintained that institutions and relations of a free people can and should be based upon the voluntary principle." (Executive Council's report, Pp. 110-112.)

Demand for a "Coordinated, genuinely national and democratic system of education." (P. 419.) " . . . alarmed by the lack of democracy in the conduct of our schools. Our American school system is administered autocratically, the teachers actually on the job in the classrooms having a negligible voice in the determination and carrying out of policies." (P. 420.)

Support of war in interests of democracy. (Pp. 73-8.) Formation of American Alliance for Labor and Democracy. (Executive Council's report, Pp. 99-100.)

Support of Russian democracy. (Pp. 99-100; pp. 450-1.)

Peace terms urged on democratic basis. (Pp. 451-3.)

Protest in case of Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings. (P. 459.)

Against denial of mails to certain newspapers. "No people can long remain a free people when denied the freedom of the press," etc. (Pp. 347-8.) Interest in Russian struggle for freedom shown by report of James Duncan, member of American Commission to Russia. (Pp. 322-347.)

1918—Thirty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Labor mission sent to Great Britain and France. (Pp. 138-151.)

Appeal for establishment of independent republic of Bohemians and Slovaks, addressed to President of United States and to Congress. (Pp. 340.)

Against compulsory labor laws during war. (Executive Council's report, Pp. 82-3.) "There is altogether too much talk of the conscription of labor and that too many persons look to coercion as the remedy for industrial ills." (P. 279.)

For investigation by Executive Council

- of judicial interference in legislation. (Pp. 324-5.)
 Plans for Inter-Allied Labor Conference. (Pp. 43-51, 332-3.)
 Report of Labor Mission to Mexico. (Pp. 248-53.)
 Charges against Arthur Yager, governor of Puerto Rico, of violating civil rights. (Executive Council's report, Pp. 98-9): recommend investigation of charges. (Pp. 283-4.)
 For Irish home rule as one of the bases of peace. (Pp. 336-7.)
- 1919—Thirty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 For withdrawal of American troops from Russia, opposing undemocratic form of government. (Pp. 333-4.)
 Voice "insistent demand that immediately following the signing of the peace treaty all laws in any way limiting or infringing upon the right of free speech, of a free press, and freedom of assembly which were enacted as war measure, shall be repealed." (P. 392.)
 Against any continuing spirit of militarism because of "its baneful influence and effect upon freedom, civilization and humanity." (Executive Council's report, P. 96.)
 Organization of Pan-American Federation of Labor. (Pp. 87-91.)
 Executive Council instructed to investigate deportation of Hindus under attack because of activities in behalf of Indian freedom. (P. 358.)
 "That the Congress of the United States recognize the present Irish Republic." (Pp. 325-327.)
 Protest against massacres of Jews in Poland, Ukraine and other parts of Eastern Europe. (P. 321.)
 Denouncing lynching and race riots. (P. 321.)
 For democracy in industry. (Executive Council's report, P. 71.)
 Urging that state militia be based on democratic principles. (Report of Executive Council, P. 78.)
- 1920—Fortieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Opposition to compulsory military training (P. 359) and "peace-time sedition bill." (P. 385.)
- 1921—Forty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 "Industry's Manifest Destiny" calling for democracy in industry and cooperation between management and labor adopted.
 Favor steps making amendment of Constitution of U. S. easier. (Pp. 16, 124, 325.)
 For disarmament conference. (P. 372.)
 Activities in behalf of Eugene Victor Debs and other political prisoners reported (Pp. 272-7.)
- 1922—Forty-Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Oppose surveillance of aliens—"does violence to our cherished ideals of freedom and liberty and equality before the law." (P. 327.)
 For amendments to protect constitutional rights of labor. (Pp. 371 et seq.)
 Oppose Lusk Laws as "Menace to Public Education." (Report of Committee on Education, Pp. 506 et seq.)
 Against "judicial kidnapping, denial of bail, etc." (Executive Council's report, P. 99.)
 Condemnation of masked, terroristic organizations. (P. 344.)
 For recognition of Mexican government. (Pp. 492-3.)
 Against stage and movie censorship. (Executive Council's report, P. 140-1; P. 360.)
 Favoring new trial for Sacco and Vanzetti. (Pp. 341-2.)
- 1923—Forty-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Against legislation that would make possible peace-time conscription of labor. (Executive Council's report, Pp. 88-9.)
 Ku Klux Klan denounced: "This secret organization promotes discord among our people and strife within the ranks of organized labor, seeks to destroy the cherished principle of religious freedom and tolerance and purposely fosters racial prejudices . . . We know of nothing that could be more intolerable or more hostile to the purposes of organized government or the trade union movement . . . We believe that no trade unionist can consistently participate in the activities of the Ku Klux Klan or any similar organization." (Executive Council's report, Pp. 85-6.)
 Italian Fascist movement denounced: "What is of immediate concern to us is the effort to organize Fascist groups in the United States. We denounce this effort as a token of hostility to our democratic institutions and particularly to our American trade union movement . . . It is the duty of American trade unionism to use every honorable effort to purge the country of this offshoot of European turmoil." (Executive Council's report, P. 66.)
 Against registration of aliens. (Executive Council's report, Pp. 84-5; Pp. 357-8.)
 For constitutional amendment giving Congress power to review Supreme Court decisions nullifying legislation. (Executive Council's report, pp. 35-6; p. 265.)
 Executive Council to investigate problem of civil government for Virgin Islands. (Pp. 324-5.)
- 1924—Forty-Fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:
 Establishment of a trade union fund to help German trade union movement. Report \$27,000 raised. (Executive Council's report, p. 18.)
 Favor continued efforts for pardon of Mexican libertarians imprisoned in Texas. (P. 305.)

1925—Forty-Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

- Against deportations of aliens. (Executive Council's report, P. 169.)
- Demand for withdrawal of extra-territorial rights from all nations in China. (P. 373.)
- Opposition to proposals for finger-printing of aliens and others since it is "a medium for a vast system of espionage in this country." (P. 386.)
- Demand for investigation of killing of Nicaraguan workers. (P. 378.)

1926—Forty-Sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

- Vigilance demanded for the safeguarding of freedom of speech in radio broadcasting. (Executive Council's report, pp. 59-60; p. 247.)
- Italian fascist dictatorship denounced. (P. 262.)
- Resolution for granting of citizenship to Hindus referred to Executive Council. (P. 219.)
- Near East Relief approved. (Pp. 299-300.)
- Against race discrimination. (Pp. 297-8.)

1927—Forty-Seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

- Referring to use of American troops in South America, China, etc., convention expresses the hope that America will adhere to earlier policy requiring "that Americans and so-called American interests in foreign countries must abide by and accept the consequences of the laws of such countries." (P. 344.)
- Expression of sympathy and support for Cuban workers in fight for the protection of their democratic rights. (Executive Council's report, pp. 105-106; p. 417.)
- Re-affirmation of opposition to Italian fascism and condemning the Fascist League of North America, led by Count Ignazio Thaon di Revel. (P. 374.)
- For Philippine independence. (P. 364.)

1928—Forty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

- Expression of sympathy for work of Jewish labor movement in Palestine and fraternal recognition of the Histadruth. (P. 283.)
- Reiterates position on free speech: "We believe the prosecution of persons for the expression of political or economic views is contrary to the fundamental principles of American government and the letter and spirit of the constitution." (P. 280.)

1929—Forty-Ninth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

- Demand for senate investigation of suppressions in Cuba. (P. 373.)
- Condemnation of Arab attacks on Jews in Palestine. (P. 379.)

1930—Fiftieth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Against censorship: "It is a fine testimonial to the intelligence of our people that except in one or two states every attempt to censor the use of schoolbooks on American history by legislative action has failed, and all attempts have been discredited." (Report of Committee on Education, P. 286.)

Against intervention in Cuba. (P. 391.)

Condemnation of lynching and "various un-American organizations styling themselves as Blue Shirts, Black Shirts and Ku Klux Klan." (P. 384.)

Opposition to military training in high schools. (Pp. 289-90.)

1931—Fifty-First Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The report of the Executive Council (P. 67 et seq.) reviewing the A. F. of L.'s "Contribution to Politics" during the preceding fifty years is summarized as follows by the Committee on the Executive Council's report: "The American Federation of Labor believes in democracy and the American Federation of Labor has worked to put the principles of democracy into actual practice.

"It has advocated and helped to establish:

1. The Australian ballot system.
2. Woman suffrage.
3. Initiative, referendum and recall.
4. Popular election of senators.
5. Primary elections.
6. Support of agencies working for international understanding and world peace." (P. 339.)

Support of Bill of Rights: "We reiterate our firm faith and belief in the rights of the individual as set forth in the Bills of Rights of our Federal and State constitutions." (P. 466.)

Urges designation of a representative of labor as one of delegates to General Disarmament conference in Geneva, February 1932. (P. 429.)

Opposition to finger-printing of government employees. (Pp. 508-9.)

Hails decision of Supreme Court in Minnesota Free Press Case. (Executive Council's report, Pp. 126-7; p. 31-2.)

A. F. of L. bodies urged to get voters to register and exercise their right of franchise. (Pp. 416-9.)

1932—Fifty-Second Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

"Declaration of unalterable opposition and hostility to Communism" as inimical to "democracy and human freedom." (P. 407.)

For American representation in International Labor Office, referred to Executive Council for investigation. (Pp. 439-40.)

For elimination of private profit from munitions industry. (Pp. 588-9.)

1933—Fifty-Third Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Denunciation of suppression of German

Labor Movement. (Executive Council's report, Pp. 141-2.) "We abhor racial persecution and we protest vigorously against the persecution of the Jewish people of Germany." (P. 142.) "We extend to fellow-workers and friends our sincere sympathy at their great loss through the destruction of the labor movement." (P. 142.) Boycott imposed on German goods. (P. 142.) Convention approves actions of Executive Council. (Pp. 465-470.)

Approve sending of U. S. delegate to International Labor Office. (P. 539.) Protesting conviction of Harlan, Ky., miners. (P. 525.)

Protesting discrimination against Negro workers under the NRA. (P. 523.) Against retrenchment in public education. (P. 229.) Appeal addressed to President of the United States on this matter. (P. 304.)

1934—Fifty-Fourth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Sympathy for Austrian workers attacked by Dolfuss expressed by President Green following address of Max Winter of Vienna. (Pp. 223-26.)

Activities against fascism—reiteration of the boycott on German goods and support for the "Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe." (Executive Council's report, pp. 173-7; p. 570.)

For democracy in industry—"By preserving a democratic principle, we must provide for joint employer and employee responsibility and joint employer and employee control." (Executive Council's report, p. 127.)

Against fascist tendencies in the United States, attacking "those who under the mask of patriotic motives endeavor to destroy equality of rights." (Pp. 631-2.)

Approve Nye investigation of Munitions industry. (Pp. 630-1.)

Demand right of public employees to organize. (P. 620.)

1935—Fifty-Fifth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Chest for Liberation of Workers of Europe reports \$46,000 collected, \$21,750 sent through International Federation of Trade Unions for victims of Nazism and \$11,563.50 for victims of Italian fascism, sent through Modigliani Fund. (Pp. 585 et seq.)

Resolution on fascism urges continuation of boycott on German goods, boycott of Olympic games in Berlin, and further support for the Chest for Liberation. (Pp. 599 et seq.)

Col. Batista's dictatorship in Cuba denounced in resolution referred to Executive Council. (P. 582.)

Calls for Congressional investigation of activities of labor spies. (Pp. 603-4.) Italian war on Ethiopia condemned. (P. 496-7.)

Sympathy and support of sharecroppers suffering poverty and violation of civil rights. (P. 588.)

Repeal of "slave insurrection law" of Georgia, under which Angelo Herndon was convicted, is demanded. (P. 590.)

Support of Costigan-Wagner Bill against lynching. (P. 466.)

Use of militia in labor disputes condemned. (P. 456-7; p. 516-7.)

Governor Paul V. McNutt of Indiana censured for using troops in strike. (P. 406.)

1936—Fifty-Sixth Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Demand "that labor shall have direct representation" on all administrative bodies affecting labor. (Pp. 561-3.)

Problems of preventing employers from arming their plants in labor disputes referred to Executive Council. (Pp. 616-18.)

Special committee designated to investigate arrest of cannery workers during the convention. Committee insists on right to peaceful picketing. (Pp. 757-8.) Executive Council instructed to give "careful study" and take "appropriate action" on the need for amending the Constitution of the United States to limit the powers of the Supreme Court. (Pp. 695-707.)

Protest against the dismissal of Prof. Jerome Davis from Yale Divinity School because of his opinions. (Pp. 563-4.)

Resolution on "Democracy vs. Dictatorship" expresses "fidelity to the democratic principles upon which our government is founded" and enumerates important civil rights. (P. 677.)

Legislation drafted against use of detective agencies in labor disputes. (Pp. 457-61.)

Opposition to spread of dictatorships in Europe and attack on dictators in "Germany, Italy, Russia or any other country." Quotes President Green: "We are not so much concerned with the brand of dictatorship, its character or its kind . . . the American Federation of Labor is against every brand of dictatorship of any kind." (P. 637-8.)

Re-affirms action against Fascism. (Pp. 592-5.)

Executive Council to investigate case of Gallup Miners for violation of rights of union workers. (Pp. 711-12.)

Study of Russell-Kramer Sedition Bill as inimical to free speech referred to Executive Council. (Pp. 609-10.)

For Preservation of civil rights of sharecroppers and supporting Southern Tenant Farmers Union. (Pp. 672-3.)

Condemnation of the Tampa floggers who murdered Joseph Shoemaker: "These crimes are not only abhorrent as such to the members of the American Federation of Labor but the motives and intentions behind them are in contravention of the principles upon which the American Federation of Labor is organized and functions, and in violation of the rights which make possible the existence of the American Federation of Labor." (P. 572.)

Vigilantism denounced. (P. 572-3.)

Activities of Black Legion condemned in a resolution on the Tampa case. (P. 572.)

1937—Fifty-Seventh Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Further investigations by the La Follette Committee urged. (P. 432.)

Sympathy for Ethiopian people and condemnation of Italy expressed. (Pp. 442-5.)

Boycott on German goods renewed. (P. 631.)

Reaffiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions effected. (Pp. 628 et seq.)

Cable received from Sir Walter Citrine, of the I. F. T. U., urging boycott on Japan because of aggression against China. Boycott voted. (Pp. 630-1.)

Appeal directed to La Follette Committee to investigate violations of civil liberties perpetrated against Progressive Miner of Illinois. (P. 650.)

Freedom asked for remaining defendants in Scottsboro case. (P. 421.)

Insistence on academic freedom and tenure laws for teachers. (P. 626-7.)

Deunuciation of war and demand for "a positive effort toward a world order assuring justice for all. . . ." (Pp. 631-2.)

NOTE

In cases where the American Federation of Labor Conventions have merely reiterated views adopted by former conventions, only the original actions have been included in this digest.

Page references are to the official reports of proceedings. The first six conventions are reported under the title:

"Report of Proceedings of First (Second Third, etc.) Annual Session of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada."

Together with the Sixth Annual Session of the Federation of Organized Trades, etc., came the First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1886. The following two conventions were designated as the Second and Third Conventions of the A. F. of L., but in 1889, the American Federation of Labor reverted to consecutive numbering, making the session of the Ninth Annual Convention, under the title:

"Report of Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor."

President Green: We appreciate very greatly the scholarly address delivered by Secretary Miller this afternoon. It has measured up to the high standards he set in the beginning, both as to the character and the logic of the fine addresses he has always delivered. The address and the documents he may decide to submit will be included in the proceedings of the convention.

Now, we have with us a most honored and outstanding official, a delegate to this convention, one who has been honored by the members of the organization he has so wonderfully served, one who has been honored by the

nation. We have him here as a delegate and as an officer of the organization which he has served so many years and as the Senator from a sovereign state. I am going to ask him to come here and speak to the delegates this afternoon. We feel honored because he was honored. When an officer of our organization, an outstanding officer of a splendid union, is honored in a splendid way, the honor is not conferred upon him alone, it is conferred upon our great organized labor movement also. I will appoint as a committee to escort him to the platform, President Claude M. Baker, of the International Typographical Union, Brother Daniel Murphy, and Miss Anastasia Becker, of the Bookbinders Union. I will have a lady escort this gentleman up, because I think it will be very proper.

Senator Berry was escorted to the platform by the committee named.

President Green: I present to you a delegate to this convention, a member of a great organization, the Printing Pressmen's Union of America, Senator, not only of the State of Tennessee, but our Senator, because when he served in the Congress of the United States he reflected great credit upon the organized labor movement. A Major in the World War, an outstanding representative of organized labor, an official of the United States Government, and a great United States citizen—President George Berry, United States Senator from Tennessee.

HONORABLE GEORGE L. BERRY

(United States Senator from Tennessee)

Mr. President, fellow delegates and visitors to the convention of the American Federation of Labor—I appreciate more than I can tell you the opportunity of being present to say a word on the occasion of this magnificent convention of the American Federation of Labor. I use the word "magnificent" advisedly, because it is representative of one of the most extraordinary growths in membership that has ever been recorded in the life of the American Federation of Labor. It is, further, a magnificent occasion.

I take the liberty of transmitting my whole-hearted congratulations to the officers and the members from the national and international unions, the central bodies and the state federations of labor upon the splendid growth, not only in membership, but in influence that has come to us in this past year.

I am delighted to be able to say to you that the organization of which I am a member and its chief executive officer has, with you, a splendid growth in membership. This is good. This increase in membership, this increase in influence upon the part of the workers of America is good. It seems to me that there has never been a day or a month or a year in the history of America that demands a

greater sense of cohesiveness, a greater sense of solidarity and unity upon the part of the workers than does this day.

Perhaps I would be assuming too much to point out in great detail the situation that confronts the United States and the world; but may I here make this my observation, that the influence that has always been present in the interest and in the furtherance of democratic principles, the trades union movement of this country, is now needed perhaps more than ever before in the history of the Republic.

When we cast our eye over the map of the world we cannot hesitate feeling some sense of distress and depression. We have observed, systematically and gradually the disappearance of democracies upon the face of the earth. It is a situation that must challenge our attention. Just a few days ago a dictatorial pact was consummated at Munich, in which one of the very few remaining democracies abroad was practically dissolved. A democracy living in prosperity and stability and contentment, was wiped out in a practical sense by the force of Fascism and Nazism, conducted by the dictators of Italy and Germany.

My fellow countrymen, this is a challenging circumstance to us. I have always believed in the proposition that a principle, fundamental in its characteristics, was worth fighting for. The democracies of the world and those who believe in this ideal in government, in my judgment, will pay dearly for the sacrifice made at Munich a few short days ago.

And what has that to do with our Government and our country? It is being said that there is no danger in America of a dictatorship. It is being said that we are safe and secure from such a possibility. My fellow countrymen, and fellow trade unionists, it is a mistake to form such a conclusion. This is a contagious disease, and we know that it has a foundation and existence in America, whether we are willing to acknowledge it or not. Therefore, our cohesiveness and unity in carrying out the traditions of the American Federation of Labor to resist the encroachment of this disease, autocracy and dictatorship in our country, is, I repeat, a challenge to our first consideration.

My friends, is everything all right in America? Who is it that will arise and say that everything is all right in America? He who says it disregards the truth and the facts. Democracy in the world was never at such a low ebb as it is at this moment. Democracy in America was never in a more distrustful position than at this moment. Challenging? Yes, challenging to every thinking believer in the principles and the theories of a democratic form of government. My friends, are we strong enough to resist it? Are we in the same strong position that we were in 1914, when we threw our forces and our money and our lives in support of the Allied cause against the central powers—that force which was largely responsible for the ending of that war between autocracy and democracy?

The war, I repeat, is infinitely more serious now than it was then. Are we as strong now in our resistant forces and our capacity as we were then? That question I shall answer for myself by expressing the profound regret that we are not.

You have perhaps observed that on the 30th day of June, 1938, the ending of the fiscal year of the Federal Government of the United States, there was a deficit for that fiscal year of more than \$1,400,000,000. In the report of the Secretary of the Treasury you perhaps observed that on that day the interest requirements of the Federal Government in meeting its obligations were more than \$900,000,000.00. No small amounts, are they? You perhaps noticed the report of the first quarter of the fiscal year 1938, issued a few days ago, in which it showed a deficit of more than \$700,000,000.00, with the federal debt having risen to the gigantic proportions of more than thirty-eight billion dollars. Well, if there is any doubt in the minds of anybody as to the amount of thirty-eight billion, start counting it.

The Federal Government and its several political divisions now owe more than sixty billion dollars. Why do I make such a declaration? Not only because it is true, but in addition it shows that this government has changed following the war and during the war and before the war, from the status of a creditor government to a debtor government. Are we as strong? For my part I say no. From what source is this money to come to liquidate the obligations? If we began today liquidation on the basis of \$500,000,000.00 a year, it would take us 120 years to liquidate.

Perhaps in both reports you observed that while the debt was going up the income was going down. I learned as a boy that if one spends \$2.00 for every dollar that they take in and continues to do it, ultimately they will go bankrupt. I have learned through some experiences that if you continue to borrow money and pay the interest upon money that you have already borrowed, ultimately you will go into bankruptcy. Perhaps the most assinine suggestion that has ever been offered is that you can spend yourself out of debt. These things cannot be done. They never have been done and never will be done, because they run in contravention to the economic rule of God, and you can't change that.

The facts are that the liquidation must come from the creation of wealth, and there is no man or woman within the sound of my voice who can disagree when I make the statement that the sum total basis in the creation of wealth comes from simple work. Work is the production of wealth, and no other formula has ever or ever will be found to take its place.

Is it worth thinking about? I stand here this day, as I have stood for 31 years as the president of an international labor union and declare that I believe in the guarantees set out in the government of free men. I believe that that guarantee to Americans in the Constitution of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness and the ownership of property are inseparable from a democracy. I hold that when the government undertakes to engage in the displacement of private enterprise, it is drifting from the form of government that has made America the greatest nation on the face of the earth.

Are we drifting? Oh, yes. It would be totally useless for me to detail that interrogation, because every man in this convention knows the truth. The blindness and the wastefulness,

the impracticability and the illogical conduct of departments of government engaged in competition with private enterprise is known to every delegate in this convention—a beautiful situation, indeed; the most extraordinarily paradoxical one ever known, by which the moneys from our labor through the form of taxes are used to put us out of business.

I am referring specifically to the conduct of the Works Progress Administration, a thing that has undermined not only private enterprise and continued unemployment in America, all of the declarations to the contrary notwithstanding, but an enterprise that has reduced America on relief to the point of serfdom, not only in the form of wages received, but in the exercise of their citizenship and independence as members of a great democracy.

My friends, I have expressed my opinion. I shall continue to do that because I think more of America and our form of government than I think of political parties, because we know something of what occurs with political parties. With the Chancellor of Germany and ex-Austria, the first declaration made by him was "out with political parties," and they went out. In his recent conquest of Czechoslovakia, when he had conquered, the first declaration was, "out with political parties." And so if we are to have the crisis—and that is just as inevitable as you are sitting in this convention—what will it be? A revolution or a dictatorship, but in any event it will be "out with political parties." Therefore, I adjust myself to the proposition of being more infinitely interested in saving the form of government than I am in the political parties of the nation. We can take care of the politics if we can save the nation.

My friends, there never has been a growth in the United States or any other country so rapidly away from the fundamental principle of work. I shiver to think of the numbers of millions of men in the United States who have come to believe that they have the right to live without working—and that is a growing tendency in the United States.

Oh, yes, business is on a strike and thus unemployment continues rampant. We hear much of that. Business in the United States is measuring its activities very largely now upon just how long the government will spend this money. That is not a healthy situation, is it, but that is the crux of our present industrial disorder in the United States.

Therefore, I come to you urging your unity, congratulating you upon your growth and your membership and your interest, because you will need it. We shall need it. I repeat here today that the crisis, the cross-roads is inevitable, and the better we prepare ourselves now for the inevitable shock, the more certain we will be of maintaining and retaining in America our democratic form of government.

I am frank to confess to you that this is no new thinking for me. I have been backing this declaration, the conclusion of a unanimous American labor movement, and it has had the backing of 52 per cent of the employers of America as measured by the number of employees engaged in industry in

America. As the Coordinator for Industrial Cooperation, made up of a united labor movement in this country and 52 per cent of the employers measured by the number of employees in their industries, they pointed the way in 1935 in their report and reaffirmed it in their report of 1936, in which we with unanimous conclusions directed attention to the obligations of the government and directed the attention of private enterprise as to its responsibilities founded upon the guarantees found in the Covenant, the Constitution of the United States. It was placed in the Congress, given to each member of Congress and to the chief executive of the nation. It spoke volumes. It said in fact that the course then beginning would lead to stupendous expenditures and deficits, it would lead to a decrease in the income of the nation and was an unsound procedure to follow.

Well, that was my text, and where could I get a better text? I followed it in the Senate of the United States in my vote. I confess with distinct satisfaction that I voted against every appropriation that in my judgment constituted a waste. I am proud of it. Those who are responsible—well, they won't be so proud of their votes to the contrary.

I wish you Godspeed in your activities. I appreciate more than I can tell you this opportunity to express myself. This is a form of free speech. We have the right to express our opinions, all of us. I have expressed mine. God bless you, and thank you for the attention that you have given me.

President Green: In your name and for you I thank United States Senator Berry for the fine address he delivered this afternoon. He will stay with us and, as I understand it, participate in the deliberations of this convention until its close. We are glad to have him here sitting with us as a delegate, the spokesman for an international union and a distinguished public official.

Now I will recognize the Secretary of the Credentials Committee.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials

Secretary Iler, for the Committee on Credentials, reported as follows:

In accordance with a telegram received from Secretary Rea Smith of the San Bernardino, California, Central Labor Council, we recommend the seating of J. W. Cox to represent that organization, with one vote.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll for an announcement.

Vice-President Woll: The Committee on Resolutions has completed its work and is ready to report to this convention. I rise to move that the committee's report be heard as a special order, commencing Monday at ten o'clock.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

The President repeated the announcement made earlier in the day with regard to the meeting of the Executive Council; also repeated the announcement made earlier with regard to the entertainments of the Electrical Workers and the ladies of their families.

No further business coming before the convention, Delegate Bugniet moved that the rules be suspended and the convention adjourned to 9:30 a.m. Monday.

The motion was seconded and carried, and at 4:40 p.m. the convention adjourned to 9:30 a.m. Monday, October 10th.

RESOLUTION

RESOLUTION.

Protesting Labor Policy of R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, Chicago, Illinois

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates Claude M. Baker, Henry E. Clemens, William H. Harris, Elmer David Manning, Nicholas M. Di Pietro, Glenn L. Mitchell, International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, Fred Verhines, Jos. C. Orr, Daniel C. Murphy, Albert Hunter, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America; Frank H. Glenn, Matthew Woll, Henry F.

Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Houston, Texas, does hereby wholeheartedly endorse the campaign of the Chicago Printing Trades Unions, against the anti-union concern of R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, also known as The Lakeside Press and the Rueben H. Donnelley Corporation, and does hereby pledge the facilities of the American Federation of Labor to the end that the vast volume of work now being done at the Donnelley plant shall be printed under union conditions.

Referred to Committee on Industrial Relations.

Sixth Day—Monday Morning Session

Houston, Texas,

October 10, 1938.

The convention was called to order at 10:00 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Cardena, A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frosty, Cresty, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabee, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Forey, Robinson, Ambrose; Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

INVOCATION

Rev. R. A. Deison, Pastor, Third Presbyterian Church of Houston

O God, we thank Thee for our high privilege, by the work of hand and brain to serve the needs of mankind. As we labor we dimly understand and in some measure share Thy joy in creation.

We should be workers together with Thee, using the treasures of our minds and the strength of our bodies to enrich and ennoble human life. Of ourselves we can do nothing, but with Thee, who doest cause the sun to shine and the rain to fall, and doest provide all the conditions to make our work productive, we can create a good and happy world.

But we confess that we have sadly failed to do all that we might have done. Selfishness has blighted our work. Some of us have ignorantly or willfully exploited others, grasping the fruit of their labor for our own private profit. Men, women and little children have been compelled to bow their backs under burdens too heavy to be borne, in order that others might live in lavish luxury and selfish ease. Work that might have been joy has been turned into painful drudgery, and those who have borne the burden and heat of the day have been brutalized by the conditions of their toil. Forgive, O God, the selfishness and greed which runs through the warp and woof of our social life.

For out of this avarice, this lust for possessions and for power, has come the dire calamity in the midst of which we live today. Our distress and suffering is not because of Thy withholding, O God, but because with so many of us, wild speculation and grasping acquisitiveness have taken the place of honest and productive labor. Heal us of our sins, we pray.

Be gracious, O God to those who suffer. Have mercy upon those who desire to work but are denied the opportunity. Cure us of our stupidity and folly, give us wisdom, goodwill and courage, that we may build a

world in which every man who wants to work may make a living wage and every product a fair profit. Build the kingdom of love and justice.

Delegate Moreschi, President, Hod Carriers and Building Laborers, announced that Charles Harris and Edward I. Hannah would be substituted for James Bove and Michael Carrozzo in the delegation of the Hod Carriers and Building Laborers.

Communications

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Hamilton District Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario.

Houston, Texas,
October 4, 1938.

Mr. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas.

Dear Sir and Brother:

On behalf of the Hamilton District Trades and Labour Council, chartered by the American Federation of Labour, may I extend to the officers and delegates assembled at this convention, a most cordial invitation to hold your 1939 Convention in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada, which is unsurpassed for hospitality.

Our Central Body, which so earnestly desires to be your host for 1939, has made Labour History on this Continent and has given the American Federation of Labour Dominion-wide prominence and prestige through its adamant stand in the expulsion of the Communists and Communist dominated C.I.O. from the ranks of legitimate labour in Hamilton.

With great anticipation of your acceptance to visit us, I remain,

Yours fraternally,

(Signed) JOHN F. CAULEY,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Toronto, Ontario,
October 3, 1938.

John Cauley,
Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas.

I have much pleasure on behalf of the government of the Province of Ontario in extending a hearty invitation to the delegates of the American Federation of Labor to make Ontario their headquarters for the 1939 convention. Labor in Ontario has been linked for many years with the A. F. of L. and has more members in the organization than any other province in Canada. I am sure that the holding of this convention within the

Dominion will help to cement the good relations that exist between our two countries and lead to a better understanding of each other's labor problems.

M. F. Hepburn, Prime Minister.

Portland, Maine,
October 7, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Houston, Texas.

Convention Assembled: Regular meeting of Portland Maine, Central Labor Union ordered regrets of not having delegate in attendance but sends best wishes of this loyal organization for a harmonious and successful convention, and that we heartily endorse resolutions of Massachusetts seeking fifty-ninth convention and hope convention will select Boston and give New England states again a chance to show their appreciation and loyalty. Hope our appeals of the past as well as those of State Federation will be considered by convention and full time organizer assigned until minority group is forgotten. As political expressions often stated as Maine goes, so goes the nation, and let us go one hundred per cent American Federation of Labor.

Portland Central Labor Union,
Frank C. McDonald, Secretary.

Disabled American Veterans of the World War

740 McKnight Building,
Minneapolis, Minnesota,
October 3, 1938.

Hon. William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Rice Hotel, Houston, Texas.

My dear Mr. Green:

I sincerely regret that prior commitments make it impossible for me to accept your kind invitation to attend your Fifty-eighth Annual Convention.

I would deeply appreciate the privilege of being with an organization that for years has worked so efficiently and courageously to better the conditions for those who toil. In this great humanitarian work you have the wholehearted support of the organization I have the honor to head. We feel in our humble way we are doing everything possible to make easier the way for those who sustained disabilities in line of duty while serving the armed forces of the United States during the World War. In this work we solicit the cooperation of your great organization.

Again thanking you for your very kind invitation, I remain,

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(signed) OWEN A. GALVIN,
National Commander, DAV.

Tribute to Deceased Members

President Green: In line with the procedure and custom, we will hold a brief me-

morial service just now in behalf of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor who passed away during the past year. I will call upon Secretary Morrison to read the names of officers of organizations associated with the American Federation of Labor, and such members as we have learned about. At the conclusion of the reading of the statement the Chair will recognize any delegate in attendance at this convention for the name of any brother we do not know about and whose name may not be included in this list. We wish to include them all.

Secretary Morrison read the following list:

List of Labor Officials and Representatives Deceased Since the 1937 Convention

James W. Kline, Former General President International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; November 7, 1937.

Charles W. Frey, Business Representative of Machinists, Chicago Lodge No. 126 and delegate to A. F. of L. Conventions; Dec. 7, 1937.

Alex Kelsa, Secretary-Treasurer New York District Council of United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; Dec. 16, 1937.

Herbert F. Wolff, Business Representative Machinists Lodge No. 1363, Cleveland, Ohio; Dec. 20, 1937.

C. F. Grow, Vice-President International Association of Machinists and member of Lodge No. 311, Los Angeles, Cal.; Jan. 16, 1938.

Andrew Faruseth, President International Seamen's Union of America; Jan. 22, 1938.

J. J. Munholland, Vice-President Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York. Member Pattern Makers' League, Schenectady; Feb. 13, 1938.

Charles B. Campfield, Member Lodge No. 264 of Boston, and Business Representative International Association of Machinists; delegate from Boston Central Body to several conventions; Feb. 25, 1938.

G. H. Lakey, Vice-President United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; March 1, 1938.

David Krevling, Member Cigarmakers Local No. 44, one of the founders and the first president of the Missouri State Federation of Labor; March 7, 1938.

P. J. O'Brien, Vice-President International Seamen's Union, Agent and Secretary Sailors' Union of the Great Lakes in Buffalo; March 30, 1938.

James H. Windsor, President Plate Printers Union No. 2, of Washington, D. C., and delegate to A. F. of L. Conventions; April 2, 1938.

Henry J. Gompers, Son of the late Samuel

Gompers; member of the Granite Cutters' International Association; April 11, 1938.

Frank Feeney, Sr., President International Union of Elevator Constructors, former President of Philadelphia Central Labor Union. May 28, 1938.

John Morrison, Former President Carpet Weavers' International Union, June 19, 1938.

Arch McGillivray, Grand Lodge Representative, International Association of Machinists, Member Machinists Lodge No. 7, Birmingham, Alabama. July 2, 1938.

John Weber, Last surviving charter member of the International Union of Bakery and Confectionery Workers; July 12, 1938.

Jesse Palmer, Representative Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and Vice President of Oklahoma State Federation of Labor; July 20, 1938.

Charles P. Howard, President International Typographical Union; July 21, 1938.

Ben T. Osborne, Secretary Oregon State Federation of Labor, Member Local No. 29, Bridge and Structural Iron Workers Portland; Sept. 6, 1938.

J. M. Tobin, Vice-President International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers; September, 1938.

J. E. Toone, Treasurer Maryland State and District of Columbia State Federation of Labor, and Washington, D. C., Central Labor Union; September 28, 1938.

James Ferguson, Business Agent, Bartenders Union, Local No. 41, San Francisco, California; August 17, 1938.

Joseph Byrne, Business Agent, Local Union No. 24, Newark, New Jersey.

Henry Hebler, Stationary Engineers, Newark, New Jersey.

As Secretary Morrison concluded reading the list, the entire audience arose and remained standing in silence for one minute.

President Green: The special order of business for this hour is the report of the Committee on Resolutions. The Chair recognizes Vice-President Woll, Chairman of the Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Chairman Woll: The committee has had before it 59 resolutions introduced by the delegates, and has had under consideration 20 sections of the Report of the Executive Council, that is, principal topics which, if subdivided, would make about 60 in number. The committee will report upon the resolutions in the order in which they are printed, however deviating from that rule to present special subjects at different sessions. At this morning's session we will report on the topic dealing with the National Labor Relations Act, and immediately after convening this afternoon

we will present the report on the section dealing with the CIO. The Secretary will now report for the committee.

Secretary Frey: Unless there is a request from the floor, the Secretary will not read resolutions, but will indicate the title, the introducer, and will read the committee's report.

Legislative Department, A. F. of L.

Resolution No. 1.—By Delegate John Locher, Central Labor Union, Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, One of the principal duties of the American Federation of Labor is to have legislation enacted by the Congress of the United States and to prevent the enactment by the Congress of legislation inimical to the interests of labor; and

WHEREAS, The complexity of present day legislation requires the greatest care and study by those intrusted to the duty of having legislation enacted or defeated in the Congress of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The lives of the people of this Nation are greatly controlled by legislation at the present time and the enactment of a bill by Congress is of the greatest importance to every citizen of this Nation; and

WHEREAS, The legislative department of the American Federation of Labor is responsible for the introduction of bills in the Congress of interest to Labor and the presentation to the Committees of Congress of the views of the American Federation of Labor on matters of interest to Labor; and

WHEREAS, A large majority of the Members of Congress look for guidance on matters of labor legislation to the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The present Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor should be enlarged to meet the ever increasing volume of business it is called upon to perform; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its incoming President and Executive Council to take immediate steps to improve and enlarge the Legislative Department of the American Federation of Labor to the extent that it may—

1. Be able to cope with the increasing amount of business it is called upon to perform.

2. To present to Congress and explain the Legislative program of the American Federation of Labor thirty days prior to the convening of Congress.

3. To appear at all hearings being held by Committees of Congress on matters of interest to Labor and present the views of the American Federation of Labor on such legislation.

4. To keep a complete and accurate record of the votes of the Members of Congress on all bills and amendments thereto of interest to Labor.

5. To keep State Federation of Labor and City Central Labor Unions informed on the attitude of their Senators and Representatives on bills of interest to Labor that are before Congress.

6. To furnish State Federations of Labor with model bills for Labor legislation in their respective states.

7. To counsel with and co-operate with the legislative representatives of the Departments of the American Federation of Labor and the National and International unions stationed in Washington, D. C.

Your committee recognizes that the legislative functions of the American Federation of Labor increase in their importance from year to year. Measures vitally affecting the rights, as well as the welfare of labor, are introduced into Congress by those who, at times, are not acquainted with the practical conditions existing in industry.

It is recognized that many International Unions seek to secure legislation through their Departments, and other legitimately organized groups within the American Federation of Labor; and that these Departments do maintain legislative representatives in Washington.

It is obvious that unless there is thorough accord and co-operation between the legislative representatives of these groups, and the American Federation of Labor, that the best results cannot be secured.

Your committee is gratified to report that there has existed splendid co-operation between the legislative activities of the Departments chartered by the American Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor itself, but believe that these legislative efforts cannot be too thoroughly integrated.

Your committee is of the opinion that the legislative interests of the International Unions in the several Departments could be advanced if there were more frequent conferences between the representatives of these Departments and the President of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee therefore refers this resolution to the President of the American Federation of Labor, with the recommendation that a conference be called of the legislative representatives of the Departments and other legitimately organized groups within and associated with the American Federation of Labor, at which the purpose of the resolution will be given full consideration.

The report and recommendation of the committee were unanimously adopted.

Thomas J. Mooney

Resolution No. 3—By Delegates Harry Stevenson, James McConnell, Henry F. Sternau, Edward Heisler, International Molders' Union of North America.

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney, a member of the International Molders' Union of North America for thirty-six years, has been imprisoned by the State of California for more than twenty of his best years on a life imprisonment sentence on the foulest frame-up conspiracy ever recorded in the whole history of American jurisprudence; and

WHEREAS, This monstrous frame-up conspiracy against Thomas J. Mooney was conceived, inspired, directed, executed and paid for by the hireling henchmen Agents Provocateur of the California non-union open shop employers, particularly the public utilities corporations of San Francisco, who had direct control of the district attorney's office and the police department; and

WHEREAS, The real motive behind this outrageous conspiracy is class fear and class hatred of Thomas J. Mooney because of his aggressive, militant activity in the California trade union movement and his undying loyalty and devotion to the entire working class; and

WHEREAS, The original trial judge, Franklin A. Griffin, Captain of Detectives, Duncan Matheson, in charge of the gathering of all the evidence, all of the living members of the jury that found him guilty, and the present district attorney have demanded his pardon; and

WHEREAS, Two commissions appointed by Presidents Wilson and Hoover investigated this case and branded the frame-up as "shocking to one's sense of justice"; and

WHEREAS, Hundreds of other public officials, countless thousands of worthwhile men and women, organizations and many scores of the great daily newspapers and magazines throughout the world have branded this frame-up as a blot on civilization, the shame of America, and a disgraceful smear upon the escutcheon of the State of California and an international scandal; and

WHEREAS, Thomas J. Mooney was, by a directed verdict, upon the motion of the district attorney, and over his protest, acquitted May 24, 1933, on an indictment identical to the one on which he was convicted more than twenty years ago; and with the verdict of not guilty still ringing in his ears, he was placed in irons and speeded back to San Quentin Prison for the rest of his natural life; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the delegates assembled in the Twenty-eighth convention of the International Molders' Union of North America, at Chicago, Ill., August 13, 1934, to August 25, 1934, that we reiterate and declare once again our full and complete belief in the absolute innocence of our brother member, Thomas J. Mooney, and denounce with righteous wrathful indignation and scornful contempt the original framers of this foul conspiracy and every other public official

who, subsequent thereto by his decision, aiding, abetting, deeds or words of encouragement toward the continuation of this monstrous frame-up; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Molders' delegates to all conventions of the American Federation of Labor present this resolution for adoption.

Your committee recommends that the convention reaffirm the position taken at the Denver Convention, 1937.

The report and recommendation of the committee were unanimously adopted.

Resolutions No. 4, No. 107, and No. 108 were combined by the committee and covered in one report. The resolutions are as follows:

To Request PWA Officials to Require Enforcement of WPA Wage Schedules for Locality as a Condition to Allocation of Funds

Resolution No. 4—By Trades and Labor Council, Lansing, Michigan.

WHEREAS, On many Federal projects partially financed by the F.W.A. in this State the prevailing wage rates are not being paid; and

WHEREAS, Many of the local sponsors of these projects are adopting a minimum wage scale less than the schedule of wages paid on W. P. A. projects; and

WHEREAS, This condition places employers of Union Labor in an unfavorable position in competing with the wage cutting, chiseling employer resulting in lower wages in localities where these projects are under construction; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct the Executive Board to request the Public Works Administration to refuse to allocate funds for projects where the minimum wage submitted by the local sponsor is less than W. P. A. wage schedules for that locality.

Prevailing Wage Scales for all Labor Employed on WPA Projects and Contracts for Materials

Resolution No. 107—By Delegate Jos. N. Cummings, Federation of Labor, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan.

WHEREAS, On many Federal Projects partially financed by the United States Bureau of Public Roads the prevailing wage rates are not being paid, and

WHEREAS, The WPA has established a fairly decent prevailing wage in all various labor classifications covering all districts in the United States for force account labor, and

WHEREAS, This condition places employers hiring Union Labor in an unfair position with

the wage-cutting, chiseling employer and tends to lower wages in localities where these projects are under construction, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor request of and at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor that the American Federation of Labor instruct their Executive Board to request of the United States Bureau of Public Roads Officials that all labor used in the construction of and the furnishing of material for Federal Aid Highway Projects should be paid not less than the prevailing WPA wage scale schedule for the locality in which the labor is being performed.

To Request PWA Officials to Require WPA Wage Schedules of Locality Enforced as a Condition of Allocation of Funds

Resolution No. 108—By Delegate Frank X. Martel, Federation of Labor, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan.

WHEREAS, On many Federal projects partially financed by the PWA, in this State, the prevailing wage rates are not being paid, and

WHEREAS, Many of the Local sponsors of these projects are adopting a minimum wage scale less than the schedule of wages paid on WPA projects, and

WHEREAS, This condition places employers hiring Union Labor in an unfair position with the wage-cutting, chiseling employer and tends to lower wages in localities where those projects are under construction, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct their Executive Board to request PWA officials to refuse to allocate funds for projects where the minimum wage submitted by the local sponsor is less than WPA wage schedules for the locality.

Inasmuch as these resolutions relate to wages paid to building tradesmen, your committee recommends that they be referred to the Building and Construction Trades Department, with the suggestion that they receive the Executive Council's action, after conferences have been held with the representatives of the Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Labor Relations Board

On the section of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, (pages 133-140) the Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

Report of Resolutions Committee on National Labor Relations Board

It is evident from the report of the Executive Council and the proof on which it is based that the American Federation of Labor has just cause to complain of the administration of the Act by the Board. It is incontrovertible that the Board is biased and prejudiced against the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates. In controversies between A. F. of L. unions and C. I. O. unions the C. I. O. unions have been awarded favorable decisions, not on the merits, but upon preconceived economic predilections of the members of the Board. There is a manifest purpose on the part of the Board to change the historical structure of our National and International Unions and in effecting such change to destroy our unions. The Serrick Corporation decision referred to in the Executive Council's report is a case in point. Here tool and die makers were denied the right to self-organization by denying to them the right to be constituted a separate unit for collective bargaining.

Investigation into the activities of the Board, among other things, conclusively established that the Board refuses to act with reasonable promptness on charges lodged by A. F. of L. Unions; that the Board, after holding hearings, has unreasonably delayed handing down decisions to the detriment of the cause of our unions. Often such delays are to further the interests of the C. I. O. In other instances, elections fairly won by the A. F. of L. have been set aside and held for naught because of false and unfounded objections raised by the C. I. O. Contracts lawfully entered into by A. F. of L. unions and employers have been invalidated by the Board on the flimsy pretense that some foreman without authority to hire and fire and who is a member of the union, has spoken favorably of the contracting union.

There are other fundamental complaints against the Board which are set forth in the Executive Council's report and which your committee finds are amply sustained.

Your committee is of the opinion that the Board has misconceived the purpose of the Act; it has perverted the spirit and intent of the law, and instead of administering the Act so as to promote peace in industrial relations its method of administration has promoted strife. It has failed utterly to take cognizance of the fact that the protection of

the fruits of collective bargaining is as important to workers as the right to bargain collectively. It has failed to interpret the Act in the light of the expressed guarantees that workers shall have the right to organize for all "mutual aid and protection." Insurance benefits, strike benefits, mutuality of interest of workers engaged in well defined, separated tasks, etc., are factors rarely considered by the Board.

Although the Act contains fundamental guarantees of the rights of self-organization by workers which the American Federation of Labor has fostered, the Board has given secondary consideration to these guarantees. Its primary consideration has been directed towards unwarranted assumption of great powers, reaching out and grasping for more and more jurisdiction, until the rights and privileges of free trade unions have been invaded, usurped and denied.

Your committee is of the opinion that the manner and method of administering the Act by the National Labor Relations Board has brought administrative justice into disrepute.

It is imperative, therefore, that the Act be revised lest our unions be rendered impotent by the unjust decrees of the Board.

Of course, amendments to the Act will have to be drawn as near to the date when Congress convenes as is practicable, because between the present time and the convening of Congress more experience will have been had with the Board and its decrees. However, the experience to date convinces us that amendments dealing with the following subjects should be presented to the Congress.

- (1) The unit rule must be changed to conform to that which is in the Railway Labor Act so that it will be obligatory on the Board to grant a craft or class the right to select its bargaining representative by majority vote.
- (2) The power of the Board to invalidate contracts must be definitely curtailed.
- (3) Every known interested party should be served with due process and be afforded an opportunity to appear in any case. No contractual rights should be passed upon without every party to the contract being served with process and given the right to appear in the case.
- (4) Intervention by interested parties should be made a matter of right and not a matter of discretion.

- (5) Definite qualifications should be set forth in respect to examiners. Some are wholly incompetent and unfit to serve in that capacity. In fact affidavits of prejudice should be permitted to be filed against them where an examiner is considered unfair.
- (6) Clarification respecting power over the issuance of subpoenas is necessary and liberalizing of the rule in that respect should be provided.
- (7) The secrecy of files must be lifted to the extent that all persons may have an opportunity to examine a record which contains material on which decisions are made. The idea of keeping information and material in a secret file and then utilizing it in connection with other evidence as a basis for the decisions smacks of star chamber proceedings.
- (8) Elections shall be conducted within thirty days from filing of a petition therefor.
- (9) All cases shall be decided within 45 days after the close of the taking of testimony.

There are two propositions which we acknowledge are controversial. We recommend that the Executive Council consider them further:

First: Jurisdiction shall be granted appellate courts to review the facts as well as the law to determine whether the decision conforms to the weight and credibility of the evidence.

Second: Separate the administrative functions from the judicial functions of the Board, lodging the judicial functions in a tribunal wholly independent from the National Labor Relations Board.

Responsibility for much of the maladministration of the Act is due to the personnel of the Board. Changes are imperative if a just policy is to be adopted and maintained.

Finally, your committee recommends vigorous opposition to the appointment and reappointment of men who are not qualified by training, experience and reputation for a quasi-judicial position of highest importance. If our protests are not heeded at one source, we recommend that they be forcefully presented to the Senate of the United States so that only persons known to be free from

bias or peculiar economic philosophies are appointed.

Although it was not the purpose of the Act to vest mediation and conciliation powers in the National Labor Relations Board it has assumed such functions. There is in the Department of Labor a strong and efficient well-administered and thoroughly informed mediation and conciliation department which from the beginning has had the confidence of the workers. In numbers of cases regional directors have, under the guise of administering the Act, assumed mediation and conciliation authority which in truth and in fact was not through mediation or conciliation but mandates equivalent to threats of reprisals or penalties if not complied with. Your committee holds the Act does not give the Board authority to infringe upon or assume the functions of the Conciliation Division of the Department of Labor. Your committee recommends that the Board confine its functions to the prescribed purposes of the Act.

Your committee recommends that if necessary Congress be asked to specifically provide against appropriations being used for the above purpose.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the report.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the report of the committee. The motion was seconded by Chairman Woll.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: I am in full accord with the report of the committee, but I felt that the committee's report should not be adopted without at least a word from me with regard to the difficulties my organization has encountered in its affairs with this National Labor Relations Board, and the manner in which it has administered the law.

Last year at Denver, if you remember, we recited several cases in which we were involved for the benefit of the record of this American Federation of Labor and for the benefit of those who were attempting to have the evils corrected. Recently our attention has been called to the record of the Appropriations Committee in the Harrington report, where Mr. Madden, the Chairman of the National Labor Relations Board, was appearing before that committee. He was interrogated by Congressman Wigglesworth relating to one of the cases we mentioned at the Denver convention, and that case happened

to be the case involving the Pennsylvania Ship Yards, Incorporated. Mr. Madden advised the committee that he knew of no such case. The Secretary of the Board was called upon and he in turn said he knew of no difficulty or controversy arising in the ship yards in the state of Pennsylvania. That ship yard happens to be located at Beaumont, Texas. In that case we had 480 members out of a possible approximate total of 520. I offer that in order that the record may show that that ship yard is located at Beaumont, Texas, and that the Board does have record of it, and it is not located in the state of Pennsylvania.

I would like to make mention, so that the record will show, of the case of the Southport Petroleum Company, located about thirty miles from the city of Houston, in which the CIO petitioned for the right of representation. It necessarily followed that we would have to intervene in order to protect our membership and organization in that plant. During that hearing we were able to show to the Board by concrete proof, in fact the signature of each and every member of our organization authorizes our brotherhood to bargain for them in accordance with the Act. In spite of that the Board rendered a decision during the summer in which they said that our International Union did not constitute a proper bargaining agency, notwithstanding the fact that we had every man of our trade in that plant organized and in our union. They ordered an election constituting the entire plant as a bargaining unit and authorized that the election be held, so that the men would have the privilege of voting either for the CIO or for nothing. We appealed that case and I understand the employer and others have appealed it, so that the Board has now amended its decisions—not that we constitute a bargaining agency yet, but setting aside their decision that an election be held within fifteen days and leaving it open for the Board to set a date at a later time. I might say that that hearing was held the first part of December, 1937, and the decision in that all-important case was rendered during the latter part of this summer, a matter of perhaps eight or nine months to render a decision involving a total number of 250 employees.

We have another case, and I might say this case involves all of the metal trades crafts. At the Todd-Johnson Dry Docks

Company, New Orleans, some year or more ago the organizations appeared before that management to be recognized for bargaining purposes. The management informed the organizations that they would recognize them, but only when the Board so stated. They appealed to the Board and filed a petition, if you please, for representation. The Board investigated and recommended to the management that they should recognize our organization as a properly constituted bargaining agency for the employees in that plant. As a consequence an agreement was negotiated. The agreement had been in effect some few months, and to our amazement the Board walked in and ordered that an election should be held in that plant to determine whether or not the Metal Trades Council and these various International organizations should represent these men and continue that contract, or whether now the CIO would take it over.

The result of that order was a strike of the metal trades of that plant, not against the management but against the decisions of that Board, resulting in riot, blood-shed, and the necessity of calling out almost the entire New Orleans police force to keep on it. After a few weeks the men returned to work and the matter has remained in that state ever since.

It is time that we should go before that management and renew our agreement and make amendments, but it is in such a condition that the management itself frankly states to us, and we perhaps agree with them, that so long as it is in the state it is, even though the management might renew the agreement or we might make amendments to it, they feel as we do that there is no telling what the Board might do with the agreement if it is negotiated.

Last year I called to the attention of this convention a case that we were having involving our craftsmen employed by the Gulf Oil Corporation. I related the delays that had been perpetuated by the Board. I related to you at that time that the delays seemed to be only to give the CIO an opportunity to come in and organize. They spent many months, in fact, perhaps a year, but the strange thing about it is that they did not attempt to organize those in the plant who were unorganized, or at least that is my deduction. They spent those nine months trying to break down our organization.

Recently, on a petition from them an election was held in that plant and the CIO got the trimming of their life. So that between the Board and those people, they delayed the possibility of our having an agreement perhaps some ten or eleven months.

I am proud to announce to you that some few weeks ago we did finally secure an understanding with the Gulf Oil Corporation. I attribute that agreement to the fact that after the CIO had lost, the Board found itself in a position that there was no other course but to assist our International Union in that particular case. So that after we had filed charges against that company for unfair labor practices, failing to bargain in good faith, the Board did succeed in bringing the management and our organization together for conferences. We had been in conference for some week or more and it appeared we were going to reach an agreement, and to my amazement I was notified by the Board that I was to immediately withdraw the charges against that corporation, and, as I say to you, for no purpose that I could determine at that time, but I refused to withdraw those charges until such time as the charges had been satisfied.

The point as I see it, after bringing the management and the union together where they would sit down and attempt to bargain, then to have the Board order us to remove perhaps the only club left to us in bringing about a satisfactory arrangement, I can't say that the Board intentionally did that, but from my experience I would say to you the time has come when not only the committee's report should be adopted, but this great body should insist upon amendments to that Act, so that whether we have changes in the Board personnel or not, the Board is definitely authorized to take elections and to determine bargaining units definitely.

I say to you I think the report of the committee should not only be adopted, but a united effort put forth by every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to bring about the amendments offered by the committee.

Personally, my organization believes that the suggested amendment is the only solution to the problem. I thank you.

Delegate Grossman, American Federation of Teachers: President Green and fellow delegates—I would like to say a word about the Wagner Labor Relations Act, in which the American

Federation of Labor participated when it was framed and proposed. I think all of you will agree that we have had many benefits in the American Federation of Labor from this Act. The report of our Organization Committee the other day indicated a great increase in membership in the American Federation of Labor. I don't believe that that is entirely due to the Wagner Relations Act. I know my own organization does not come under its provisions, and we have tripled our membership in three years. But I do think a great many of the benefits we got from that Act helped us in our organization efforts.

I believe also that as a human thing this Act needs amendment, and therefore I agree that at one point we should seek amendment to this Act. But I question whether now is the time to launch an attack upon that Act, when all about us are our enemies outside, eager to amend that Act so as to completely annihilate it. I think we should therefore be very careful about a wholesale attack upon this act or upon its administration. Whether we like it or not, I fear that any such attack will indicate to the world or will be interpreted in the United States as an attack upon the New Deal and an attack upon President Roosevelt, who has stood by us in our labor fight.

I am not sure that a great many of the difficulties that we have experienced in the administration of this Act—and I don't question that we have them at all—that many of our grievances are not due to partisanship on the part of any member of the Board, nor to the poor functioning of the Act, but rather to the difficulties resulting from the division in labor's ranks.

Instead of criticizing the administration of the National Labor Relations Act or President Roosevelt's appointees to the committee, I wonder if it would not be wiser to bend every effort toward restoration of unity in our own ranks, so that we might utilize this Act as it was meant to be, for our benefit.

I don't want to set my opinion up against the wisdom of long and tried leaders in this labor movement, but I do wish that all of you, before voting on this proposition today, will consider its effect upon the country at large, its effect upon the Act, since it may invite our enemies to attack it in a way that we do not want. Therefore, I think we should be very careful in any generalized

attack upon this Act or upon the membership of the Board.

Delegate Powers, Commercial Telegraphers: Mr. President and Delegates—I think the record should show the experience of the Commercial Telegraphers Union with this Labor Board, because many of you deal daily with the telegraph workers in the Postal and Western Union. Over a year ago the Commercial Telegraphers Union tried to have the Labor Board give Postal employees in several large cities a chance to express their desires for a collective bargaining agency. To this date the Postal Telegraph workers have not had a chance to express themselves one way or the other, but in the meantime, because of sit-down strikes by a very small minority, the Labor Board felt that it was called on to conciliate those sit-down strikes last December, and regional directors of the Labor Board and representatives of the Labor Board advised the Postal Telegraph Company to recognize the CIO, which they did.

The members of the Commercial Telegraphers Union in the larger cities are still sympathetic to the Commercial Telegraphers Union, but they have been sold down the river by the Postal, and the Postal has taken that action because of the advice of the Labor Board. Petitions were filed in March of this year for certifications for the Commercial Telegraphers Union in some fifty cities. Hearings were not held until July, and a decision has not been handed down to this date, but in spite of that fact a petition by the CIO in September of this year for a national election is being heard in New York right at this time. Our petition filed last March has not had a decision handed down yet.

I think the delegates should know that in spite of this assistance by the Labor Board to the CIO, the CIO has a very small fraction of the Postal workers throughout the nation, despite their claims and their boasts.

If an election is held sometime between now and the time we die, the Postal workers will express themselves. The question is, will the election ever be held? I think the record should show that, and that the report of the committee should be adopted without a dissenting vote.

Delegate McMorro, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman and Delegates—There is one point in the committee's report that I wish to call the attention of the convention

to, and that is the point relating to strikes and the right the Board assumed to abrogate contracts. They have done that to us in some instances. We sought a conference upon that subject with Chairman Madden. Chairman Madden called our attention to the fact that the Board was compelled to assume the right to abrogate contracts where possible collusion existed. He pointed out to us—and I am frank to say to you converted me personally to his views—he said, "Supposing we take the position that we could not and would not abrogate a contract. There are some 40,000 company unions in this country that would come in tomorrow with contracts and except our conclusions were upheld, that we reserved the right to abrogate contracts where there was any semblance of collusion, then the Board would not be exercising its right for the proper protection of the organized workers of the country."

I make these observations, Mr. Chairman, because of the fact that we have more conflict with company unions than any other International Union in this Federation, and I merely recite this instance to call to the attention of the Federation that when the law is attacked, we should keep in mind the prerogatives that the Board should be endowed with, so that they could freely abrogate contracts where collusion was shown.

You know and I know that so-called independent unions and company unions are in absolute collusion, to the detriment of the trade union movement. Those are my observations in connection with this matter and those are the reasons I call this to your attention.

Delegate Van Horn, Cigar Makers International Union: With reference to conciliation, I think it would be a lack of appreciation on my part were I not to say now for the record that the Department of Conciliation seemingly is sufficient in the Department of Labor for all of the troubles that we at least have had. Had it not been for this particular department, under the direction of its able administrators, we would not have had any organization in Tampa, Florida. We would not have been able to go very far in organizing the mechanized cigar factories, and at this time I want to give just this word of appreciation to that department, and if the word be right, to say that through this department we seemingly have a department willing and able to take care of conciliation without any help from the National Labor Relations Board.

President Green: It seems proper that the Chair should say just a word at this time because the convention is now being called upon to deal with a very important Government agency, and you are about to express yourselves regarding that agency and the administration of the National Labor Relations Act. First, may I make it clear and definite, without equivocation or reservation, that the American Federation of Labor believes in the National Labor Relations Act. We shall defend it and support it against all who would seek to destroy it and wipe it out.

We participated in the conferences at which the Labor Act was drawn and drafted and prepared, and in a very large way the American Federation of Labor can claim credit for its origination, its preparation and its passage by the Congress of the United States. All of us know and understand its origin. It grew out of the experience of labor and employers of the nation in the administration of the National Recovery Act. That law was passed by the Congress of the United States for the purpose of relieving unemployment and for the purpose of developing a cooperative relationship between industry and labor. We succeeded—and I refer now to the American Federation of Labor—in prevailing upon Congress to include in the National Recovery Act Section 7 which provided for the legal right of the workers of the United States to organize into trade unions, free from intimidation, coercion or discharge. When the National Recovery Act was declared unconstitutional by the United States—and that decision, you recall, was based upon the sick-chicken case in New York—we began immediately to prepare for the enactment of a new law which would embody within it all of the fundamental principles of Section 7 of the National Recovery Act. We did not arrive at a hasty conclusion in that particular matter, because we had had months and months of experience growing out of the application of Section 7 of the National Recovery Act.

I make this bit of a historic review because I want our officers and delegates in attendance at this convention to know the origin of the National Labor Relations Act, the support that was given it by the American Federation of Labor, the approval that was given it by the American Federation of Labor, and the efforts we put forth when it was introduced into Congress by Senator Wagner to secure its enactment into law.

All we are asking here as the representatives of millions of workers in the United States is that in the administration of the Act we will be given a square deal. We ask for no favors. We do not wish the Labor Board to be pro-American Federation of Labor. We do not demand that they decide each and every time in favor of the American Federation of Labor, but we expect and ask that in the administration of the law by a Government agency which touches the economic life and the social life of millions of workers in America, they shall administer that law fairly, squarely and honestly.

We believe they should substitute a judicial attitude for an anti-American Federation of Labor policy. I have been amazed at the facts which have been presented. They were scarcely believable. They convinced me, notwithstanding my desire to support the Board wholeheartedly in the administration of the Act, that the Board had developed out of this internal controversy that arose within the American Federation of Labor, an anti-American Federation of Labor attitude, and that apparently they had substituted their own peculiar philosophic views for the plain provisions of the Labor Relations Act.

The Act itself could not recognize contracts entered into between company unions and employers, because the Act outlaws company unions, and it is inconceivable that we could recognize the right of employers to negotiate with their own company unions, under the provisions of an Act that outlaws company unions. So the argument that there was danger of collusion if the Board was denied the right to invalidate contracts does not rest upon a sound basis. Company unions are specifically declared in the law as an unfair labor practice. They are outlawed, invalidated, they have no place in our legal, economic structure.

The law provides for the right of workers to organize into free, independent, democratic trade unions, and these trade unions have a right under the law to bargain collectively, to negotiate agreements just as we have been negotiating them under the structural set-up of the American Federation of Labor for fifty-eight years. Every time this governmental agency, this Board invalidates a contract honorably entered into between the membership of the American Federation of Labor and their employers, they are by implication charging you with fraud and classifying you as a company union. Do you admit that?

I maintain that I do not know of a single union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor that would be guilty of such tactics. If we are wrong now we have been wrong for fifty-eight years. If we are guilty of collusion now we have been guilty of collusion for more than half a century. For these contracts that were invalidated by this Board, negotiated by free, democratic independent unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, were negotiated in the same way, in the same manner and under the same circumstances as every contract was negotiated between the American Federation of Labor and the employing interests of the nation.

Do you know of the flimsy pretext offered in defense of the validation of contracts? Let us analyze that for a moment. Many of your organizations, practically all of them require when you prevail upon an employer to establish a closed shop contract—and a closed shop contract is legal under the Wagner Act—that petty foremen possessing no right to hire or discharge must be members of your union. Why do you do that? You do it because you believe you can better promote the wage standards and conditions of employment if these men are a part of your union. They are better in your union than out of your union.

Why, the Retail Clerks Union has had bitter strikes with the employers over that issue. They demand that the manager of a store shall be a member of the Clerks' Union. Why? In order that they might protect their membership and prevent so-called managers from taking the place of union clerks under certain circumstances and conditions. Where is there an American Federation of Labor union that does not in most every instance require paid foremen, straw bosses, men who cannot, never did and never will exercise the right to discharge or hire men, to be members of the Union? Well, if you do that, do you want to deny them the right of free speech in your meetings? If you make him a member of your union can you deny him the right to attend your meetings and express himself freely in accordance with the principles of that fundamental American doctrine, free speech?

Well, if you compel him to come in, you give him the right of a member and if he in a meeting arises and declares that he believes in the American Federation of Labor, that, in his judgment, it rests upon a sound basis, and ought to be supported, can you,

by any stretch of the imagination, believe that a Government board would have the right to set aside your contract because that petty foreman made that statement? And yet that is what the Board did in the Copper Mine Case in Tennessee. It decided, because a petty foreman there declared that the American Federation of Labor was his union and he believed in it, that the company had used collusion, and a contract was negotiated by a collective bargaining agency that had established itself by a majority vote.

Here we had a case where the union had to fight and win in the election. Having negotiated an agreement which was signed and provided for increases in wages, improved conditions of employment, and it was in operation, here is a Board that sets aside and invalidates that contract because a petty foreman who had been compelled to join the union had expressed himself in favor of the American Federation of Labor. And the Board in its decision made it appear that no man had a right to make a statement and that the making of such statements must not be continued.

Are you going to stop requiring straw bosses and petty foremen from being members of your union in order to conform to the general policy laid down by this Board? Do you believe in that? If the Board interprets the law that way, can we adopt it?

I would like to go into some other phases of it, but I am not going to impose upon your patience to do so. I appreciate very much the fine point made by our lady delegate, Delegate Grossman, and I have debated that question over and over in my mind. We have been confronted with the question today, and in debating it we wondered whether we had better endure the troubles we now have or fly to those we know not of. But facts are stubborn things, and the facts declare more eloquently and convincingly than any language I can use that the structure of the American Federation of Labor is being undermined and destroyed by decisions of this Labor Relations Board. How contrary it is that a law should be administered in that way against an organization that helped frame it!

Let me tell you another case about this setting aside of contracts. It was reported last year but I sometimes doubt that we get the full significance of that decision—

it was in the Electrical Products Case. An agreement was negotiated between a labor union of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Would any one ever charge the Electrical Workers or any of its subordinate locals guilty of entering into collusion with its employers? Well, the Board did, and the officers of the Electrical Workers Union resented that charge and I resented with them. They negotiated an agreement, it was signed and sealed. It was a solemn contract, and it has ever been fundamental with the American Federation of Labor and the subordinate units that a contract negotiated is solid and binding and must be lived up to and religiously observed.

Some complaint was made by a CIO representative against this contract. The Board responded with alacrity. It sent one of its field representatives to make an investigation and he recommended that the contract be set aside. The Board responded. They soon ordered an election. I think I have the details right. The election was held. The Electrical Workers won the election by a decisive vote and established itself in a legal way as the collective bargaining unit. The Board set aside and invalidated the contract. The management of the company took the case into a court of our land and the court, after hearing the evidence, decided the contract was legally negotiated, that it was a valid contract, and directed through a judicial order that both employer and employee apply the contract and observe it.

I would imagine that an administrative board would yield to the decision of a court and would bow, as every good citizen is expected to bow, in proper respect to our American institutions. But no, they said, "We will not recognize even the decision of the court: and in order to determine this question an election must be held." They ordered the election and it was held, and the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, party to the agreement, won the election by an overwhelming majority and established itself as the collective bargaining unit.

What do you think of that? Here is a union, harassed, driven by a Government agency that is supposed to be a judicial body, and had to win its fight, not once, but twice and three times, in order to establish itself as an American Federation of Labor bargaining unit. Do you subscribe to that? We want to correct that. If that is to be the

policy of the Board, we must see to it, if we can, that that policy is changed.

Now in flying to new troubles, proposing amendments to the law and recognizing that we must exercise great caution. What we are trying to do is to strengthen the Act, not destroy it; we want to make it what we understood it to be originally; we want to make it an instrumentality for collective bargaining and the exercise of the right to join a union, and if we proceed in accordance with the directions given by this convention and try to prevail upon Congress to amend this Act, we are going to stand like watchmen in opposition to any others who seek to amend this Act for selfish purposes and for the purpose of destroying the Act itself. We want the employing interests of the country to know that the American Federation of Labor will never stand with them in their intent to emasculate this Act, to weaken it or to destroy it. They can get no help or sympathy from us; they need not expect that we shall join with them in any way, shape or form. We shall oppose any measure introduced from that source designed to weaken and destroy and strike at the fundamentals of the law.

There is the story. I thought I ought to tell it to you in this impressive way if I could this morning, and to let the people of the nation know where we stand and what we propose to do. The report of the committee has pointed the way. They do not engage in any personal denunciations. We are not antagonizing or opposing our splendid Administration and our great President in presenting this point of view. I wish I could go into this, but I cannot. We shall cooperate with him wholly, and we believe and trust that he will cooperate with us. All we ask is that the law be administered in accordance with its letter and its spirit; that it be the same law now as it was when passed by Congress, and if it is necessary to a proper administration of the law, to appoint men who are judicial-minded, men who are fair, men who believe in the sanctity of contracts, men who are against company unionism and company domination, if it is necessary to have men appointed who will administer the Act in that way, then these men who have shown their total incapacity to administer this law in accordance with its spirit and letter ought to be removed and proper men appointed.

Now, we, as a great part of our American citizenship, feel that men and women have the right of petition for redress of wrongs, for the removal of injustice, and that is all we are trying to do in this case; but if anybody thinks they can use the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of distorting this law, of amending it to death, of killing it by trying to amend it for their own selfish purposes, then they will find the American Federation of Labor standing against them like an immovable wall, and we will not cooperate with any such force any time, any place, or anywhere.

Are there any further remarks? If there are no further remarks, all those who favor the adoption of the committee's report will please say "Aye", all those opposed, "No."

A vote was taken, and the motion was adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Frey: The committee had two resolutions relating to the same subject in a different form. One is Resolution No. 80, introduced by the representative of the Metal Trades Department seated in this convention, and No. 92, introduced by the President of the Building and Construction Trades Department and the President of the Metal Trades Department. It seems advisable in this instance, because of the import of the resolutions, which are brief, that they should be read.

Following are the resolutions referred to by Secretary Frey:

Protesting Re-appointment of Donald Wakefield Smith as Member of the National Labor Relations Board.

Resolution No. 92—By the Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L., and the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L., Joseph A. McInerney, President, Building and Construction Trades Department, A. F. of L.; John P. Frey, President, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, President William Green protested the re-appointment of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board; and

WHEREAS, Donald Wakefield Smith has been re-appointed subject to confirmation by the Senate of the United States when Congress convenes: therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the President and Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to acquaint the Senate of the United States with the valid reasons why it is inadvisable that Donald Wakefield Smith's

nomination should be confirmed; and be it furthermore

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution and the convention's action thereon be given to each United States Senator immediately after the convention has adjourned, and that copies be sent to all Central Labor Bodies, State Federations of Labor, and to the headquarters of all affiliated National and International Unions.

Amendment of Wagner National Labor Relations Act

Resolution No. 80—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The convention of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. and of the American Federation of Labor declared in favor of an amendment to the Wagner Act creating the National Labor Relations Board, and for a change in the personnel of the Board and many of its Regional Representatives; and

WHEREAS, An amendment to the Wagner Act approved by the Metal Trades Department and the American Federation of Labor was introduced in the last session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, Efforts to have consideration given to this amendment were without result;

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the President and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to have introduced the necessary amendment to the Wagner Act; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and the Executive Council be instructed to take whatever steps seem most advisable and practical to have an investigation made which will present to Congress or other Federal authorities, the reasons why certain members of the personnel of the National Labor Relations Board should be relieved from any further official capacity in the Board, or in any branch of its administration.

Your committee, in addition to recommending the adoption of these resolutions, further recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor be directed to request each candidate for United States Senate in the November election, to declare his intentions for or against confirmation of Donald Wakefield Smith's nomination before election day. And that the officers of the American Federation of Labor leave no stone unturned, or any avenue unexplored, for the purpose of preventing the confirmation by the Senate of Donald Wakefield Smith as a member of the National Labor Relations Board.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Discriminations Against Negroes

Resolution No. 5—By Delegates A. Philip

Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, The Negro people are the victims of varied forms of discrimination which result in limiting their right in the purchase and use of property; and

WHEREAS, Race discrimination serves to deny their right to certain types of employment, thereby creating the unfair and un-American practice known as "white man's jobs," regardless of merit and ability, which makes for the economic impoverishment of the Negro people; and

WHEREAS, Hotels, restaurants and theatres, colleges and universities, hospitals and recreational facilities, together with railway carriers and other means of transportation and places of general public convenience, licensed by city, state or federal agencies, refuse the Negro people accommodation on account of race or color, or humiliate and exploit and rob them by segregation or jim-crow practices that are extremely despicable and offensive to Negroes of a similar plane of culture and education of the white people that have access to such conveniences; and

WHEREAS, The denial of these elemental and necessary privileges of accommodation to the Negro people, involves their basic civil rights, guaranteed by the federal constitution; and

WHEREAS, Negro blood, brain and brawn have helped to make these United States of America what they are today; and yet the Negro people are disfranchised by various unconstitutional devices, and held in peonage; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record for the abolition of all forms of discrimination on account of race or color, and call upon the Executive Council, State and City bodies, as well as federal locals, national and international unions and the various departments, to express their definite moral opposition to this sinister and destructive practice of race discrimination, and to support the fight for legislation which purports to secure for the Negro people their civil and political rights.

The resolution relates to discrimination against negroes, but the principle involved applies with equal force to all other groups against whom a passive or active form of discrimination exists in our country. Such discrimination is to be regretted.

Involved in these discriminations are questions of individual and group preferences and the social intercourse between individuals. It is not for your committee to discuss the origin of these discriminations, but rather to face the practical fact that they do exist, but that most fortunately they tend to modify themselves.

Your committee is of the opinion that there

are elements in the field of racial discrimination which cannot be adjusted by law, but must find their solution in the intelligent thought of those who recognize that the solution of some human problems depend primarily upon time and experience rather than upon legislative enactments.

The position of the American Federation of Labor upon the question of racial discrimination, and specifically discrimination against negroes, has been definite from the time we were organized as a federation in 1881.

In 1932 there was an exhaustive report presented to the convention on this subject, the report containing a review of the action taken by preceding conventions of the American Federation of Labor on the subject. The 1920 convention of the American Federation of Labor declared that

"The American Federation of Labor has never countenanced the drawing of a color line of discrimination against individuals because of race, creed, or color. It recognizes that human freedom is a gift from the Creator to all mankind, and is not to be denied to any because of social position, or the limitation of caste or class, and that any cause which depends for its success on the denial of this fundamental principle of liberty cannot stand."

Your committee recommends that this declaration of the 1920 convention be reaffirmed in lieu of Resolution No. 5.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates of the convention —The report of the committee is rather involved and somewhat indefinite. The committee sets forth the position that you cannot legislate race prejudice out of existence or abolish discrimination against the Negro people by law, or something to that effect. However, the resolution calls for legislation that will prevent the Negro people the right of access to public conveyances, public utilities, places that the public use from time to time, for instance, the hotels, the restaurants, the various surface cars, the trains and all of the various agencies that the public generally use.

The committee does not seem to realize that, as a matter of fact, civil rights laws have been enacted in a number of states of this country. You have a civil rights law in New York and in the recent constitutional convention a definite provision was made that no discrimination shall be made against a

group of people on account of race or color. That is in the new constitution of the State of New York. And you have civil rights laws in Pennsylvania; you have them in Ohio and in a number of other states. Why cannot the American Federation of Labor convention go on record in favor of the enactment of laws against all forms of discrimination against people on account of race and color? Why should Negro people any more than any other sort of people be denied access to any public agency? Why should Negro people be denied these rights in Texas or any other Southern state? Why should they be denied access to the hotels in Texas? They are citizens, they have fought in every war from the time of the War of the Revolution for the establishment of the United States of America and the independence of this country. Why, then, if people can be used in wars to defend the nation they should not enjoy all the various civilizing agencies of the nation just like any other people?

Now, the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters call upon this committee to endorse the resolution that there be no discrimination of any kind because of race and color. When Brother Webster, my colleague, and myself came here and went to the Rice Hotel in order to get our badges and to deposit our credentials, some people said, "Why, Negroes don't go in the front entrance of the Rice Hotel." Think of it! American citizens not allowed to go in the public entrance of a hotel! It is ridiculous, it is preposterous! As a matter of fact, it stands as a point of division of the American labor movement, and the American labor movement will not develop solidarity until it puts its foot down squarely on this question and not pussyfoot about it. Brother Webster and I went into the Rice Hotel and asked the colored man in front. "Where do the delegates go?" The colored man looked scared, he wouldn't say a word.

We walked by him and went into the hotel. Then I went to the information desk and asked the man there, "Where is Mr. Morrison's office, the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor?" And the white man at the desk was scared, too, and he began fumbling with paper and pencil and said something about asking the management where Mr. Morrison's office was. Everybody knew where it was. Here was a Negro, a delegate to the American Federation of Labor, and they did not want to permit him to have the

rights of other delegates because of the question of color.

Now, my friends, the South has taken this position. We know something about the historic background of this question. The South has taken this position for economic reasons. As a matter of fact, demagogic congressmen and Southern senators rise in Congress and defend this discrimination against people because of race and color. Cotton Ed Smith of North Carolina, Senator George of Georgia, and various other Southern senator and congressmen come out and tell the people that we must oppose the Negro people. Now, they are not workers. They don't work for a living, but the common white workers in the South where they come from are considered poor white trash. They are looked down upon, they are spat upon, as a matter of fact, the common white longshoremen and the common white teamsters of the South have no more in common with Cotton Ed Smith than they have with Hitler in Germany, and if it is right for you to put your foot down against the discrimination against Jews in Germany by Hitler, it is right to put your foot down against this discrimination of the Negro people of the country.

This is an important question; it is labor's question and, as a matter of fact, you cannot legislate virtue into the people and vices out of the people, but who has ever taken the position that he does not have power to bring about corrections of evil? You are making a great demand for the amendment of the National Labor Relations Act. If it is necessary, my friends, to use legislation in order to protect one group, it is important to use legislation in order to protect other groups. I don't know whether workers in the Rice Hotel are organized or not, but I want to say to the International Hotel Workers Union that if the workers in the Rice Hotel are organized, you ought to talk to them and say something to them, say that no union workers should lend themselves to discrimination against other workers because of race or color, and that was practiced by the workers in the Rice Hotel.

There are 15,000,000 Negroes in America. There are more Negroes in America than there are people in Canada, there are more Negroes in America than there are people in Czechoslovakia, and you cannot ignore 15,000,000 of any race.

I know the American Federation of Labor

is not responsible for this condition of race prejudice. I know that the American Federation of Labor is not responsible for discrimination and things of that sort. President Roosevelt has appointed a Commission to investigate conditions in the South, maintaining that the South is the Nation's No. 1 problem. Is there any reason why you would not have an economic burden on a section where you have economic duplications? Certainly not, and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, realizing the importance of this question, realizing that the American Federation of Labor has always opposed discrimination, asks for the adoption of this resolution. It is certainly not the intention of the delegates to charge the American Federation of Labor with responsibility for this condition, but we are calling upon the American Federation of Labor to use its moral power to break down this condition, and there is no better place to begin than right here in this convention.

A few days ago we had Congressman Thomas from Houston, Texas, on this platform. In a part of his speech he told stories about the Negroes, holding up the Negroes as a joke before the nation. We resent any kind of jokes being told that hold the Negro people up as objects of fun and ridicule, and we want to tell the people of Houston, the delegates, and everybody now that we don't like it. And so, we presented this resolution, not only for the benefit of the Negro people, but for the benefit of the poor white people of the South. Poor white women wear gunny sacks for dresses and poor colored women wear gunny sacks for dresses; poor white children go barefoot and poor colored children go barefoot. And so you have demagogues in politics playing upon the passions of the people to keep them divided in order that they won't unite and fight for better conditions.

And so in raising this question to abolish discrimination, it is in the interests of greater solidarity, it is for the purpose of making a stronger labor movement in the nation. You can't do it by putting your foot down on one worker, because he happens to be black or white. Booker T. Washington once said that one of the reasons for the backwardness of the South is that you can't keep a man down in the ditch unless you stay down in the ditch with him, and that has been the very situation and the result

of the practice of this discrimination against the negro people of this country.

And so I know that the members of the Resolutions Committee themselves are certainly opposed to discrimination and things of that sort, but the report of the committee is involved, circumlocutory and rather indefinite, and I should like to have the committee come out very frankly, very candidly and very unequivocally and say that they are opposed to all forms of discrimination against the negro peoples and that they are in favor of the enactment of civil legislation to protect the interests of American citizens who are born here.

I was born in America. My people were born in Florida. My forebears go back as far as any man's forebears who sits in this convention, and the Negro people have a right to be here. They are not here on sufferance.

And so the delegates of the Sleeping Car Porters have presented this matter to this convention because the conscience of the American people will realize ultimately that in order that there may be peace, harmony, prosperity and plenty and real brotherhood of man, no man because of color shall be down and another man up because of a different color.

I thank you.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman and delegates—Mr. Chairman, the delegate has not attacked the committee's report, but he has left the inference that the committee in its report endeavored to avoid the issue. We are dealing with a reality. We are endeavoring to lay down principles broad enough and definite enough to cover the entire subject contained in the resolves of the resolution.

Your committee, however, noted that the delegates who introduced the resolutions sought to avoid making their own resolution all-inclusive. The third whereas reads—and here the delegates introducing the resolution enumerated the specific places where they wanted discrimination removed and abolished—"hotels, restaurants, theatres, colleges and universities, hospitals and recreational facilities, together with railway carriers and other means of transportation and places of general public convenience, licensed by city, state or Federal agencies."

Now those who understand the unfortunate and difficult problem which the delegate has

just discussed so eloquently recognize the fact that one very definite form of discrimination was omitted from their resolution, and that is the segregation of whites and the negroes by some of the largest Protestant denominations in the South.

I have never yet in these conventions heard any representative of the Negro race raise a question for the convention to pass upon because the Methodist Church South and the Baptist Church South have churches and pastors and congregations for whites and they have a similar condition for the negroes. I don't hear the negroes raising any question about religious discrimination in the South.

I think it is unfortunate that the inference is left from the remarks just made that this American Federation of Labor tries to evade, through a committee's report, what the issue is. The delegate knows what it is. It has been growing in this country from the time his remote ancestors came over here.

So far as negro churches and negro pastors in the Methodist, Baptist and some other Protestant denominations are concerned, the delegate recognizes that that cannot be changed by law. Now, in fairness to the committee, I wish the delegate would withdraw that statement that the committee used circumlocutory language for the purpose of evading an issue. We have not. Instead of that we have brought in a recommendation in lieu of the resolution which is as strong, as detailed and as definite a pronouncement upon racial discrimination as has ever been adopted by any convention of any organization in the United States.

For the information of the delegates may I reread the latter portion of the report:

"The American Federation of Labor has never countenanced the drawing of a color line of discrimination against individuals because of race, creed or color. It recognizes that human freedom is a gift from the creator to all mankind, and is not to be denied to any because of social position, or the limitation of caste or class, and that any cause which depends for its success on the denial of this fundamental principle of liberty cannot stand."

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: May I say I think I have made it definitely clear that the American Federation of Labor was not responsible for this condition and that the American Federation of Labor has in convention after convention taken positions

against discrimination against the negro people. But I have reference to that part of the report dealing with the futility of the law in trying to correct some of these conditions.

I said that that part of the report was involved, and it is involved. Delegate Frey and Delegate Woll know that. It is not definite, it is not clear. As a matter of fact, they know that the law has been employed for the protection of the civil rights of negro people in other states, and all we are asking for is that that position be taken here.

Now, so far as the separation of negroes and white people in the Protestant churches in the South is concerned, for the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters we are opposed to that. We are opposed to any kind of separation. We are opposed to any kind of segregation because we know it is unsound, and we know that it plays into the hands of the ruling class, it plays into the hands of employers—and it is not our fault that you have a negro Methodist Church and a negro Baptist church. They were here and they are being carried on because of certain conditions, but so far as we are concerned we are opposed to any kind of segregation, and I want that to be clear.

Now there is no question with respect to the attitude of the American Federation of Labor and their spirit on the matter of negro people, but I am talking about this particular aspect of this report—and Brother Frey knows that the report is indefinite—in speaking about the futility and impossibility of a law to make certain corrections of social evils.

As a matter of fact, why seek any kind of law? We are not able to abolish crime, for that matter, but does that mean that we do not adopt laws against crime? Certainly not.

Consequently, the Sleeping Car Porters call upon the convention to take a position for the adoption of legislation that will make for the elimination of all forms of discrimination.

Delegate Frey: I would like to ask the delegate a question.

President Green: Delegate Randolph, will you please answer?

Delegate Randolph: I will.

Delegate Frey: Is it the opinion of the delegate that state or federal legislation would abolish the present segregation of certain denominations in the South?

Delegate Randolph: I am not certain as to what effect any legislation would have on

the question of religious relations. That is highly a speculative question, and I think Brother Frey knows that neither he nor I can answer that question.

Delegate Frey: One more question. That being so, the committee would like to know whether the delegate will recommend to this convention that it seek legislation to abolish that division between colored and white in these Protestant denominations.

Delegate Randolph: Yes, I would be in favor of seeking legislation that will make for the elimination of any form of segregation or separation of the races. Now that is all-inclusive.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Ethiopia

Resolution No. 6—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Ethiopia, one of the most ancient kingdoms of Christendom, has been cruelly betrayed and "sold down the river" by her alleged allies, and, especially, England, with a smirk and genteel hypocrisy, resulting in the murderous usurpation of the sovereignty of a free and peace-loving people by the barbarous legions under the pompous dictator, Mussolini of Fascist Italy, in contravention of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, the various declarations of the League of Nations, the Good Neighbor policy of President Roosevelt's Administration and all principles of international law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record as condemning the ruthless policy of aggression by Fascist Italy against an orderly nation, expelling and exiling its great Ruler, Haile Selassie, the Lion of Judah, the heir of King Solomon, and demand the restoration of Ethiopia to the people of Ethiopia, and urge the United States, the League of Nations and civilized society never to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

You committee recommends reaffirmation of the action of the Denver Convention, 1937, on this subject.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman, I just want to make a few remarks on this matter because we have talked a whole lot about peace in this convention. Only a few days ago the world was disturbed about the question of Czechoslovakia. People were all aroused over the possibility of Hitler

going into the Sudeten territory and taking it away from the Czechoslovakian people. Now, then, the question was raised that people have the right of self-determination. Of course they have, but this question of self-determination has not just risen. It arose when Mussolini, with his Fascist legions, rode into Ethiopia and murdered the people there and destroyed their sovereignty. As a matter of fact, England is unquestionably the most hypocritical, the most deceptive, the most unreliable government in the world so far as keeping its word is concerned, an international pact—and I make a distinction between the British people and the British government—but it is a matter of record that England sold the people of Ethiopia down the river. There is no question about that, and the corpse of Ethiopia must be placed upon the doorstep of No. 10 Downing Street, in co-operation with France.

And so after Ethiopia was raided, after the sovereignty of that great people was destroyed, then they took over Austria, and from there the Fascist legions went on into Spain. Then you have had Japan taking territory from China. In other words, this whole question of the self-determination of smaller nationalities has been practically disregarded.

But we did not give any thought to the question of Ethiopia. We did not care very much about Ethiopia, because they were not white people.

And so I want to raise this matter to the delegates here, that the question of democracy, the question of the principle of self-determination of smaller nationalities, must be applied to peoples without regard to race, creed or color. Unless that is done, then what will happen to Ethiopia today will happen to Austria tomorrow, and from Austria to some place else.

And so the delegates raised the question in this convention some time ago, but not very much notice was taken of it. We called for the boycott of Italian goods, just as you are boycotting the goods of Germany, because of the action against the Jews. But we could not get the convention to go on record in favor of boycotting Italian goods. Now we see what the result is, and who knows where it will lead to? Austria is destroyed, Czechoslovakia is destroyed, and perhaps it may result in another world war.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

**Protesting Displacement of Colored
Railroad Maids**

Resolution No. 11.—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Colored Maids have been taken off the Union Pacific trains and are gradually being taken off all of the railroads, and are being replaced by white Stewardess Nurses in utter disregard of their seniority, some of the Colored Maids having put 25 and 30 years in the service, and

WHEREAS, The Colored Maids performed practically all of the duties now being performed by the white Stewardess Nurses, besides giving the additional service of manicure and hairdressing; and therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, condemn this violation of the principle of Seniority for which the trade union movement has fought so long and hard, by the Union Pacific Railroad and other railway systems, as unfair to a group of maids, regardless of color or race, who have given the best of their life to a railroad company, only to be thrown upon the scrap heap, into the discard in order to experiment with some fad of service, while these maids walk the streets, with no prospect of ever getting employment again, and yet deprived of the old age service pension benefit; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters do not this protest against the Stewardess Nurses being placed on the trains because they are white, but because their being placed there has broken down a well established trade union principle of Seniority. The Brotherhood delegates would protest against Negro Stewardess Nurses displacing colored or white maids who have given satisfactory service for a quarter of a century or more, and may we add that these maids were union maids of the Brotherhood and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That President Green be authorized by the convention to address a letter of protest to the President of the Union Pacific Railroad and other railway systems, against this outrageous abuse of the Seniority rule which organized labor so dearly prizes, the abrogation of which has resulted in the elimination of the Colored Maids and the substitution of white Stewardess Nurses.

Secretary Frey: So that the committee's report may not be misunderstood, it may be well to read a part of the resolution, beginning with the first "Whereas":

"Whereas, Colored maids have been taken off the Union Pacific trains and are gradually being taken off all of the railroads, and are being replaced by white stewardess nurses in utter disregard of their seniority, some of the colored maids having put 25 and 30 years in the service; and

"Whereas, The colored maids performed

practically all of the duties now being performed by the white stewardess nurses, besides giving the additional service of manicure and hairdressing; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, condemn this violation of the principle of seniority for which the trade union movement has fought so long and hard, by the Union Pacific Railroad and other railway systems, as unfair to a group of maids, regardless of color or race, who have given the best of their lives to a railroad company, only to be thrown upon the scrap heap, into the discard."

So much of the resolution gives the delegates the import of the resolution.

This resolution calls for jurisdiction over employes based on color and race. The basic policy of the American Federation of Labor, from the beginning, has been that there should be no discrimination because of race, color, or religion. The adoption of this resolution would be to declare that one occupation should be given exclusively to Americans who are members of one race. Such action would be definitely establishing racial distinction. For this reason your committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: The committee evidently misread the resolution. Now the resolution said definitely that the Sleeping Car Porters would be opposed to displacing black stewardess nurses on a basis of color, that we were not taking the position in this case with regard to race, but clearly from the point of view of the seniority rule. Now, read the resolution in full, and you will see that very definite statements were made to the effect that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters would be opposed to displacing any group of workers on a basis of race alone. But this is a question of seniority. The colored maids have been on these trains for 25 or 30 years. They just incidentally are colored, that's all, and the only way to describe them was to say that they were colored. But so far as the race question is concerned, that is not involved at all. I think the Resolutions Committee evidently misread this thing. They did not read the entire resolution because the thing is very explicit, very clear, very definite, and there is no element there with respect to race, calling for any action in the interests of those maids because they are colored, but because of the

fact that they have seniority rule, seniority rights, and that those seniority rights have been ignored.

Let Brother Frey read the resolution in its entirety to the delegates in this convention, so that they will understand that the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters are not trying to raise any race question here in favor of the colored maids. We used the word "colored" merely to describe the maids, that is all. But the principle of seniority rights is the only principle involved, and the Resolutions Committee certainly know that.

Secretary Frey: The delegates have copies of the first day's proceedings and they can all read the resolution. It is true that a part of the resolution is based upon seniority rights. It is equally true that under these seniority rights white maids could not go to work on these trains where the management desired to employ them. White maids never would be able to be employed on these trains if the resolution as a whole were adopted and the railway companies would be guided thereby. You don't have to read the entire resolution to find out what the purpose is. If the delegates will read the resolution they will find that in a very able way the question of seniority is used to cover the question of establishing employment by the one race in one occupation, and that is why the committee recommends non-concurrence in the resolution.

Let us read the first "Whereas" once more:

"Whereas, Colored maids have been taken off the Union Pacific trains and are gradually being taken off all of the railroads, and are being replaced by white stewardess nurses in utter disregard of their seniority, some of the colored maids having put 25 and 30 years in the service" . . . the substance of all that follows is in that first "Whereas." The delegates can read that. They have the proceedings in their hands.

Bringing in a question of seniority is done to mislead the purpose of the first "Whereas," and it is astounding to your committee, and it must be surprising to the delegates, after the years during which we have heard the eloquent delegate discuss discrimination, that he should subscribe to a resolution which would establish discrimination against whites and prevent their employment so that the negro race would have the

exclusive right to work in a certain occupation.

Delegate Davis, American Federation of Teachers: I rise to support the contention of Brother Randolph. If the delegates will read the resolution as a whole, they will find that the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters do not protest against the stewardess nurses being placed on the trains because they are white, but their being placed there has broken down a well-established trade union principle of seniority. The Brotherhood delegates would protest against negro nurses displacing white maids who have given satisfactory service for a quarter of a century or more, and may we add that those maids were union maids, and affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Now I think it is the clear sense of this resolution that the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters have no objection to the railroad employing white maids if they wish, but solely because they are employing white maids to displace negro maids who have had 25 years of service. Therefore, it seems to me in fairness to Brother Randolph we should concur in the resolution, which merely asks authorization for President Green to protest the seniority rule to the President of the Union Pacific Railroad.

Delegate Webster, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates to the convention—The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and its delegates wish to clarify the situation which has been stated to you here by Delegate Frey, raising the issue that it was the intention of the delegates of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters to cover up an effort on their part to bring about the employment of colored maids specifically and exclusive of all other nationalities, in connection with this resolution.

It has been the purpose and the principle of this organization to approach these problems from their economic point of view, rather than from their labor point of view, and in our negotiations of our agreement under which these maids and porters work the most controversial point wherein we had a threatened strike was over the question of insisting upon one other nationality which was hired to work in these capacities being included in this contract.

It might be interesting for the delegates here to know that the white barbers em-

ployed by the Pullman Company and operating on the various trains throughout the nation have made application and have been accepted in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. There is absolutely no desire on the part of this organization to dictate what race, nationality or color of employees should be hired by these particular corporations. The idea was that these maids that had been working on these cars for 25 or 30 years had established certain seniority rights and that they had been very definitely relieved of that job by the introduction of this other service.

We believe that those maids who have served the public long and well, who are good union maids and members of this American Federation of Labor should not just be eliminated by the stroke of a pen, and we brought this resolution to this convention in the hope that we might be able to get some co-operation in trying to emphasize upon the Union Pacific Railroad and other railroads that some consideration should be given to these maids by virtue of the long years of faithful service they have rendered to the railroad industry.

There was no intention on our part at all, and we submit that we are not inconsistent with our general policy of promulgating that workers should be considered, not with reference to their race or nationality, but with reference to their position on the job. We hope the delegates will understand our position in that matter. We happen to have in our organization not only negroes, we have Chinese, Filipinos, and as I stated a moment ago, fifteen or twenty white barbers operating on the Pullman cars throughout the nation have made application and have been accepted as members of our organization.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, in view of the explanation which has just been made by the introducers of the resolution, and the very definite commitments just voiced, the Chairman and the Secretary of the Committee, if it is agreeable to the other members of the committee, will move that the entire subject matter be referred to the Executive Council.

Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee: I second the motion.

President Green: You have heard the motion offered, that in view of the explanations regarding the true intent and meaning of this resolution, it be referred to the Executive Council for action.

The motion to refer the subject matter to the Executive Council was carried.

President Green: Let the Chair make this statement, that so far as the American Federation of Labor is concerned, we will do everything that lies within our power to preserve the seniority rights of workers regardless of color or creed. That is a very fundamental principle, and particularly on the railroads. I understand it perfectly well, and I can assure you that this resolution, referred to the Executive Council, will be taken up, and in the light of the interpretation placed upon it we shall be glad to co-operate with the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters in protecting the seniority rights of their members.

Scottsboro Boys

Resolution No. 7—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Court trials and investigations have demonstrated that the nine (9) Scottsboro Boys were the victims of an infamous frame-up, having been tortured almost a decade in jail; and

WHEREAS, Rescued from Alabama judicial and mob terror by the United States Supreme Court at different strategic times, the stricken conscience of Alabama, under the pressure of an aroused public opinion, was forced to set free four (4) of the Scottsboro Boys charged with the very same crime the five (5) boys are charged with that are still held in prison awaiting their doom; and

WHEREAS, It is clear and obvious to friend and foe of the boys that if it was fair and just to give four of the Scottsboro Boys their freedom, when the State of Alabama contended that the nine (9) boys were guilty of the same crime, then it is just and fair to release from the Alabama prison dungeons the remaining five boys, some of whom have suffered from the brutal assaults of prejudiced prison guards; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, call upon the state of Alabama, in the name of justice and humanity and fair-play, to let the other five Scottsboro Boys go, and cleanse the hands of Alabama from the blood of the innocent Scottsboro Boys.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Protesting Discrimination Against Negroes in Primary Elections in Southern States

Resolution No. 8—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, Lily White Primaries in Southern states are unconstitutional since, by denying Negro citizens the right to vote, they are a violation of the 14th Amendment to the Federal Constitution: and

WHEREAS, Lily White Primaries elect representatives to city, state and federal offices that make laws and hand down decisions that affect all of the people of these Southern states, and yet Negro citizens, a part of the population, are not permitted to vote in these primaries, whose results are equivalent to election, merely because of race or color, which is a flagrant form of taxation without representation, which was the cornerstone of the American revolution which resulted in the independence of the thirteen colonies from the tyranny of King George of Great Britain; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas go on record as condemning the Lily White Primaries as un-American, unjust and unfair, and against the principle of trade union organization as represented by the American Federation of Labor, since Lily White Primaries divide the workers upon a basis of race and color, and call upon the Southern states to rid themselves of the stigma and disgrace of the Lily White Primaries, and permit all citizens to vote in all primaries regardless of race or color.

Inasmuch as the American Federation of Labor from the beginning has worked to secure legislation which would give to all wage earners full use of the franchise, your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council so that careful consideration may be given to such measures as may be proposed from time to time.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I don't arise to oppose the report of the committee, but just to make a few observations on the resolution. The question of democracy has been discussed in this convention rather extensively, and as I see it, the cornerstone of democracy is the right of free speech, the right to express one's voice in the affairs of state. Now you have here in the South ten or twelve millions of negroes. They pay taxes. They are workers, but they are denied the right to vote. And why? Because of the operation of what is known as white primaries. You talk about the totalitarian state of Germany, the totalitarian state of Italy, but you have a totalitarian state right here in Texas. You have a totalitarian state in all of the Southern states where you have the one single political organization. When you nominate a

man in the white primaries that is equivalent to his election.

In other words, the negro people, citizens of the nation—think of it!—have not the right to express their voice with respect to the election of a sheriff, with respect to the election of a mayor, with respect to the election of a congressman in any of the southern states. The other day you had Governor Leche, who made a very splendid talk here and called himself a liberal, and yet no word was said about the right of the negro people to vote. Think of it! Twelve million or more people absolutely denied the right to express their voice in any form of government in the South.

Now that is a condition that must be changed, and the only way in which it can be changed is through the abolition of white primaries. You have negroes here. They pay taxes on property, and even if they do not pay taxes on property they are workers and they have just as much right to express their voice with respect to the election of officers, also to be elected as officers as any one else in this country.

And so, my friends, this question is fundamental to the power of the labor movement in the South. You have a strong longshoremen's union right here in Houston, but one-half of the longshoremen are not allowed to vote because they are colored. I heard one representative get up here and say that they have what is known as a Legislative Committee for the State of Texas. What is the use in having a Legislative Committee if they are going to deny one-half of the workers the right to support the policies of a Legislative Committee?

And so the negro people are demanding the right to vote because they are citizens of this nation. For instance, a Japanese who is born in America can vote anywhere in this country. A Chinese who is born in America can vote anywhere in this country. I do not object to that, absolutely not. Any one from any foreign nation in the world may come here and be naturalized and vote for any official in any state in the South, but a negro who is a citizen of this country, who has fought and bled to defend it, who has made his contribution to this nation, is denied the right of free speech.

That is a serious question, my friends. I submit that that is one of the most important questions before the South today. I hope

the Southern delegates will have the courage to meet that question and go back in their central labor bodies, in their state federations, in their local bodies and fight for the abolition of white primaries.

What is a totalitarian state? It simply means the depositing of power in one political agency. That is all a totalitarian state means, and it means the depositing of power in one particular group, whether it be racial or have not, and that is a condition that you have in the southern states.

So, this question of the right of the negro to vote is one of the most important questions before the American people. President Roosevelt has recently expressed himself against the poll tax. You have poll taxes that prevent both black and white workers from voting, but specifically black workers. I know black workers who pay their poll taxes and are yet denied the right to vote. As a matter of fact, in certain places if they even present themselves to vote, they are brutalized. How can the negro people get better streets, better schools, longer school terms, how can they improve their social conditions unless they possess political power?

That is the purpose and intent of this resolution. As aforesaid, I am not opposing the report of the committee, but I want the delegates here to know the basis of this resolution and what it means not only to the negro people, but to the poor white people of the South.

The report of the committee was adopted.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

President Green: We have reached the hour of adjournment, but before recessing for the noon hour there are some announcements to make.

Escort Committees

First of all, may I announce that our friend, Mr. Sol Rosenblatt, who has addressed conventions of the American Federation of Labor on numerous occasions and spoke so well at Denver, Tampa and in other cities, and who has served in a key position with the National Recovery Act, is here and will address the convention this afternoon.

I will appoint a committee to escort Mr. Rosenblatt to the hall: Joseph N. Weber, President of the Federation of Musicians; L. P. Lindelof, of the Painters, and W. C. Birthright of the Barbers.

Then the newly elected commander of the American Legion will be here tomorrow to address the convention. I will appoint as a committee to meet the Commander and escort him to the hall tomorrow at his convenience, Senator George L. Berry, President of the Printing Pressmen; F. W. Brewster of the Teamsters' Union, and Brother Maurice Hutcheson, First Vice-President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters. I should like to have this committee meet the Commander and bring him at his convenience.

The chairmen of the several committees made announcements with respect to meetings, and Chairman Stokes of the local arrangements committee, made a further announcement with regard to the dinner at the San Jacinto Inn.

President Green: The Chair desires to submit a supplemental report of the Executive Council, entitled "Organization of Seamen," and announces the reference of this supplemental report to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

Organization of Seamen

The American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in the organization of seamen of the United States and Canada. We are certain that their economic, social and industrial interest will be best promoted through the establishment of a strong, democratic international union of seamen.

At the present time those employed as sailors and seamen are organized into local, independent, separate units. There is a lack of cohesion, solidarity and unity among the local organizations set up in the Pacific, Atlantic, Great Lakes, Gulf and Canadian Ports. One organization for seamen would result in the mobilization of their economic strength on an international basis.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the rather chaotic and confused condition existing among the seamen should be cleared up. This is a primary necessity to the establishment of an international union of seamen. In order to realize this objective and to accomplish this purpose, the Executive Council recommends the revocation of the charter of the International Seamen's Union. This recommendation is made because the International

Seamen's Union which was chartered by the American Federation of Labor some years ago, is now functioning only in a very limited way. The revocation of this charter would enable the Executive Council to organize and establish an international union of seamen upon a

sound and solid American Federation of Labor basis.

Referred to the Committee on Executive Council's Report.

At 12:35 o'clock, P. M., the convention was adjourned to 2:30 o'clock, P. M.

Sixth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock, by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabce, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

Supplemental Report of Committee on Credentials

Secretary Iler reported as follows:

In accordance with the request of President Moreschi of the International Hodcarriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union we recommend the seating of Ed. Hannah and Charles Harris in place of James Bove and M. Carrozzo.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Report of Committee on Law

Vice-President Tobin, Chairman of the Committee: Delegate Joseph P. McCurdy, of the United Garment Workers, is Secretary of the Committee. He will read the report.

Secretary McCurdy reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Greetings:

Your Committee on Law has not had any constitutional amendments referred to it by this Convention. Your Committee is of the opinion that the present laws now in force and effect are satisfactory and therefore recommends no changes in the Constitution.

This concludes the report which is signed by the following members of the Committee.

DANIEL J. TOBIN, Chairman,
J. P. McCURDY, Secretary
JOSEPH N. WEBER
DENNIS LANE
CHARLES ANDERSON
J. J. FARNAN
JOHN R. STEVENSON
WILLIAM WATKIN

JAMES L. KELLEY
WILLIAM TRACY
W. J. GORMAN
FRANK GLENN
GEORGE G. CASE
J. O. HOLMGREN
HERBERT RIVERS
JAMES N. DAVIS
WM. MCCARTHY
JOHN J. EGAN
JAMES J. BAMBRICK
Committee on Laws.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair officially rules that the constitution of the American Federation of Labor as now constructed is in effect for the ensuing year.

The Chair recognizes Secretary Iler of the Auditing Committee for a report of the Auditing Committee.

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE

To the Officers and Delegates of the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

The Auditors, appointed in accordance with Article 3, Section 5 of the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor, beg leave to submit the following report for the consideration of this Convention. Your Committee has checked and examined all the books and records covering the financial transactions of the American Federation of Labor for the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1937, and ending August 31, 1938, and we take pleasure in reporting that all transactions were neatly and accurately recorded and properly accounted for.

We have personally counted the securities listed on the books of the Secretary-Treasurer as being owned by the American Federation of Labor, and found them correct, as recorded. We are listing below these securities:

We have verified the cash balances on hand, through the means of letters written by the banks where funds are on deposit, certifying as to the amounts on deposit to the credit of the American Federation of Labor at the close of business August 31, 1938.

The total receipts and total expenses for the respective accounts are as follows:

Receipts

Balance on hand, August 31, 1937.....	\$ 586,567.41
Per Capita Tax.....	\$ 580,813.45
American Federationist.....	364,335.89
Defense fund for local trade and federal labor unions:	
Per capita tax from locals.....	236,784.24
Initiation fees.....	102,338.38
Reinstatement fees.....	4,485.12
Supplies.....	26,017.09
Interest.....	13,532.08
Premiums on bonds of officers of unions bonded through A. F. of L.	12,867.89
Disbanded and suspended unions and miscellaneous receipts.....	14,897.05
Transfer of Sleeping Car Porters Fund.....	396.00
Profit on sale of \$98,000.00 Federal Land Bank Bonds.....	10,492.50
Assessments.....	395,743.68
Contributions to Pacific Coast Fund.....	16,500.00
F. L. U. 18456, held in escrow.....	15,000.00
Transfer from A. F. of L. Building Fund.....	50,000.00
Total Receipts.....	\$1,814,203.37
Grand Total.....	\$2,430,770.78

Expenses

General.....	\$1,724,756.96
American Federationist.....	203,225.52
Defense Fund:	
Strike benefits to local trade and federal labor unions.....	33,148.00
Premiums on bonds of officers of affiliated unions.....	11,009.11
Return to F. L. U. 18456.....	15,000.00
Total Expenses.....	\$1,987,139.59

Balance of funds on hand, August 31, 1938.....	\$ 443,631.19
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Recapitulation

In General Fund.....	\$ 6,856.23
In Defense Fund for local trade and federal labor unions.....	436,774.96
Balance on hand, August 31, 1938.....	\$ 443,631.19

Gompers Memorial Fund

Receipts from December 20, 1924, to and including August 31, 1938.....	\$ 118,073.23
Interest on fund investments.....	15,510.89
Total Receipts.....	\$ 133,584.12
Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1938.....	117,748.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....	\$ 15,835.25
Funds deposited as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Cert. No. 2347. 1266 shares.....	\$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account.....	7,069.25
U. S. Savings Bonds Series B: M21870B, M21871B, M21872B, M21873B, M21874B, M21875B, M21876B, M21877B, M21878B, M21879B: Maturity value, \$1,000 per bond; Maturity date, April, 1946. Purchased April 10, 1936 @ \$750.00.....	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....	\$ 15,835.25

In the Gompers Memorial Fund there are listed United States Savings Bonds which are carried on the books at the purchase price of \$7,500.00. The interest accrued on these bonds up to August 31 amount's to \$300.00. These bonds are worth \$7,800.00 as of August 31st.

We found also that during the year, an item which has previously been carried in the Gompers Memorial Fund on the books under the caption of Mount Vernon Liquidating Trust Fund at \$1,266.66 had been converted into 1266 shares of Mount Vernon Mortgage Corporation stock, valued at \$1.00 per share, making the total value of this stock \$1,266.00. The difference of 66c has been carried to the checking account in the Riggs National Bank. It developed that when the Mount Vernon Mortgage Corporation issued the stock, they also issued checks for all amounts less than \$1.00. This resulted in the cash balance on hand in the Gompers Memorial Fund being increased 66c, and the stock value decreased by a like amount.

Sixth Day—Monday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:45 o'clock, by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dietz, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabae, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Robinson, Ambrose; Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

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Secretary Her reported as follows:

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The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Report of Committee on Law

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Secretary McCurdy reported as follows:

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Committee on Laws.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

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The Chair recognizes Secretary Her of the Auditing Committee for a report of the Auditing Committee.

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Expenses, January 12, 1929, to and including August 31, 1938.....	117,748.87
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....	\$ 15,835.25
Funds deposited as follows:	
Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Cert. No. 2347. 1266 shares.....	\$ 1,266.00
Riggs National Bank checking account.....	7,069.25
U. S. Savings Bonds Series B: M21870B, M21871B, M21872B, M21873B, M21874B, M21875B, M21876B, M21877B, M21878B, M21879B: Maturity value, \$1,000 per bond; Maturity date, April, 1946. Purchased April 10, 1936 @ \$750.00.....	7,500.00
Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....	\$ 15,835.25

In the Gompers Memorial Fund there are listed United States Savings Bonds which are carried on the books at the purchase price of \$7,500.00. The interest accrued on these bonds up to August 31 amount's to \$300.00. These bonds are worth \$7,800.00 as of August 31st.

We found also that during the year, an item which has previously been carried in the Gompers Memorial Fund on the books under the caption of Mount Vernon Liquidating Trust Fund at \$1,266.66 had been converted into 1266 shares of Mount Vernon Mortgage Corporation stock, valued at \$1.00 per share, making the total value of this stock \$1,266.00. The difference of 66c has been carried to the checking account in the Riggs National Bank. It developed that when the Mount Vernon Mortgage Corporation issued the stock, they also issued checks for all amounts less than \$1.00. This resulted in the cash balance on hand in the Gompers Memorial Fund being increased 66c, and the stock value decreased by a like amount.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

The American Federation of Labor Building
Fund Receipts

Balance on hand, August 31, 1937.....	\$ 67,388.24
Rents	33,300.00
Interest:	
U. S. Treasury Bonds ..\$ 88.02	
Federal Land Bank Bonds	769.17
Sale of waste paper	857.19
Reimbursement on Fire Loss	26.79
Profit on sale of Bonds	1,528.91
.....	3,423.75
Total Receipts	\$ 39,136.64
Receipts and balance	\$ 106,524.88

Expenses

Maintenance:	
Pay roll (building employees)	\$ 17,711.65
Taxes	3,219.36
Electricity	1,926.13
Fuel (coal)	962.98
Supplies	1,664.28
Upkeep and repairs	1,487.50
Plastering and Painting	3,951.39
Cleaning Windows	429.00
Insurance (liability)	641.58
Insurance (fire)	5.43
Water rent	157.08
Hauling ashes and trash	192.00
Upkeep of rest room (Laundry etc.)	10.01
Upkeep and repairs of elevators	802.68
Social Security Tax:	
Unemployment Insurance	458.18
Old Age Benefits	158.95
Rent of Safe Deposit Box	8.30
Fire Replacement	2,296.25
Transfer to General Fund	50,000.00
Total Expenses	\$ 86,076.75

Balance on hand August 31, 1938.....

\$ 20,448.13

Recapitulation

Receipts and balance	\$ 106,524.88
Expenses	86,076.75
Balance on hand August 31, 1938	\$ 20,448.13

Moneys deposited and invested as follows:

Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. Cert. No. 2346, 1218 shares

\$ 1,218.00

Riggs National Bank (checking account)

11,780.13

U. S. Savings Bonds:

 Series B: M273333,

 M273334, M273335,

 M273336, M273337,

 M273338, M273339,

 M273340, M273341,

 M273342; Maturity

 value, \$1,000.00 per

 bond; Maturity

 date, July 1946.

 Purchased July 21,

 1936 @ \$750.00.....

7,500.00

Balance on hand August 31, 1938

\$ 20,448.13

We have checked the bank balance and counted the securities in this account and find them correct as reported.

The \$10,000.00 United States Savings Bonds carried on the books at the purchase price of \$7,500.00 have increased in value to the extent of the accrued interest. The accrued interest on these bonds up to August 31st amounts to \$300.00. The value of these bonds as of August 31, 1938, is therefore \$7,800.00.

Your Committee has counted all securities and determined that the funds of the American Federation of Labor are deposited and invested as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds (3¼%)	\$ 225,000.00
Premiums on U. S. Treasury Bonds (3¼%)	2,070.32
U. S. Treasury Bonds (3¼%) (\$50,000.00) @ 98-18/32	49,281.25
U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%)	100,000.00
Premium on U. S. Treasury Bonds (2¾%)	1,531.25
Total Investment in U. S. Treasury Bonds	\$ 377,882.82
Riggs National Bank (Subject to check)	46,352.37
City Bank (Subject to check)	2,000.00
Federation Bank & Trust Co. N. Y. (Subject to check)	2,000.00
Union Labor Life Insurance Co (Stock)	15,000.00
396 shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corp. stock	396.00

Secretary-Treasurer's Balance, August 31, 1938

\$ 443,631.19

The numbers and denominations of the securities listed above are as follows:

U. S. Treasury Bonds
(3½%)

14436F	\$ 5,000.00
28631A	10,000.00
28632B	10,000.00
28633C	10,000.00
28634D	10,000.00
28635E	10,000.00
28636F	10,000.00
28637H	10,000.00
28638J	10,000.00
28639K	10,000.00
28640L	10,000.00
28641A	10,000.00
28642B	10,000.00
38459K	10,000.00
29974D	10,000.00
29975E	10,000.00
29976F	10,000.00
29977H	10,000.00
31874D	10,000.00
33733C	10,000.00
29981A	10,000.00
29982B	10,000.00
29983C	10,000.00

Total \$ 225,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds
(3½%)

816F	\$ 10,000.00
817H	10,000.00
1097H	10,000.00
1098J	10,000.00
17118C	10,000.00

Total \$ 50,000.00

U. S. Treasury Bonds
(27½%)

2727H \$ 100,000.00 \$ 100,000.00

396 Shares Mt. Vernon Mortgage Corporation Stock @ \$1.00 \$ 396.00

300 Shares Union Labor Life Insurance Co. Stock @ \$50.00 15,000.00

Total Par Value..... \$ 390,396.00

There was a great amount of detail work necessary to complete this audit. During the year 16,000 checks were issued from the General Fund alone, and for each check drawn, it was also necessary to have a warrant. The receipts and expenses combined amounted to \$3,831,342.96, which of course had to be recorded and fully accounted for at Headquarters. We found also that the intricacies necessary for a proper accounting of Social Security tax and Unemployment Insurance tax has greatly increased the volume of detail work at Headquarters.

The splendid co-operation extended to us by Secretary-Treasurer Morrison and his assist-

ant made it possible for us to complete the audit within the time allotted to us.

AUDITING COMMITTEE,

LEO E. GEORGE,

Chairman.

HENRY C. ILER,

Secretary.

WM. J. MORAN,

The report of the Auditing Committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: We will interrupt the reports of committees for the purpose of listening to our very dear friend and distinguished visitor. I referred to the speaker of this afternoon in the brief remarks I made regarding his address at this morning's session. He is here now. Most of us remember our friend, Sol Rosenblatt when he served with distinction and credit under the NRA. He was at the head of a division of that great organization and discharged his exacting duties in a way that was most commendable and that invited and secured the praise and approval of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor. Since that time he has been serving in a capacity, impartial chairman of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industries, of New York.

He has had much experience in dealing with matters that develop out of that relationship of employers and employes in this great industry. I take pleasure now in presenting you our friend and our guest, Honorable Sol Rosenblatt of New York City.

HON. SOL A. ROSENBLATT

Impartial Chairman, Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industries, of New York

President Green and Members of the Convention:

Much more so than ever before, I am tremendously proud to be afforded the opportunity of addressing your great convention.

I hope to leave with you this year, with all of the innumerable matters that are before you for consideration and action, a thought which to my mind grows daily ever more important.

This Federation. I know from experience, concerns itself with the welfare of its membership and thereby the welfare of our great country. The American civilization has been made possible by the active participation of labor in its cultural and humanitarian aspects.

Therefore, it is particularly with respect to the welfare of our country as it particularly concerns everyone associated in the labor

movement in this land of ours, that I wish to devote my remarks today.

All of us are indeed familiar with the investigations constantly taking place by our Congress in connection with the activities of foreign powers in our land, with respect to organized activities for venal and corrupt ends engaged in within our midst. And there is not a warm-blooded American citizen who has not constantly found himself upset, and indeed amazed, by such activities.

Recent uncovering of the formalized drilling by brownshirts with rifles, in imitation of subversive movements abroad within the confines of a peaceful land, is not too pleasant to contemplate.

Members of the House and Senate have spent their time in unearthing facts which when presented through the press and radio are astounding.

Today it is virtually impossible to pick up a newspaper without reading of the activities of those who would destroy us in our very midst.

Your organizations have in their own wisdom restricted their membership to those who prefer the American way, and against those who, living under the protection of the Stars and Stripes, nevertheless openly, publicly and notoriously profess allegiance to the principles of those forces ranged against the preservation of democratic institutions.

But I submit that this Federation must go farther in undertaking measures necessary to safeguard our American citizenship in which labor fortunately plays so mighty a part.

The spectacle of American citizens who are so low as to prostitute their citizenship at the behest and for the gold of a foreign nation is bad enough—and ways and means can and must undoubtedly be found to deal with such dregs of our citizenry.

But I submit to you that such a condition, distasteful as it may be,—but nevertheless resting upon the first provision of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, namely, that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States"—does not, however, rest upon any legal foundation with respect to those residents here who are not citizens.

This country was founded in a liberal spirit. It has been maintained throughout its history on a liberal basis. The Declaration of Independence recorded our people as a free people, and our political subdivisions as free and independent states.

The Articles of Confederation were entered into by our states for the security of their liberties and for their mutual and general welfare. The preamble to the Constitution declares that it is established by the people of the United States in order to "promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

The keynote of our political being has been liberty! Members of this Convention, liberty does not mean license. Liberty confers no right upon other members of the body politic, whether citizens or not, to engage in activi-

ties which have for their purpose the very desecration of liberty.

In all the writing I have read, and studies I have made, I have never yet found a liberal who has been willing to confuse liberalism with ideals promoting exploitation and enslavement in fact.

Our democratic principle has always been that the majority has the right to govern—the minority the right to criticize and oppose the majority, but not to undermine and to destroy that majority.

Such is the American doctrine, applied in the American democracy.

No man, I submit, has the natural right to incite treason in the guise of the exercise of liberty under our flag. The privileges and immunities enjoyed by those residing in this country, and guaranteed by our Constitution, should not be applicable to those who undertake to use them for the very purpose of uprooting the Government of this nation.

It is now proper to bring the application of the foregoing concepts to concrete examples.

This nation was born as an escape and refuge from tyranny. To the founding fathers in 1776 the tyranny was that of the government of King George the Third.

The nationalities of every description who have come to our shores since that time have come for the purpose of escape from tyranny and forces of oppression, whether political or economic.

Throughout the nineteenth century our doors were freely opened to the oppressed of all lands—the victims of political or economic aggrandizements. To our credit, those doors are in large part still open.

Since the recent political events in Europe, a greater crush than ever before are begging, yea, beseeching, our hospitality, and this at a time when the gaunt hand of depression is barely lifting from over our own native abode.

And at such a time it is meet and proper that we, as citizens of this nation and desiring and consenting to be governed by the majority, should take stock of our situation.

Brown-shirted, black-shirted, silver-shirted and red-shirted groups! meeting and paying reverence and homage to foreign dictators whose institutions stand for everything which this country abhors! parading and sowing venom! drilling with weapons! propagandizing and undermining the morale of citizen by-standers!

To what depths are we descending in permitting lip service to be given to the ideals of liberty in this country and at the same time permitting the swastika, the Fasces and the hammer-and-sickle to wave instead of the Stars and Stripes!

To what end are we abasing the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution—which guarantees that "the right of our citizens to vote shall not be abridged because of race, color or previous condition of servitude"—if we refrain from abridging that right to vote in cases where that so-called citizen desires to exercise his right of franchise against the liberties we esteem and reverence so highly.

The man is still a murderer who uses a sacramental vessel normally employed for holy and religious purposes with which to beat out the brains of one who disagrees with him!

The communist who attempts to foment trouble and strife, particularly in our labor movement, and whose every action, in public or private life is designed to sweep away our liberties, is as guilty of treason in using his ballot as he would be in using a bullet!

The militant character of these foreign organizations operating in our country has been definitely established. The testimony before our Congressional Committees of recent date has gone far in establishing that these organizations which we permit to function so freely in our country are bent upon the conversion of this nation into a satrapy of tyranny!

It is a mockery to the memory of the foreign-born who settled here (and we are all descended from foreign-born in the last analysis) that those who follow them from the same foreign shores, or their children who are born here within our own shores, should seek to foster movements to destroy us.

Under the permission of our liberal standards those who hate us and that for which we stand are working in every strata of our society, with every weapon they possess, unendingly, that they as our guests may poison their hosts—that they as our native-born may destroy all ideals opposed to their way.

This Convention has time and again gone on record against activities in the world which are a stench and nausea to American thinking.

This Convention is well aware of what the totalitarian state, the corporative state, and the communist state have done with those who honorably labored and who in days gone by fostered and maintained their own labor movements.

The membership of this Federation is well aware of the unflinching zeal and devotion required to safeguard and preserve the rights which labor has won throughout this nation's history.

Every great International and Local organization in the American Federation of Labor knows its membership as human beings, as individuals, as those who are devoted to the welfare of our country. Different, indeed, than those who one writer recently described as "faceless people, just human forms without features under their helmets, without human feelings, ideals or instincts!"

And so, I direct your attention to the fact that liberty is worth fighting for, that there is no derogation of liberalism by calling a halt to anti-liberal activities any more than there is injustice in incarcerating the perpetrator of a crime against society.

We, the people of this country, are the source from which our rights flow!

We the people, who strive for better things, must constitute ourselves the guardians of our own liberty!

I say that, while we may not deprive those termmites in our midst of their citizenship, laws may still be enacted legally and properly to deprive them of the highest exercise of that citizenship—which is the right to vote!

I say that, with respect to those persons who have taken advantage of our hospitality to become naturalized as citizens, the laws may properly provide that upon their identification with any movement designed to overthrow the pillars of government upon which we rest, their citizenship may be taken from them, and they returned to those lands of which they chant and sing, but from which they welcomed the opportunity presumably to escape.

And I further state and submit that with respect to those who are in our midst and have not even taken advantage of the laws of this land giving them an opportunity to become citizens, and at least profess loose lip service to our system of government, and the democratic ideals upon which it is based, any such persons identified with subversive movements may likewise properly, lawfully and legally be returned to those places where the despotism they would like to see established here, where the tyranny which they constantly praise, where the dictatorships they eternally worship, anxiously await them.

It is enough to make the red blood of any true American boil when he knows, without contradiction, that these people, who give their true allegiance to those who hate us, who revile the very word "democracy," nevertheless occupy positions earning money from American employers, which, were they in the foreign lands they love so much, in a similar situation, they would never for an instant be permitted to do—since being in the category of enemies of a state, they would soon be imprisoned or shot.

Isn't American Labor tired of having a proportion of the wages which it earns taken from it—because we all pay taxes in this country—and have the very monies, hard-earned as they are, applied to maintain a foreign-hearted scoundrel in security?

Does American labor relish the idea that our social security provisions, our unemployment insurance and our old age pensions, shall be paid to those who impudently flaunt in our very faces their disgust with our American ways?

If Americans, what have such people to do with foreign powers, foreign politics, and foreign ideals?

If not Americans, is it too much to demand and require that they conduct themselves as Americans should?

Is it too much to ask for the protection of our liberty, and indeed, perhaps our very lives—as experience in foreign lands has demon-

strated—that life in a land looking to the preservation of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness be made safe for the realization of such ideals?

We know that there is a distinction between request and threat—between persuasion and intimidation—between the achievement of willing cooperation and regulation.

We in this country have already chosen, with the united support of the forces of labor. These ideals have been realized. We went to war with armed forces at one time to make the world safe for democracy. Can't the American citizenry go to war again with laws with teeth to preserve that which they have already achieved?

I know that hatreds, even of things we dislike the most, may lead us far astray. I know that the same electric voltage which gives us light and heat may cause death. But the crimes against our citizenry, the hatreds and passions which are being aroused, the false hopes which are being raised, the wicked, perverted lies which are being spread by these carrion of humanity into the organizations of labor and generally among the people of our country, must be stopped!

The "bubonic plague" of hostile movements is abroad in our country, carried by red, black and brown shirted rats!

Let us rid our community of these plague-carriers, while at the same time we immunize against their present effects by every educational facility at our command, and by workable laws.

And in the vanguard of the American Doctors of Humanity let the active and dynamic leadership of this great Federation come forth.

The confident, aggressive action which is the heritage of the present leaders of this great Federation must be further employed in these days, or otherwise our body politic must suffer, and labor with it.

President Green: I thank for you our friend, Mr. Rosenblatt, for his visit to us this afternoon and for this very interesting address he delivered. We ask him to remain with us as our guest. His address will be included in the proceedings of this session.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Vice President Woll, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

Vice President Woll: Your Committee on Resolutions will now report upon that section of the Executive Council's Report under the caption, "Secession and Dualism," more popularly known as CIO.

Secession and Dualism

Your committee, having before it the report of the Executive Council on the negotiations between representatives of the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Indus-

trial Organization, initiated during our convention a year ago in Denver, pages 86-93 of the Executive Council's Report and resolutions numbered 20 and 21 appearing on page 20 of the first day's proceedings, presents the following for your consideration and approval in lieu of resolutions presented and in support of the approval of the Executive Council's Report on this subject.

Resolutions No. 20 and 21 were designed to further the ends of peace within the labor movement. The introducers of Resolution No. 20 have requested that their resolution be expunged from the records of this convention. The introducers of Resolution No. 21 report it was introduced in this convention by error as it was defeated instead of approved by their convention. They, too, request that this resolution be expunged from the record. Your committee recommends that these requests be complied with.

The Executive Council in dealing in its report with the subject of Secession and Dualism and the failure to bring about peace and unity in the House of Labor, makes definite and clear the true realities of the situation and leaves no room for doubt as to where blame may justly be placed. This report of the Executive Council on this subject should be carefully read by all who would have a true understanding of issues involved and of the dictatorial mind that has made impossible the re-establishment of a peaceful, unified and co-operative relationship between all groups of workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

The negotiations recorded in detail and with complete accuracy by the Executive Council, proceeded to a point where they broke down. They broke down for one reason and one only. It was not possible to satisfy the ambitions of the one man who dominates and dictates to the CIO.

As for the negotiations, we may add this to the report of the council: There were no insurmountable difficulties, if we leave ambition out of the discussion. There was no question of form of organization. It was agreed that the ten suspended organizations should return as they were, thus proving that form of organization was not the issue.

There was no question of any or all of the ten trade unions originally making up the CIO deserting any of the trade unions thereafter associated with the CIO. It was agreed none should re-enter the fold of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor until all would be included.

It was proposed by the American Federation of Labor representatives that there be negotiations as to the newly formed organizations. But here again the question was not as to form of organization. There were other questions, including overlapping jurisdiction, but the jurisdictional questions were no greater than we deal with continuously within the A. F. of L., and not nearly as complicated as some with which we have dealt successfully in the past. There were questions arising out of benefit systems, treasuries and kindred matters. But these were not beyond solution.

There was no question regarding the constituted authority followed or to be followed within the American Federation of Labor. It was agreed certain amendments should be considered and when agreement was reached on all other points involved. Every question raised was fairly met and squarely agreed to.

The one question that finally confronted our representatives at every turn was the paramount question of the power and the arrogance and the overweening pride of one man. Confronted with such an issue there is no solution, until the adherents of that man deprive him of his authority or he voluntarily steps aside. He seems not likely to step aside, but there are signs that the other possibility may materialize. People do grow tired of carrying the burden for self-aggrandizement; they do grow tired of paying the price of dictatorship.

The negotiations which we have just described did not constitute the only effort toward peace. There have been other efforts. They too have failed because of the will and dictum of one man. Our door has been kept open, but that cannot be said of the dual movement. And only last week President Roosevelt in connection with his letter of greeting to us, urged a united labor movement and an effort to seek peace. Before our convention had even had time to consider the president's appeal, the door was closed from the side of the dual movement by the autocrat who has constituted himself dictator of the CIO.

While we always have been and are now ready to enter into negotiations towards peace we have seen how, fulminating as usual, the autocrat of the CIO has ruthlessly re-

jected every suggestion of peace, including that just put forth by President Roosevelt.

It is said that President Roosevelt and the CIO autocrat are close to each other in political endeavor, and it is clear that the President has more than once lent his support to Mr. Lewis, but the moment the President pleads for a course that would threaten the autocracy of CIO and end dualism, Caesar steps forth to roar disdainful defiance.

Woodrow Wilson appealed to the people of Central Europe over the heads of their Emperors. The democracies of Europe and our own President have done likewise within recent weeks. As we see it today, only the patriotic and emphatic action of the membership of the exploited and dominated unions in the CIO can restore labor unity and harmony.

Our task now is to build the American Federation of Labor while the incubus of autocracy destroys the CIO.

Let us see what is the condition, pursuant to the break-down of the negotiations begun a year ago. Let us see, first, what has happened within the unions comprising the CIO under the domination of its fulminating Caesar, with the doubtful and perhaps doubting help of his Prime Minister Machiavelli.

First let us take the United Mine Workers of America, the sacrifice brigade of the CIO forces. From the members of this organization, by autocratic fiat, huge sums of money—totalling into the millions—have been taken to bolster the ambitions of the one man at the top. These funds have been used in amazing political adventures and in fore-doomed adventures on the economic field.

Insofar as the political results are concerned, it must be clear even to the most blinded followers of the ambitious spendthrift of the CIO that the expenditure of millions of the workers' dollars for political advantage has resulted in almost total loss. Almost uniformly the CIO has been rejected by the electors at the polls. Wise candidates today hope to avoid the calamity of a CIO endorsement. The money, used without any authority from the rank and file, has gone into waste; it has been flung to the winds to feed an ambition and the people have repudiated Caesar at the polls by defeating those whom he has designated for support. We feel sure that in due time the CIO rank and file will take command of its own destiny and register its refusal to be further mulcted at the whim

of an autocrat. Indeed, we are informed, there is already a wide-spread dissatisfaction, even to the point of revolt, within the ranks of the United Mine Workers, while there is reason to believe that even some of the high officials of that organization, long known as wheel horses in the movement, are in extreme disagreement with the dictator and distrustful of the whole mad scheme of dualism.

Next in line we find the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, born in secession, temporarily cleansed by a brief tenure within the American Federation of Labor, but quickly led out again in a gamble on the turn of the wheel of rebellion. Within the ranks of this union, composed of splendid men and women, there is wide-spread disaffection and distrust of dictatorship. Developing the dream of empire this organization seized the United Textile Workers, choked the wind from it in one spasmodic grasp and sought to absorb its membership along with the unorganized in the textile field. Again there is rebellion, dissension, mistrust, with a growing sense that something fundamental is wrong. The so-called textile organizing campaign of the fantastic Textile Workers' Organizing Committee in the South is a bluff and bluster and thinly veiled at that. The president of the absorbed United Textile Workers has resigned from the CIO. This has added fuel to the fire already at work and has enlarged the division in the ranks. But the greatest division of all is the division which has started great numbers of the workers themselves into the American Federation of Labor and legitimate trade unionism. The initial act of taking over the United Textile Workers was more than anything else like Hitler's march into Austria—not yet explained in full to the public or to the membership; a truly astounding chapter in labor history.

Then observe the United Automobile Workers. This union, formed by the American Federation of Labor, also was led into secession and disaster. Its dues-paying ranks are growing thinner. It is shot full of dissension. Even while our convention has been in session in Houston it has felt the iron hand of dictatorship. It is no longer a free, autonomous self-governing organization. It has become a servant body in the House of Caesar. Four officers, suspended, charged by their president with communist affiliations, have been ordered by John L. Lewis restored to their offices, while the President of that

union is forced to accept this over-riding of his judgment and of the lawfully expressed judgment of his union. As we observe this development we may well wonder whether we are not witnessing the treachery of a Judas Iscariot selling a birthright for 30 pieces of silver, as well as the ruthlessness of a Caesar cloaked by the machinations of a Machiavelli.

With the United Rubber Workers there is a similar story. Here also membership is falling. The industry itself has spread from its former center, presenting an unprepared union with a problem which it had no strategy to meet and in connection with which it got no help from its overlord. All along the line, the story is one of tragedy, the price of dictatorship, the price of ambitious rulership, the price always paid all through history, just as it is paid today in Germany, in Italy, in Russia. Dictatorship is not changed in character by reason of geography.

The Oil Field Workers seemed to be proud of their desertion to the ranks of the dictatorship. At that moment they were moving forward with rapid strides and we were all proud of their progress. But they went into the land of Caesar and they, too, have been subject to Caesar's will. They, too, have suffered in decreasing unity, in loss of membership, in loss of that spirit that marks free movements apart from those around whose necks there hangs the chain of bondage under alien rulership.

There is not a union in the outlaw movement that has not suffered in loss of prestige and place. And as a whole that movement has become so tainted and tarnished and saturated with the virus of Communism that its kiss is called the kiss of death, its approval a warrant of death.

This is the terrible condition foisted upon a rank and file that must, whether it likes it or not, pay the price as long as the dictatorship exists.

There is, in this sorrowful category, one shining example in exception. The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has refused to submit to dictation. It has fulfilled the promises it made to the C. I. O. when it entered that movement. That promise was to help organize the unorganized. However, it has refused to go a single step further. It has remained true to its original position, even though we were forced to include it in sus-

pension when secession forced us to act. We feel certain it will continue to refuse to wear the hollow emblems bestowed for pleasing the dictator. We feel confident it will decline to join the new movement to form a dual federation of labor.

Now, as to the present status of the C. I. O., we are informed that the leadership has been forced to capitulate to a demand that a convention be held, a new kind of existence developed. Will this convention when it is held, adopt a constitution, liberal in form and responsive to the will of the membership?

Will there be an accounting of the huge sums of money thus far spent?

Will unions have a full measure of autonomy, by which to control their own affairs?

Will there be a repudiation of the Communist leadership with which the secession movement is honeycombed?

Will there be an elimination as well as a repudiation of the Communist leadership?

If there is such repudiation and elimination, how will the movement be cleansed?

Will there be, on the other hand, a closer partnership with Communism and a political party expression created for furthering Communist ends?

Will there be a condemnation of the sit-down strike and of contract-breaking, abhorrent to all American principles and destructive of the foundations of our economic and political order?

If there is such a condemnation, how will it be given effect? How will it be enforced, in the face of the fact that C. I. O. leadership as well as Communist leadership within the C. I. O. have led and encouraged the sit-down strike and the disregard of contracts entered into?

Will dictatorship give up its powers and its ambitions?

We await such a convention. If one is held and dictatorship is not abandoned, then we shall have merely a strengthened dictatorship, the next long step in a program that must lead toward internal revolution. Such movements cannot stand still, except at the cost of disintegration. Witness the German Nazi movement! It must go forward, or fall back.

If dictatorship is actually abandoned and Communism repudiated and expelled, then the way to unity is made possible, providing the

rank and file of the secession movement make known their demand for unity.

We can only recommend that we wait and watch. We are confident that our Federation will never stand aloof on any pedestal of false pride, for ours is the democratic movement of the workers. When workers want to come into our family, living under the law of that family, there is and always will be a welcome for them. But we cannot and will not make terms with dictatorship, or Communist leadership.

During the year that has passed and while there have been, in the house of secession, the events which we have just reported, the American Federation of Labor has grown in stature, in numbers, in moral strength, in influence, in the confidence of the people of our country.

We shall not here recount, in detail, the gains we have made, because they are fully reported elsewhere. But they have been great and they have been sound and lasting.

We have pointed the way to industrial stability. We have pointed the way to industrial peace. The workers enrolled in the membership of our unions are immeasurably better protected and on higher levels than the membership mistakenly led into outlawry and into bondage under dictatorship.

Employers generally have come to know the great value of sound, self-disciplined trade unionism. They have shown a rapidly increasing desire to develop co-operation with our movement—not the co-operation of a powerful industrial overlordship with a sycophant unionism, but practical, intelligent co-operation between equals, between groups alike devoted to American democracy, to the saving and bettering of the American system.

The examples of the benefits of this co-operation are written large in benefits for workers and in stability for employers. They are exemplified, too, in a united understanding that both industry and labor must resist, in common interest, the onslaughts of political adventurers and schemers who come at times with hobbies and at times with vicious destructiveness out of which they hope to make political capital for themselves.

We hope that, in time, even government itself may see the value of this co-operation and ask the counsels of the lawful trade union movement.

No matter what may have been the fate in

the past year of efforts to heal the breach in the ranks of labor until there is peace or a genuine indication that the road to peace has been found, we must press forward in defense of true trade unionism and of the bona fide movement of labor. Our movement must press forward with full energy and it must give battle to every force that seeks invasion. It must be more vigorous than ever before. But we must never foreclose an honorable peace designed to result in a united trade union movement under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. We feel certain that this convention and its officers share that point of view.

We therefore recommend that this convention authorize the executive council to continue to carry on the battle and at the same time stand ready to respond to any genuine appeal for peace or any honorable and sincere opportunity to reunite the labor movement.

Fundamentally and finally, our appeal is to the rank and file of the workers, whether they are in the CIO or unorganized. That is our only appeal. Our movement was formed for them, it is made by their law, it speaks with their voice, it serves them and it serves none else.

Our appeal is simple, but in its simple words there is all of the bond that draws the members of a family together anywhere. It is: Come into the House of Labor. Help in its guidance. Enjoy its benefits. Be where you belong. Workers in America, come into your home, for it is YOUR home. In a home the individuals are equal. In a home there are members. In an autocracy, under dictatorship, there is one ruler, while all the rest are subjects. In a home, in a family there is trust, there is good faith, there is honorable conduct and there is forbearance for those who err. In a dictatorship there is, of necessity, intrigue, suspicion, jealousy, punishment; and brother dare not trust brother for fear of betrayal to the all-highest. Workers of America, come into your home, into the House of Labor. In that House, help us build a better, stronger, safer, freer America!

Vice President Wolf: I move the adoption of the committee's report as presented.

The motion was seconded.

President Green: You have heard the reading of the report of the committee. It has been regularly moved and seconded that the

report of the committee be adopted. Are there any remarks?

The Chair recognizes Vice President Flore, a delegate representing the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America.

Delegate Flore, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. Chairman, being one of the organizations which has withdrawn a resolution introduced in this convention on the subject now before this body, I think probably I should make a statement to the convention explaining why that resolution has been withdrawn, and what the sentiment and the action of our convention, recently held in the city of San Francisco, was. Our convention closed in the latter part of the month of August, and in the haste of compiling the records of that convention, by mistake a resolution was sent on for presentation to this convention which was non-concurred in by our convention in San Francisco.

However, our convention was not unmindful of the situation that confronted the American labor movement at the present time, and they did introduce and pass a resolution in connection with this all-important subject, and after a brief resume of my thoughts in the matter I shall read that resolution to this convention.

Delegate Flore then read the following:

"Our International Union is a semi-Industrial organization, in that it embodies workers employed in hotel and apartment hotel work, as well as workers employed in the many types or branches of service coming under our jurisdiction.

"We look upon our organization as an industrial union and we are deeply concerned about the protection afforded that group under the laws of the American Federation of Labor. We disavow any responsibility for the failure of the American Federation of Labor and the Committee for Industrial Organization to affect a settlement of their differences.

"The committee appointed by both parties met and agreed upon terms of peace and unity, only to have their work and conclusions vetoed by the leader of the C. I. O. group.

"The door to an agreement must be kept open. Labor should and must be united. The powers that stand in the way, even though great and mighty, must eventually give way to public opinion and labor's desire for solidarity.

"Labor is the salt of the earth. It is the creator of wealth. It is the life and soul of all that exists, and yet it is divided on an issue vague and imaginary, which could be easily adjudicated if the welfare of the workers was substituted for man.

"From whence comes the division of labor? Who or what was the cause is not the fun-

damental issue today. We are concerned with the healing of the breach so that men may face men as brothers. The bid for peace and tranquility in the Labor Movement of America is the major issue of the day. It is not too much to say that men and women are suffering from unemployment and other hardships because of the division in the ranks of labor. We must not stand by and fail to give expressions of resentment and disapproval. We should say to those men and women who have strayed from our ranks, hoping for the utopia of life in another atmosphere, that they are welcome to come home to us. We hold no malice toward them. We not only welcome them, but we shall lend our best efforts toward bringing about a united Labor Movement.

"There is an apparent right and wrong on both sides. If all matters foreign to the principles and policies involved can be discarded, peace can be restored and a United Labor Movement will again abide.

"The following was the action of our convention:

"Whereas, Certain disagreements among the leadership of the Organized Labor Movement have led to a division of Labor's forces, and

"Whereas, The competition for membership between the two divisions has become so intensified that they tend to lose sight of the primary objects of Organized Labor, with the result that all of the workers are suffering from the division, and

"Whereas, The membership of all Labor is desirous of a Unified Labor Movement, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we place all of the energy of this International Union into the movement to unify the forces of Organized Labor, and be it further

"Resolved, That we express our contempt and condemnation for any person or group who shall put their personal advantage or personal prejudice in the way of a United Labor Movement and that we instruct our officers to use all the influence and pressure at their command to bring about a prompt settlement of Labor's primary problem: unity; and be it further

"Resolved, That this convention recommends the reopening of peace negotiations with the proposal that all of the C. I. O. Unions be accepted into the A. F. of L. and that there then be established a Committee of Unions not directly involved in jurisdictional disputes to straighten out all jurisdictional overlapping between Unions now affiliated with the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O., and be it further

"Resolved, That if no satisfactory agreement can be reached by the representatives of the two factions outside conciliators shall be selected."

Now, Mr. Chairman, in submitting this as the action of our convention I desire to say just a few words as to our membership on

this subject. I think I am in a fairly good position to understand the temper and the desire of the membership, some 200,000 that I have had the privilege and honor to represent for more than a quarter of a century. While some of those members are suffering deeply from the results of this division in labor at the present time, those members are very desirous of seeing something done in the interests of a unified labor movement in America. I don't know how long we can go on, with the membership that we have, if there is not some settlement of this important question reached very shortly, and in behalf of the delegation of Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America, as well as the membership we represent, I want to ask this convention to take some action that will help the Executive Council of this Federation to bring about the thing that we are all seeking for . . . a unified labor movement.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: Mr. Chairman, members of the convention—After meditating for some time upon the merits of the pending resolution, some of the far-reaching implications, and then recalling some of the fine traditions clustering about the historic framework of the American Federation of Labor, I seem to feel a sort of fireside chat coming on. And so I ask your indulgence while I give some attention to that saccharine bouquet of get-together resolutions.

I impugn no man's motives, I give him full credit for honest intentions. I make my own survey of facts, drawn my own conclusions therefrom. The first thought that comes to me in this connection is the fact that in nature's vast creative scheme we are constantly brought into contact with striking contrasts. First, light and darkness have nothing in common; oil and water defy admixture; tornadoic fury is opposed to ineffable calm. The symphonic rendition of Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata could never blend with the raucous cacophony of modern swing jazz. And when we come to a contemplation of human relationship, there we discover elements between which there is a great gulf fixed, types of mind which find it impossible to run in the same channel.

The pending resolution suggests this query—"Why waste time and energy endeavoring to amalgamate elements between which

there is no possible harmonious affinity?" We live in a nation of 130,000,000 people. There is not a man or woman in this convention who could begin to enumerate the religious creeds into which we are divided. We have political and partisan affiliations without number. We have divergent schools of economic thought, increasing in number, budding and blossoming in every academic shadow.

What happens when organizations become topheavy? When does the sloughing process begin? When issues of policy change the viewpoint and the clashing of human ambitions begins laying survey chains for a new line of demarcation.

I am old enough to remember that when the Republican majority got so heavy in the time of Taft administration it began to slough off and the Bull Moose Party, under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, began. In the last two elections you have noticed that even with the phenomenal vote there has since begun a line of cleavage, so sharp that Democratic leaders are wondering and conservatives and liberals seem to be brought together.

Just what do the protagonists of this resolution expect to accomplish by its adoption? What type of mind do they hope to bring into camp? Amalgamation of radically divergent bodies invariably involves compromise. And the burning question which brought about this separation—on which one do you stand ready to make surrender to pave the way to a new coalition? A new type of leadership has come into being. I wish to pay a bit of attention to some of the personnel thereof.

The first individual personality coming to my attention is that of John Brophy. In the United Mine Workers Journal of May 1, 1928, John Brophy was denounced for trying to convert the United Mine Workers of America into a Communistic camp. Sponsored by Communism, John Brophy went to Russia as a delegate, and when he finally turned from that particular Utopian zone he bore this gushing message on his lips: "The conditions of the workers in Russia ought to shame us. The general situation in the Soviet Union should be a source of inspiration to the American workers and the whole world."

An announcement was made when this convention convened in Houston, "John Brophy has been made the General Secretary of the C. I. O. organization." In the proposed amal-

gamation, what particular bird cage do you think we reserve for John Brophy to occupy?

The next one is Earl Browder, Communist candidate at one time for President of the United States. And recently he had the supreme effrontery to undertake a eulogy of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln, born in a log cabin that never had a floor, learning his alphabet by the light of a wood fire, reading everything which came within his reach, then searching the countrysides for more, a literary prowler for the sustenance of the printed page. And ever he led on the forces of liberty to meet his Calvary. He offered his life, he knew sublimity above the masses of the American people. His last words were in behalf of a government of, for, and by the people, and Earl Browder has the unspeakable effrontery to cast his tribute to Abraham Lincoln. In the Daily Worker Earl Browder wrote the following:

"There were two camps at the Forty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, one arrayed against the other. The issue which divided them was the issue of unionism. On the industrial bloc were Democrats, Socialists and Communists, and the sympathizers with the latter. This group is fighting for the basic issue, the American working class. The issue will be supported by us with all possible means. Communists and militant class workers are a necessary part of the consistent struggle for industrial unionism."

Then there is Harry Bridges, the leader-in-chief on the Pacific Coast. I was on a Union Pacific train a short time ago and a C. I. O. satellite was on board. I never heard such an eulogy of one man to another as this C. I. O. gave to Harry Bridges. In his opinion he was the morning star of the long-anticipated revolution. His loquacity flowed on with the untiring flow of Tennyson's brook, and his monotone was as wearisome as the ticking of grandfather's clock; but he never uttered one syllable in behalf of the working classes on the improvement of their conditions. But he said, "Within thirty days we will stop every wheel on the Pacific Coast." That was the goal of his ambition.

Would amalgamation bring the C. I. O. and A. F. of L. together with that petty triumvirate known as the National Labor Relations Board, that three-board tribunal which would as soon receive hearsay evidence as it would evidence that is direct, which functions

as prosecutor, judge and jury, and which looks upon the long-established rules of court procedure as a relic of horse-and-buggy days?

Said Bishop Byrne the other day in his chaste and scholarly way, "The whole country deeply regrets the rift that has come in your ranks, but no matter what the loss, stand for truth and principle. Principles are of God and are eternal."

Human nature does not change with the passing of the years. In the long, long ago, an old prophet asked the question, "Can two walk together except they be agreed?" And another in the same period said, "Shall fellowship have light with darkness?"

And all of a sudden the atmosphere is pulsating with clamor and pleas for peace. The politician is in the offing, he is a master student of the art of psychology, he knows when the time is ripe to hang his harp on the willows. He also knows when the time is come to put his axe into the roots of the tree. One of the latest of these evangels of peace is not of the dumb variety, but he comes as a carrier pigeon, and his name is Heywood Broun. I used to read a periodical called "The Nation" until Heywood Broun began to smear its pages by assault after assault on William Green, and vilification after vilification of the American Federation of Labor, and page after page devoted to deification of the C. I. O. movement.

What happened? What kind of metamorphosis has Heywood Broun undergone that he should light on our portals with a message of peace? One crowd looks at John L. Lewis, another crowd looks at William Green pleading for peace. There comes to my mind a sort of paraphrase on an old comic opera ditty which I used to hear 25 years ago when I was playing in a theater orchestra:

"Cuddle up a little closer, William,
Cuddle up a little closer, John,
Ring the curtain down on labor troubles
Another hot campaign will soon be on."

I listened with deep interest the other day to Brother Tobin in his impassioned plea for unification. I always love to listen to Tobin. When he speaks I cannot help but feel that his platform effort is the reflection of an outflowing of honest conviction. A man came into my office the other day and said, "Who is that man Tobin? I know him. What has happened to him?" "Oh, nothing, but here is a newspaper clipping, one of the finest things I have read in a long time. I put that clipping

away, for it reflected sound experience and good judgment."

Senator Berry made a speech last week. I was called from the auditorium and did not hear him. I read it twice after it was in print. If I had made that speech some thin-skinned paragon would say, "Oh, you are just another Republican criticizing a Democratic administration." Although a Republican, I have voted for many Democrats and probably will vote for more. I can take my stand by the side of Senator Berry because he touched on truths that ought to percolate into the consciousness of every person in this convention.

He told you the world is heading slowly but surely in the direction of dictatorship. He told you you were featuring different kinds of democracy, and every man and woman who is willing to examine the records knows that the democracy of Jefferson and Madison and Jackson and Grover Cleveland has no more in common with the democracy of today than Confucianism as compared with Methodism. And I was deeply impressed by Sol Rosenblatt's speech this afternoon when he called to your attention that right under your nose, in the sound of your ears, within the range of your own vision all the kinds of colored shirt organizations that dictatorships can organize are being organized. For what purpose? For the overthrowing of American institutions.

Dictatorships do not come as a clap of thunder in a clear sky, they creep in slowly and gradually. George Washington, standing on the colonial frontier, with a penetrating vision almost uncannily declared, "I do not expect to see the Republic overthrown, but it may be destroyed by the borers from within."

When Caesar crossed the Rubicon it attracted very little attention as the event of the day. Caesar stood for three hours with his forces on the banks of that river meditating upon his undertaking. Finally he uttered the historic words, "The die is cast." Then he and his forces crossed the stream. For a little while he talked in tones of conciliation with those he contacted, but all the time he was reaching his coils around those whom he expected to capture. On the day Cato saw the way things were drifting he fell on his sword and died. Then Caesar stood up and shouted those historic words known to all Latin scholars, "Veni, vidi, vici," "I came,

I saw, I conquered," and the Roman republic was dead and the empire was created on the ruins thereof with a dictator at its head.

My fellow delegates where do you stand? Where do you stand? The spirit and the letter of these resolutions will be evidence of the trend of your purpose.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Vice-President Tobin.

Delegate Tobin, Teamsters: Mr. Chairman, my good friend who just finished, Percy Weaver, paid me a very high compliment as having some sense and perhaps some understanding of the labor movement. I desire to say that I don't know any man I like better than Percy. Apparently, he prepared his speech for the last two or three days, because he was talking on two resolutions that were withdrawn, isn't that right, Mr. Chairman?

President Green: He referred to resolutions that were entered here and were withdrawn.

President Green: He referred to resolutions mentioned in the committee's report.

Delegate Weaver, Musicians: I knew that the virus had not been entirely extracted from its system.

Delegate Tobin: You referred to the two resolutions that have been withdrawn from the convention, and you had a written address.

Delegate Weaver: The virus is still here.

Delegate Tobin: I have a whole lot of respect for Percy Weaver.

Delegate Weaver: Please don't call me Percy.

Delegate Tobin: That is what they all call you, as far as I know. You are Delegate Weaver, or Chauncey, but now I think you will understand my position in this matter.

I am hired by the Teamsters to fight their case Percy Weaver is making a living practicing law. It is all right for the Musicians to elect him as a delegate here. I assume he is talking for the Musicians, but I don't believe that lawyers should influence this convention toward a continuation of a disruption of this labor movement.

When I spoke here the other day I promised you faithfully on my word that I had no intention of speaking ten minutes before I talked, and my purpose was to try to clarify, or not leave a false impression of

the address delivered by Judge Padway, which, to the unthinking public and to many of our delegates here in the convention without experience, could be construed as a general attack on the Administration, which eliminated any thought of doing anything but justice to those whom I believe to be our friends as trade unionists. That was my intention when I arose, and I had nothing prepared. I delivered it extemporaneously, as I am doing now.

Following that address I have received over two thousand telegrams. There are only a few here. Don't be alarmed, I won't read them. We know how we feel about people bringing a basket full of documents in before our Council. I think I should, however, read you a few of them. My office informs me that there are at least five hundred telegrams in Indianapolis.

I have always tried to keep off the newspapers as a labor leader. My experience of over thirty-five years of actual service has taught me that newspapers can build you up one day and when it suits their end, tear you down tomorrow. Without any solicitation or desire on my part, unprecedented publicity has been given to the statements that I made here the other day.

I will read a few of these telegrams to give you some idea of the class of people who have been interested in your question. I will have to ask you to have patience with me until I try to clarify further what I had in my mind the other day:

Portland, Oregon.

Daniel J. Tobin, President
International Brotherhood of
Teamsters and Chauffeurs.

"Congratulations to you for your forthright statement in behalf of peace. For the sake of labor, which transcends all other considerations, press your fight for peace, otherwise we in labor will leave a record of stupidity from which we will never recover.

"Kindest regards,

"Herman Keenan, President,
American Federation of Musicians,
Local 95."

"New York, New York.

"Five thousand members Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America No. 16 congratulate you on your speech for labor union. Keep up the fight. We are behind you. Our International Convention

unanimously stood for what you are advocating.

"Harry Lee, President.
William Alberson, Sec'y-Treas."

I have several other telegrams from these unions of the same kind.

"Minneapolis, Minnesota.

"Dear Brother Tobin: On behalf of the thousands of organized workers affiliated with the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, an organization that has stood out against secession from the Federation of Labor, we wish to congratulate you on your courageous efforts in behalf of union harmony."

I don't deserve this thing. I don't want it and I don't need it.

"San Francisco, California.

"D. J. Tobin,
"Federation of Building Service Crafts, representing 20,000 members are heartily in accord with your program to bring about some kind of peace between the CIO and the A. F. of L."

"E. Waddell, Secretary."
Kansas City, Missouri.

"D. J. Tobin:

"For you 100 per cent to bring about labor organization peace in behalf of the toilers of the nation.

"Brotherhood of Railway Carmen
of America, Local No. 363."

"Vancouver, Washington.

"D. J. Tobin—Sir:

"Let us congratulate you upon your splendid plea for peace and a united labor movement made yesterday. My only hope and that of my associates is that your appeal will not fall on deaf ears.

"James Gibbons, A. B., Portland
University, Oregon."

This is from Seattle, Washington:

"The Machinists in the state of Washington are in full accord with your proposal for AFL-CIO peace. I. A. Sandvigen, Secretary, Washington Machinists Council."

Here is another from San Francisco:

"Congratulations your stand on the CIO and AFL issue. The most intelligent and courageous thus far. Stand by your guns until you get results. Every real union man in the nation will be with you. John Charters, San Francisco Printing Pressmen's Union."

This is from Indianapolis:

"I want to congratulate you for your courageous speech yesterday in the interests of the men and women who toil. You have disregarded details and are thinking straight. It is only through a united effort that the voice

of labor can be heard and its economic stability attained." M. Clifford Townsend, Governor of Indiana.

The San Francisco Labor Council is in the midst of a fight, yet they sent a long telegram addressed to Secretary John O'Connor, who is here as a delegate. It embodies sentiments expressed in my suggestions the other day. There are all kinds of telegrams here which I will not read. The average man who does not know me would think I was trying to increase my own importance, but I am not. I am reading these to show you the interest, the nervous tension existing among the toilers of the nation, the organized and the unorganized, to the end that peace in labor's house could obtain, and I do not believe that I stand for a dishonorable peace.

I want to ask the Secretary of the Committee to read the "Resolve" of the committee so that I can get the language.

Chairman Woll: There are several sections such as you mention. This section reads:

"We therefore recommend that this convention authorize the Executive Council to carry on the battle and at the same time stand ready to respond to any genuine appeal for peace or any honorable and sincere opportunity to reunite the labor movement."

Vice President Tobin: That is exactly what we did last year and the year before, and the year before, and we will be doing the same thing next year unless the membership of our national unions and our local unions will insist that we do otherwise.

I represent a large organization, nearly 350,000 members. Brother Flore said he represented more than 200,000 members, nearly 600,000 members, nearly one-sixth of the total membership of the Federation. I am satisfied that in a referendum vote of our organization, if a proposition similar to this would be submitted it would carry 20 to 1 that the Executive Council stand instructed by this convention to open up negotiations, beginning where they broke off in their last session with the representatives of the CIO. That is simple and plain. If at the end of their discussions they can accomplish nothing, then we will have that much information to devise some ways and means as to how to proceed further, and I disagree with any man that you are humbling yourself in this great question when you ask those who disagreed with you to meet you for the purpose of talking over that disagreement.

It is all right enough for some of you trades that are 100 per cent organized and that live cloistered within your buildings where you are protected because of the skill of your trade, and because there is no access to your trade from the outside, to tell us this is a question of principle. A principle is involved of bringing together the toilers of this nation, and that transcends any personal pride or political feeling.

Who has carried on this fight? Have we laid down submissive in any part of the country in this fight? Who has been in the forefront of this battle from the beginning? The Teamsters' organization, and every one of you know it.

Members of our organization were imprisoned because of a strike in Oregon. Members are threatened with imprisonment, eighteen business agents and some of our organizers, in the rotten, prejudiced courts of Los Angeles, the home of the cursed Los Angeles Times. Those members are on trial, for what? For fighting Bridges and the CIO on the Western Coast and in the southern ports of the state of California. You tell me that we are sacrificing the plans and platform upon which we are founded. If that report just confined itself to the recommendation it would not be so bad, but with six pages of denunciation of what has happened it has further spoiled the hope of conciliation. Calling men traitors and dictators and Judases—that don't get you anywhere. That is personal feeling. That is the work of the committee that you are going to be asked to approve.

I can hate just as strongly as any other man in this organization, but I always put my hatred under my feet in an endeavor to serve the people who have elected me, not to hate, but to serve. Well, I have done my share of the work. I have endeavored to say as clearly as I possibly could what I wanted you to do. I think you should go further in the report or re-submit it to the Executive Council. If you don't we can get along without either the CIO or the A. F. of L. I don't say that in a boastful manner. I want to be helpful. I don't want to tear down the work we have given our life to, I want to build it up, but if one or the other side refuses to let us build it up, we will try to build our own house in the Teamsters Union.

I want to tell you what happened in the Council the other day. I was advised while I

was across the water that President Green was informed that it was the desire of a certain organization in the CIO that they would proceed and ask for a conference between the CIO people and the A. F. of L. They went to Washington. The president of that CIO organization was there. They were told in Washington, talking to the President of the CIO, who is President of the United Mine Workers, that he wanted to see their President, the President of the Ladies' Garment Workers. They went to New York and met the President of the Ladies' Garment Workers there and discussed the question. They were finally advised, "Yes, we will abide by the conference provided the American Federation of Labor agrees before the end of the conference to take in organizations of the CIO."

Now there is no use of any employer inviting me to a conference if he tells me he will only go into conference providing I agree to the suggestions he makes beforehand. I don't think President Green could go any further. Any side to this question that lays down an ultimatum before the conference is held is not playing the game fair—and that includes our side. When conferences broke off before I was in the Council and I heard in detail what our people had done. I was one of those people at that time who wanted to hear both sides of the case explained to our people who did not see how they possibly could continue at that particular time, but I believed in the light of reasoning the other side might see to it that they would change slightly from the rigid position they had taken. I was one of those who lent my voice on the council and in the columns of our journal, believing that the C. I. O. should have accepted conditionally the proposal made by the Council, which was in substance that all unions that left the Federation return without penalties, and then let us begin from there.

They got somewhere in that conference, and it ended, and I believe if they meet again or offer to meet again and to begin where they ended, they may get some slight step forward. If you leave here with just making the grand phrase. "The door is open" and "There should be one house of labor," of course that sentiment is splendid, but we are practical men fighting this battle day in and day out on the streets of our country, and I am going to tell you gentlemen with all the sincerity at my command—I hope I am wrong

—that unless you do make an honorable overture for reopening of negotiations that this condition will not be better next year or the year after. We thought that two years ago, we thought it three years ago.

You have nothing to lose, you have everything to gain, and if our people get up against a stone wall from the other side, a mountain of ice that cannot be moved, let the public know of the conditions and what caused the end of the discussions, and, believe me, public sentiment and public opinion and the intelligence of the toilers will be on your side and will place the other side in a position where they are adamant and where they refused to move.

Maybe we could finally boil this thing down where the public would know some of the things that you have intimated here, that there were one or two men responsible for the bringing together of eight or ten millions of workers.

Somebody has said, "Do you favor arbitration, Mr. Tobin, in case there are points that cannot be reached and on which there will not be an understanding?" My answer is that it all depends upon the points at issue, and then if the points do not involve fundamental laws of the organizations I certainly favor arbitration by an unprejudiced board. If it is a question of the organization of a large industry that was never organized when the present Administration went into office and for years we have been hammering at their doors, and we have been driven from their surroundings, yes, whether one or two men belong to some skilled trades, I think at least we could temporarily adjust that by holding it in abeyance until a future time and we might be able to solve it, as we are doing now with some of the organizations that are in here."

I don't think there is anything to lose. I don't think you will get anywhere by this report—"the door is open." That is just a repetition, and all the preliminary that went ahead of it can only appeal to the prejudice, to the envy and the hatred of men and will get you nowhere.

What are you going to do? Suppose, if as stated here, you are a great organization. Then is there anything that will cause you to surrender that greatness and that honor and that prestige by being manful enough to suggest the opening of conferences where they left off at the end of the last negotiations? Certainly not.

I am going to say this to you in very plain language. We want a settlement of this question, and if there is not a settlement we cannot go on, not only fighting our own, but fighting everybody else's fight in this conflict, a conflict which I believe a more serious and determined attempt should be made to bring closer together.

Outside of that, outside of the cruel, bitter, almost death-like conditions obtaining as of one trade against the other, there is the danger of adverse legislation, there is the danger of reactionaries getting into power politically. There is now a desire to evade the question of labor on both sides of the part of the political leaders in Washington. You can't blame them. The Senator sitting down here whom I recognize as the President of an International Union, during the wage-hour controversy, because of the conflicting opinions, did not know how to make up his mind, and finally he voted as per the desires of the American Federation of Labor. That is only one example. He is a labor man. There are a number of other Senators who knew not one-twentieth as much about labor as he does. They are up in the air and do not know what they are going to do or where they are going to land, simply because we are in division.

Labor needs to consolidate not only what it has gained from a legislative standpoint, but it needs to increase those gains. Some of you who may not know what is going on in other states as much as the national officers who are in contact with it, witness the attempt to destroy the labor movement now in the states of Oregon and California. President Green knows what it is, and if they are successful in those states—and I am afraid they will be because of the division of labor, other states will follow and labor will be placed in a straitjacket in those progressive states. Any man from California or Oregon who is here can verify the statement I am making.

You can talk as you please, there isn't a political leader in America, Republican or Democrat, who is not following the trend of people's minds and who would not follow the trend of a solidified labor movement, but now they are just laughing up their sleeves at us because we are not of one mind.

The labor movement has been destroyed in nearly every country in the world, with the

exception of the United States, Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries. Dictator and monster has grown up within these countries, whether it be the leader of the Soviet government in Russia or the leader of the German government in Germany. They are both of the same type. The first act of both of them was to destroy the right of the workers to organize, and they have successfully done that. When I visited Germany in 1919 the workers there made up one of the strongest labor organizations in the world. A member of the Carpenters Union was president of the Reichstag. I had luncheon there with the majority of the Reichstag who were elected on the labor platform. Today the labor man who raises his head or his voice in Germany is destroyed.

Why do I mention that? Because you could not tell the German leaders, as it is impossible to tell our leaders now, and unless you stop and join hands together and fight shoulder to shoulder, there is a danger, first of destroying you by legislation, and next of destroying you by some governmental authority created from the top of the government down.

History, if it is no other use to us, ought to be a guiding light to steer us onward toward doing that which we believe should be done. If we are in doubt let us watch the history of the labor movement in other countries. Then have we any right to say that it can't happen here? We certainly have not.

That is the question confronting you, It is not a question of Czar or dictator in the labor movement. I have been called some of those things, too. It is not a question of how the bosses will pat him on the back and say, "You are a great fellow, and we don't like the tactics of the sit-down strike and the Communists." They said the same thing about us. When we were trying to organize in Detroit for years we could not stick our nose inside those places.

I don't like the policy of the C.I.O. In many instances I have rebelled against them, I have condemned them, but the same people that condemn those people today condemned me and you in the early days when we were starting out. I am not pleading for those people or for their leaders. I am not pleading for you as leaders, I am begging, beseeching and pleading for the multitudes who have elected us and those who

are unorganized and who are dependent upon our action.

I thank you.

President Green: May I beg your indulgence for a few moments while I submit to you some observations relating to the report of the committee and the subject matter dealt with in its report. It is my judgment that every man and woman united with our labor movement possesses a full sense of appreciation of the value of solidarity, unity and harmony within the organized labor movement. You know that old slogan, "United we stand divided we fall."

I have repeatedly stated in public addresses I have delivered that the chief asset of labor was solidarity and unity, that united we were invincible, and that we were only subject to weakness when we became divided. We possess a keen sense of values: a deep appreciation of the value of unity, solidarity and concord. It is upon that basis that the success of our labor movement must ever stand, and because we possess that sense of value we have been deeply pained during this last year because of the division that occurred within the ranks of labor.

We have thought about it while in conventions and while engaged in our routine work, in our homes, in our communities and in our cities. I think there has been within the minds of every man and woman a deep hope and desire that something would occur, that fate would be kind and that our differences would end.

We possess a passion for peace—peace between nations, peace between ourselves, peace within the labor movement, and because we are inspired by these impulses and desires we have constantly sought to heal the breach, to unite our forces and to establish solidarity within the ranks of labor.

Personally, I am willing to do all that lies within my power to reach that objective and reunite and re-establish the labor movement in America upon a solid, united, invincible basis. There is no sacrifice that I would not be willing to make in order to re-establish the family, the house, and the home of labor.

When I listen to discussions regarding the division that has occurred within the ranks of labor I become a bit confused. Is the American Federation of Labor the culprit? Did we create it? Are we responsible for it? What does the record show? Let it answer those questions.

We do not have to refer to past generations in order to understand fully the origin of this division that occurred within the ranks of labor. It happened, as it were, but yesterday, and I think every delegate in this convention remembers clearly the events that led up to it, the time when it occurred, who were responsible for it, and why labor became divided, and why the condition that my good friend Tobin so much deploras was brought about within the ranks of labor. We could have had peace in Atlantic City three years ago, and there would be no rift within the ranks of labor if the delegates who attended that convention, had given the other side what they wanted. Do you recall the vote? Do you recall the issue? Do you recall the debate when strong men, leaders of our movement, were given as wide latitude and as wide an opportunity to present their case to the delegates in attendance at that convention, as has been given to the delegates who have spoken here on this subject?

If anyone ever wished to see democracy in action it was there. But it was decided by a vote of 17,000 to 10,000 against those who led and formed the dual movement. Why did the delegates do that? Why didn't they surrender then? If it is to be peace at any price in the labor movement, why didn't they give them what they wanted then? They voted, all of them with their eyes wide open, fully conscious of the responsibilities they assumed and of the consequences of their action.

Some may say, well, they never thought the minority, who lost in a fair fight in democratic fashion would organize and lead a dual movement. Well, I understood with many others, because we had possession of information which showed that unless they secured what they were contending for they proposed to set up a dual movement.

A dual movement was formed. It has functioned ever since. Do you recall how we pleaded with those who led it to refrain and to desist, to stay with us, to come back next year, to present their issue again and perhaps they would win; to at least let the majority decide and let the family of labor pass upon the question?

Instead of responding to our appeals those who led this dual movement continued to build it and establish it and organize it and place

it upon a permanent basis. Every step that has been taken since has been toward one objective, not toward peace and harmony and unity and settlement, but instead toward the perpetuation of a permanent, dual labor movement in America.

Now during all these times, with patience and perseverance I, along with the members of the Executive Council, have sought to promote the cause of peace. At the Denver convention one year ago we responded to an invitation to meet. First, they wanted us to appoint a committee of one hundred to meet with a committee of one hundred from the other side. We pointed out that a committee of that size was too large, that it would be impossible to settle our differences in a meeting of that kind. Finally we persuaded them to yield on that point, but in order to meet under most any kind of terms we agreed that a committee of three from our side should meet with a committee of ten from their organization in order to compose our differences. Have you forgotten that?

They met for weeks. We had a splendid committee. We conferred every day. We met in a conciliatory attitude, a pleading attitude, and after some days an agreement was negotiated which would have settled our differences.

But, as the report here tells you, it was vetoed by the chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization within an hour. Our committee reported to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and the Council decided we had done all we could in the interests of peace, that we could do no more, and that the proceedings should be terminated.

I had in mind telling this delegation that there were some members of the Council who were a bit critical because they thought we had gone too far. Gone too far? Yes, gone as far as we could and even farther than some of the representatives of the national and international unions affiliated with us were willing to go. Was that an honest effort? Did the American Federation of Labor go as far as it could in order to promote the cause of peace?

We report on that here. It is in the report of the Executive Council in a detailed way. The story is told. It is before you and no one

can challenge the truthfulness and correctness of that report.

Now, coming along I declared to you today that we have watched steadfastly for every opportunity to meet again and promote a settlement of our controversy, to terminate the division that exists within the ranks of labor. Last August the 22nd—that is only a few weeks ago—a committee of three representing the Executive Board of a large union affiliated with the CIO came to me and asked me in Atlantic City if we were ready and willing to renew negotiations for the purpose of trying to settle our differences, and if so, on what basis. That committee was composed of Vice-President Hochman, Vice-President Nagler, and Vice-President Antonini, of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. They reported to me that they came with instructions from the Executive Board of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, representing 250,000 organized workers. They told me these 250,000 workers were tired, they were disillusioned, they had wandered into false paths. They wanted peace.

I advised this committee that I possessed a consuming passion for peace. I would not be fit to be the leader of 5,000,000 workers if I did not possess a passion for peace. Then I repeated what I had previously stated, that I was willing, ready and anxious to go the limit, to forget bygones, to let the past be buried and let us meet and settle our difficulties. They asked me upon what terms. I said, "In my opinion the American Federation of Labor will appoint a committee quickly and with alacrity to meet a committee of the CIO, with the understanding that we will take up the dispute where we left off one year ago, without commitments, without reservations, we will meet like men around the conference table, forget the past, begin anew," that we were willing to sit in a meeting of that kind.

That committee of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union expressed their appreciation of that attitude on the part of the American Federation of Labor. I was in conference with them for hours. There were no imputations or recriminations, no denunciations. It was in a spirit of harmony and goodwill that we discussed it.

Following the conclusion of my meeting this committee hurried to Washington. It was re-

ported to me by them, the representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, that when they arrived in Washington they sought a conference with the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization and acquainted him with their mission. They wanted to confer with him. He set up this stipulation if you please, "I won't meet you unless you bring your President Dubinsky to Washington to sit with you." They yielded, they surrendered, and President Dubinsky took an airplane and came to Washington. They met and the committee, composed of Brother Hochman, Brother Antonini and Brother Nagler, reported the result of their conferences with me, advising the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization that the American Federation of Labor was willing and anxious to meet a committee of the CIO. That was on August 24, only a few weeks ago.

Furthermore they reported that we would let bygones be bygones, and without stipulation or commitment, we would meet and take up negotiations at the point where they broke off about one year ago. What answer did they receive? What were they told? Here is the answer: "I won't meet nor will a committee from the Committee for Industrial Organization meet on those terms." "What do you have to offer, then, Mr. Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization?" And he replied, "This, that the ultimatum we delivered a year ago be accepted by the American Federation of Labor. Without a meeting they must agree that all our CIO unions march back into the American Federation of Labor together that they be chartered by the American Federation of Labor, that we will try to settle our jurisdictional differences when we come in, but if we can't, it is with the distinct understanding that the American Federation of Labor shall not and never will be permitted to revoke the charter of a single union. We will come in on that basis, but if you don't want to accept it, the alternative is that we will accept the American Federation of Labor into the CIO. Come on over."

Now, what was the proposition, what was the ultimatum, the basis of it? It was this, that Harry Bridges and his Longshoremen would march in with the International Longshoremen's Union and compete with the Longshoremen's Union now in the American Federation of Labor, and we would charter Harry

Bridges' Union, and if they could not settle under no circumstances could we revoke either charter. The cafeteria workers in Washington, that Communist organization that has invaded your field (pointing to the delegation from the Hotel and Restaurant employees) that we give them a charter immediately and they would compete with you, not outside but within the American Federation of Labor.

The woodworkers in the Northwest now chartered by the CIO should come into the American Federation of Labor, and we would be compelled to issue them a charter and they could fight it out within the American Federation of Labor, with the Brotherhood of Carpenters as to who would be supreme in that field, and with the understanding that we could never revoke the charter.

The transport workers in New York would come in and be chartered in competition with the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway employees. Local Unions of Teamsters, now belonging to the CIO in different places, would come in as CIO Teamsters, and we could not remove their charters if we wished.

I could go on and name others—office workers, laundry workers, bakery workers—all of them to come in. That was the ultimatum.

Now, we can have peace. We could have had it three weeks ago if we had surrendered to that proposal. Would you be willing to do it?

(A number of delegates replied, "No, no.")

Now I will come along to another phase of our peace endeavors. This happened about September 22nd. We met here on October 3rd. You talk about no efforts being put forth for peace! Listen to this! Two weeks before we met here, my good friend, the fraternal delegate from Great Britain, President Jones, asked me in Washington if we would have any objections to his conferring with the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization. I said, "No, sir, I will be glad for you to see him." He met him two weeks ago, and here is what Brother Jones reports:

"I wrote President Roosevelt offering to use my personal office as mediator, subject to the approval of the American Federation of Labor, whose guest I was, and the officers of the CIO,"—begging for the opportunity to serve as mediator, a man who by every rule of common sense and judgment would have to be regarded as unbiased and impartial. "I wrote President Roosevelt offering to use my personal office as mediator,

subject to the approval of the American Federation of Labor, whose guest I was, and the officers of the CIO. From the White House I was advised to fix up the matter with Secretary McIntyre. Later I was advised through Secretary McIntyre's office that a meeting could not be arranged and concluded, that President Roosevelt did not regard the present moment as opportune for mediation.

"It so happens that Mr. Ebby Edwards, the Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, was fraternal delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress at Niagara. That convention was held only a few weeks ago. It was arranged that he should travel on to Washington to assist me in any effort toward mediation. I reached Washington on Thursday, September 22, but made no effort to approach the CIO until I had obtained the approval of the President. Together with Mr. Edwards I lunched with John L. Lewis and his colleagues on Tuesday, September 27. Neither during lunch or in subsequent conversation did we have a single opportunity of discussing the possibility of mediation."

That is another phase, that is another development. That was honest effort put forth by men who were impartial, moved by only one desire, a sincere desire to promote the cause of peace.

That is the second chapter. Since the convention was in session the President of the United States sent a communication to this convention. There is a paragraph in that communication I wish to read to you. It refers to peace and peaceful negotiations between the factions of labor:

"Because for more than quarter of a century I have had so many associations and friendships with officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the International Unions which it represents, I venture to express the hope that the Convention will leave open every possible door of access to peace and progress in the affairs of organized labor in the United States. If leaders of organized labor can make and keep the peace between various opinions and factions within the labor group itself, it will vastly increase the prestige of labor with the country, and prevent the reaction which otherwise is bound to injure the workers themselves."

Mr. President of the United States, your request has been and will be complied with. The door is open and will be kept open. We will endeavor to honor labor as you have suggested, that is our reply to the President. What is the reply of the CIO? The very next day after the President's message had been made public, the Chairman of the Committee for Industrial Organization announced to the world that he was calling

a conference to convene in Pittsburgh three weeks hence for the purpose of setting up a permanent established CIO movement.

Who is the culprit now? Can we be condemned? Can we be criticized? Is there any basis for it? I ask in all fairness what more could we do? Well, there is something more, yes. We could go, in the language of a defeatist, whipped like a scoundrel, with our hat in our hand and say, "Here we are. We surrender. What do you want us to do?"

I know there are those in every war, let it be factional, political or a war between nations who grow weary, but I don't believe that there is any devoted member of the American Federation of Labor who has grown so weary in this fight for a principle as to influence him to make an unconditional surrender.

If a man sets up a condition which he says you must meet, that is all he has to offer, then you must surrender, must you not, in order to have peace? If he refuses to confer with distinguished men who come here from abroad, are we to meet that, ignore it and surrender?

The report of this committee, while condemning in language which cannot be misunderstood, those who were responsible for creating this condition within the ranks of labor, have again announced our willingness to meet and confer and have reported that you instruct the Executive Council to watch for any opportunity to meet and confer; but in this case what language should we use? Should we tell the truth or applaud them as angels? Are we afraid? Are we cowards? We have internal fights within our own organization, jurisdictional fights between organizations. Some of them are very bitter. We yearn for peace. We pray for peace. But in order to obtain that, could you expect any union to surrender its rights? It must be an honorable peace, a peace that is based upon the highest principles of honor and a recognition of the supremacy, standing and influence of the American Federation of Labor.

I have made this report just now because I had this information, and I know I have given you information which you previously did not have. What would our old friend Gompers say now? I can recall vividly the day when I stood on the platform in El Paso, Texas, at the American Federation of Labor convention over which he presided for the last time, and there, in response to his request, I read his dying statement with a

tremulous voice, choked with emotion. It touched me deeply. Shall we now do something he would not have us do? He never surrendered to the Knights of Labor, the I. W. W. or the One Big Union. He could have done so and had peace with them if he had surrendered almost any time.

I stand for peace, unity, concord and solidarity, but I think that those who left the house of labor, the home in which we now dwell ought to come back and show a desire for peace before we can make peace with them.

Delegate Flore: Just a correction for the record.

President Green: What is it?

Delegate Flore: You referred to the cafeteria workers in New York. I wonder if you did not mean the cafeteria workers in Washington.

President Green: I meant Washington. If there are no further remarks, the question will be put.

Vice-President Tobin: Of course remarks of yours, that we are asked to surrender unconditionally, are simply ridiculous. Nobody has asked you to surrender unconditionally. No one has asked you or asked me to surrender our honor. The statements coming from the President of the Federation would leave the impression that there are men who were fighting side by side with Gompers.

I tried in my remarks to keep away from indulging in personalities as much as I could, because I still hold that calling each other names will get us nowhere. But listen to the remarks of the President. The insinuations or misinterpretation of his intent might obtain that there is somebody trying to get the Federation to surrender unconditionally. What humbug! If that had taken place in the organization of which the President was a member for years, surrendering unconditionally, it certainly never took place in the organization where I have been trained as a trade unionist. No one shall compel me to surrender unconditionally or surrender the honor and integrity of the organization I represent.

Speaking about Gompers. I stood side by side with Gompers for twenty years and I know the thing that made him great was that he was ready to compromise small things

within the family of labor, to the end of securing unity, and he unanimously received the vote of the Teamsters' Union in his darkest hour in Denver when he needed it. He didn't receive other votes that he should have.

Before we vote on this proposition our organization and its delegates will vote with this understanding in the affirmative; otherwise we will vote in the negative against the committee's report. I have been an administration man in this Federation for thirty-one years; but this is not a secession in the strict sense of the word, it is a revolution within the trade union movement of America.

President Green said that on September 22nd he stated to a committee representing the Ladies' Garment Workers that a committee from the Executive Council representing that Council would meet and he advised Dubinsky's representatives, led by Hochman, to say to the CIO leader. "Yes, we will meet and we will begin by letting bygones be bygones, and let us take up where we left off." He made that statement in his address here. I think he was certainly doing what I should have done under the same circumstances.

I am not condemning him. I am praising him if he needs it, admiring him for what he did toward bringing about a reopening of the controversy. I assume that that same statement stands, and if it does stand, we will vote for the report of the committee.

President Green: But Lewis said he would not meet us.

Vice President Tobin: I understand that.

President Green: What are we going to do about that?

Vice President Tobin: That does not take away the fact that you made the proposition to Lewis.

President Green: But how many times is he to tell us no?

Vice President Tobin: If he tells you no again, or if he has told you no before, we are meeting with the situation today to find out where we are going to begin. Surely if that statement was made with all honesty two or three weeks ago, and I repeat I should have done the same thing under similar circumstances, surely that statement will stand, should stand as the understanding of this convention.

If we are rejected in our proposal made to take up where we left off, then for the time being at least we will have to devise where we go from there. I repeat that if that is understood our organization will vote for the report of the committee. If it is not understood, if we stand alone, the records will show where our organization stands in that matter.

President Green: Are you ready to vote? The question recurs upon the adoption of the committee's report. All who favor the adoption of the committee's report will rise to their feet. Those opposed will stand up.

The Chair is of the opinion that one delegate over at the right voted against the committee's report. All other delegates voted in favor, and the report is adopted.

At 5:50 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock, Tuesday morning, October 11.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Morning Session



Houston, Texas,
October 11, 1938.

The convention was called to order at 9:45 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hosketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, McDevitt, Mabee, Metzger, Miller, O'Flint, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Ferry, Posey, Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Wm. States Jacobs, Pastor, Independent Church)

Almighty God, our Father, Thou Who art a Spirit, infinite, eternal and unchangeable in Thy being and attributes, we come reverently before Thee this morning to make known our petitions before Thy throne of grace and lift up our hearts in praise and worship to Thee. We are grateful as a community that Thou has brought to us these messengers of good will and of helpfulness to humanity. We rejoice that when there was no eye to pity and no hand to save the multitudes, millions of trampled and disinherited, millions with impoverished blood and frail bodies and crushed spirits because greedy men had chiseled out of the fruits of their toil; and when the whole world was lost in rags and hunger and helplessness, that Thou didst send organized labor into the world to stretch forth a hand of help to humanity in its untoward condition, a hand to strike for them and defend them. We thank Thee that in the years of struggle they have gathered millions about them and that today they are the mightiest and holiest power in the hearts of our American people. We thank Thee that besides the millions enrolled in their membership roster there are many more millions that love them and honor them and glory in them for the battles they are fighting for humanity.

Oh, God, if we know the meaning of prayer, if we know what Thou didst intend when Thou didst teach Thy disciples to pray, we believe that we have a right and that we have fullness of access to the throne of grace where we can find help in time of peace. And today we come to pray for these messengers who have come up here. We thank Thee for the mercy they enjoyed in coming here, for the pleasures they have enjoyed while here, and we pray Thee to keep them safe as they turn homeward again. Oh, God, while they are assembled here may they devise liberal things for the kingdom and for humanity.

We pray Thy blessing upon the President, William Green, a name which is a household word amongst us, a name which is ointment

poured forth, a name which brings courage and hope and faith into the hearts of those who love the toiling millions from whom has been taken away the fruits of their toil through the endless ages past. Oh, God, may his life and health be precious in Thy sight, and so may he lead the host of labor. Bless all of those who are associated with him here in leadership and upon all of those gathered here who are leaders in their places back home. Send them back home, we humbly beseech Thee, Almighty God, with an inspiration and with a courage that brings triumph with it and grace, and grant that the working masses may turn to this great organization for leadership in the great cause of humanity. And now we pray Thy blessing upon them all. May the Lord bless you and keep you and cause His face to shine upon you. May He lift up the light of His countenance upon you and guide you. Amen.

President Green: In conformity with the laws of the Federation, there are several resolutions that were presented since the last report on resolutions which must be referred to appropriate committees. These resolutions will be brought to your attention. If there are any delegates who object to the introduction of these resolutions, they have a perfect right to do so and the resolutions will be withdrawn.

Delegate Davis, Boilermakers: Late yesterday afternoon there was one vote cast against the recommendation of the committee. Last night news reporters called me to ask if I was the delegate who voted against the report of the committee. Delegate Davis of the Boilermakers voted for the committee's report.

President Green: They must have got you mixed up with somebody else who resembles you, because I saw you stand up and vote for the report of the committee. Delegate Davis says there were reports that he was the one delegate who voted against the report of the committee. He wants that corrected. Delegate Davis, of the Boilermakers, voted for the report of the committee.

Delegate Davis (Jerome), Teachers: I think two of the Teachers voted against the report of the committee, but taking into consideration the final statement of Brother Tobin, we feel differently. Now we wish to withdraw those votes.

President Green: That makes the vote unanimous.

Secretary Morrison then submitted the resolutions to the introduction of which no ob-

jections were offered, and they will be found at the end of the day's proceedings.

President Green: The Chair wishes to announce that on yesterday I announced the appointment of the committee to meet and escort the Commander of the American Legion to the convention hall. I appointed as one member of the committee Senator Berry, of Tennessee. He advised me immediately after the announcement of his appointment that he was compelled to leave the city and he would be unable to serve. In view of that fact, I appointed Michael J. Colleran, President of the International Plasterers Union, to serve. He will serve on the Reception Committee in place of Senator Berry. The committee now is Michael J. Colleran, Maurice A. Hutcheson, of the Carpenters, and F. W. Brewster, of the Teamsters. The Commander of the American Legion is in the city. He is at the Rice Hotel. I ask that the committee just named visit him there and escort him to the hall for the purpose of delivering an address at 11:00 o'clock.

REPORT OF FRATERNAL DELEGATES TO CANADIAN TRADES AND LABOR CONGRESS

The Chair desires to submit for the record the report of Brother Joseph J. Kehoe, Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. This report will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

The report referred to by President Green is as follows:

Chicago, Illinois,
September 30, 1938

To the Officers and Delegates Attending the
Fifty-eighth Annual Congress of the American
Federation of Labor.

Brothers, Greeting:

I herewith submit my report as Fraternal Delegate of the American Federation of Labor to the Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, held at Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, starting Monday, September 12th and concluding Saturday, September 17th, 1938.

The Mayor of Niagara Falls, Ontario, the Mayor of Niagara Falls, New York, the Minister of Labor, and other prominent citizens of Canada extended cordial welcome to the delegates.

The question of commanding importance before the Congress was that of unity within the labor movement. Not less than forty-six resolutions were introduced urging the Trades and Labor Congress to go on record favoring the development of unity in the ranks

of labor. On this matter, the following substitute resolution was adopted:

"WHEREAS, a United International Trade Union movement within Canada is essential for the welfare of the workers of this Dominion; and

"WHEREAS, this Congress through its action at the Montreal and Ottawa conventions, did lend its best efforts to maintain a unified labor movement within this country and offered the services of its Executive Officers to the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. in a mediatory capacity; and

"WHEREAS, we are of the opinion that labor should and must be united and that the door to an agreement between these two factions still remains open;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that this convention concurs in the desires expressed for the avoidance of division of our movement in Canada, as set forth in the resolutions above mentioned;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Executive of the Congress be instructed to continue its efforts to maintain harmony within the International Trade Union movement in compliance with the decision of the Ottawa Convention—"That action shall be on terms acceptable to the International Trade Unions and thus avoiding any disregard for, or defiance of, their laws and policies;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we call on our Executive to exert every effort to the end that we may again have a unified labor movement on the North American continent, to explore every possible avenue and lend their fullest support to all moves in this direction."

The Convention received the report prepared and submitted by the Executive Council dealing with the legislative program approved by representatives of affiliated organizations and presented to the government last January.

The Executive Council notified the Canadian government that it would support any methods, other than the use of force, to secure peace among the nations. It also declared that, in the event of war, Canada should not enter unless such entry were first approved by the people in a referendum vote. It commended the government for past participation in international meetings of good will and reiterated its previously expressed conviction that democracy is the most suitable system of government yet devised and should be safeguarded to eliminate any just grievances which may arise in its operation.

Unemployment was ranked as the greatest national problem, and the government was urged to continue to provide work where possible and financial relief where work could not be supplied. The program advocated work programs which not only would help those on relief but which would employ those who could find only part-time employment and

those who through their own efforts are able to avoid going on relief.

Two methods for broadening the present housing legislation were presented: First, slums are to be eradicated by the continuation of the government housing program; second, money for home building is to be made available to wage earners at an interest rate not to exceed one and a half per cent. Both social and financial considerations made necessary, the report said, the bringing of the present schemes within the reach of many more wage earners and the providing of additional employment.

The Executive Council, expressing deep disappointment that the eight-hour law had been declared unconstitutional by the Privy Council, advocated a work week of five six-hour days without reduction in wages, in order to give to the workers at least a part of the gains flowing from the advantages of modern machine production. To rely on provincial laws to set limits on hours of work was declared to be precarious, for it tends to create unfair competition interprovincially. An amendment to the British North American Act was urged, giving the Parliament of Canada legislative powers on the question of hours of labor following which the Dominion would pass legislation fixing maximum hours of work in industry.

It was recommended that the government set an example for other employers by giving vacations with pay to all employees under its jurisdiction.

Though the National Employment Commission had completed its work, the Council urged that some agency be provided by the government to carry on the studies begun by the Commission, to the end that unemployment be met in a more comprehensive manner than was provided during the first years of the depression. Such an agency could supply the constant review and frequently revised methods of governmental approach which were deemed necessary to meet the problems arising from unemployment.

The continuation and extension of youth training plans were proposed.

In view of the fact that the unemployment insurance act of 1935 was held invalid by the Privy Council, the government was urged to take further action, with all possible vigor, on this matter. The Council proposed that the old age pension act be revised to provide for allowances to all persons who withdrew from industry at the age of sixty. Federal action on health insurance was urged to be taken either in conjunction with that on unemployment insurance or separately.

The position was taken that the government use its power to bring about an increasing improvement of wage levels throughout Canada. The government was asked to insist on union made goods and equipment for its own use, to extend the Fair Wages Act to cover ships receiving financial support from the government, and to appoint a fair wage officer in the Maritime Provinces for enforcement of the schedules made under the

Fair Wages Act. In cases where it is difficult to fix fair wage rates, the Council recommended the use of the trade union rates in the nearest city. It was suggested that further methods be studied, to the end that the unfair competition to fair employers and to employees engendered by the existence of "home industries" and other "sweat shops" be prevented.

The Dominion government was asked to defend the rights of free speech, free assembly, and of the workers to organize free from attack from any quarter. Although much progress had been made toward securing provincial laws granting the right to organize, the laws have often contained clauses not favorable to the best interests of labor. In all but one of the large provinces, action of some kind has been taken. The protection of the right of peaceful picketing from injunction interference was asked by the Council as necessarily allied to the right of organization.

It was urged that the present restrictions on immigration be maintained, declaring that increased immigration into Canada would only serve to accentuate the present unemployment and depressed agricultural conditions.

Improved working conditions for seamen on the Great Lakes and in coastwise shipping were recommended, including greater wireless requirements, better inspection of safety appliances and seaworthiness of craft, better preparation against disaster, coverage of Ontario by the benefits of the Mariners' Sick Benefit Fund, extension of the Superannuation Act to cover government marine engineers, and other recommendations designed to give seamen better conditions.

In the conclusion of its report, the Council stated that there were a number of other subjects not covered in its report which were dealt with more fully last year. Among these were the following: Opposition to the incorporation of trade unions and to compulsory arbitration, and insistence on the right of labor to maintain the "union" or "closed shop"; insistence on freedom of speech, press, and assembly; and opposition to the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

The Quebec Provincial Federation of Labor gave an account of the fight it is waging against several bills that are detrimental to the best interests of organized labor. One of the evils of two particular bills as they now stand is that the Governor-in-Council is empowered to terminate or modify at will a collective bargaining agreement without consulting the parties concerned. The government has discretionary power to fix wages and allow exemptions to the Act. The protection provided for workers is in reality protection for strike breakers. Instead of establishing the legal right to organize, the measure which should have been intended for this purpose is drawn in such a way that it can be used as an instrument to destroy what it should protect—the closed shop and free trade unions—and to foster company unions.

The Provincial Executive Committee of Ontario told of its efforts to liberalize acts cov-

ering old age pensions, mothers' allowances, and workmen's compensation and to have enacted sickness and invalidity insurance legislation. The amendment to the Old Age Pension Act would reduce the qualifying age from seventy to sixty years, eliminate the provincial residential provisions and the requirement that property must be signed over before pensions are granted, eliminate the reduction made in cases where the annual income is less than \$1,000, increase the rate of pension, and abolish the reduction made where pensioner is living with family or other aged person. The Committee also asked that municipalities be prevented from reducing the relief allowance to unemployed relatives living with pensioners. The Committee proposed as one change in the Mothers' Allowance Act an increase of the property exemption from \$2,500 to \$5,000. Concerning workmen's compensation, the Committee urged that all diseases attributable to employment be placed under the Act and that compensation should equal the wages earned at the time of accident or sickness. It was proposed that restaurant workers be provided protection; that it be compulsory for employes of institutions and public bodies to be under the Act; that artificial limbs, apparatus, and dental appliances be provided for longer periods, as may be required; and that first aid equipment requirements be enforced, particularly in outlying districts. Provisions were recommended which would free the administration of the Act from partisan political influence and provide for review of administration and operation of the Act at intervals of from three to five years by a body containing adequate labor representation. It was proposed that the fund created under the Act be safeguarded by setting up a small investment committee with governmental representatives from the Treasury as well as from the Compensation Board. The enactment of health insurance was urged.

All the present officers of the Council were re-elected: President—P. M. Draper of Ottawa, Ontario; Secretary-Treasurer—R. J. Talon of Ottawa, Ontario; Vice Presidents—P. R. Bengough of Vancouver, British Columbia; D. W. Morrison of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia; Raoul Trepanier of Montreal, Quebec.

Mr. Jerome Davis, International President of the American Federation of Teachers, gave a splendid address which undoubtedly has left a deep and lasting impression on all the delegates to the Congress. He reviewed, in a striking manner, the progress of the cause of education, in general, and of the American Federation of Teachers, in particular, as an integral part of the American labor movement as represented by the American Federation of Labor.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the delegates to the 1937 convention of the American Federation of Labor for selecting me as Fraternal Delegate to the 1937 Convention of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada and to say that the experience has been invaluable to me.

I wish also to express my appreciation of the hospitality accorded me by the officers

and delegates of the Trades and Labor Congress in Canada.

Fraternally submitted,
JOSEPH J. KEHOE,

Delegate to the 1938 Fifty-Fourth Annual Convention of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Union Label on Printed Material

Delegate DiPietro, Typographical Union: In behalf of the Typographical Union delegation, we would request that the Chair instruct the Sergeant-at-Arms to prohibit distribution of material which does not bear the union label of the printing industries. We find that a vast amount of material is being distributed to the delegates which bears no union label of any kind. We would request that the Sergeant-at-Arms be instructed to remove from the desks of the delegates all the printed material that has been distributed this morning which bears no printer's label.

President Green: The Sergeant-at-Arms will take notice of this request and see to it that the request of the delegates of the printing trades organizations is complied with promptly and in the proper way.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Government Employees Extend Thanks to American Federation of Labor

Resolution No. 12—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; J. F. Bennett, Henry Strickland, Railway Mail Association; Geo. L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Charles I. Stengle, Cecil E. Custer, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, The organizations of Govern-

ment workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have been successful in improving standards of employment in the Government service; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers, notably in the postal service, have gained through legislation curtailment of working hours without loss of pay, and thus not only benefiting them but also more firmly established the principle of shorter hours for industrial workers and creating greater work opportunities; and

WHEREAS, These notable gains would not have been possible except for the wholehearted support and co-operation of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates and officers; and

WHEREAS, All these unions have recently reaffirmed their allegiance to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates representing Unions of Government workers in this Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor and whose names are hereon inscribed, do hereby express the gratitude of themselves and their fellow members to the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

This resolution is an expression of appreciation from the National Federation of Post-office Clerks; the National Association of Letter Carriers; the International Association of Firefighters; The International Federation of Technical Engineers; Architects and Draftsmen; the International Association of Machinists; the International Plate Printers, Die Stampers and Engravers' Union; the National Association of Postoffice and Railway Mail Laborers; the Railway Mail Association and the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers, for the assistance given to them by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates in helping them to secure improved conditions. We note with pleasure that these organizations have expressed their gratitude officially. With this approval no further recommendation is necessary from your committee.

Secretary Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded by Chairman Woll.

Delegate Stengle, American Federation of Government Employees: I notice in the reading of the report of the Committee that they made reference to the organizations that had signed that resolution. The American Federation of Government Employees were not included. We were supposed to be included. We wish to have our names included in that resolution.

President Green: The request will be complied with.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Appreciation of Fair Labor Policy of U. S. Post Office Officials

Resolution No. 13—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gairnor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Schwartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions, N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Geo. L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Charles I. Stengle, Cecil E. Custer, Berniece B. Heffner, American Federation of Government Employees; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Postmaster General James A. Farley and other policy forming officials of the postal service have repeatedly declared themselves as recognizing the right of organization by the employees and of spokesman through their duly elected representatives, and

WHEREAS, This policy is one inaugurated by the present administration of the post office department and is a marked improvement from previous personnel relations; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor extend its appreciation to the officials of the Post Office Department for this liberal reform; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we urge that these officials take energetic steps to impress upon their subordinates in the field the duty and responsibility of observing and furthering recognition of the unions and the sincere practice of collective bargaining with respect to administrative matters; and, be it still further

RESOLVED, That we express the sincere hope that this example will be followed by the extension of the above principles to all government establishments in which they do not exist.

This resolution, introduced by a number of National and International Unions, is an expression of appreciation for the friendly attitude of Postmaster General James A. Far-

ley and other policy forming officials of the Postal Service. It further expresses the hope that this friendly attitude will be followed by all Government establishments.

With this hope your committee is in full approval, and recommends adoption of the resolution.

Delegate Stengle, American Federation of Government Employees, made the same request with regard to Resolution 13, as he did with regard to Resolution No. 12, and the names of his delegation were accordingly added. The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 17, 18 and 19, which are as follows:

Stove Mounters' Application for Transfer of Enamel Workers Local Unions

Resolution No. 17—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, There are several thousand Enamel Workers under Federal Charters in the A. F. of L. and we believe that they should rightfully belong to the Stove Mounters' International Union; and, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International President, Secretary-Treasurer and the Vice Presidents representing the Enamel Workers affiliated with the Stove Mounters' International Union meet with the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. at their next meeting in October, 1938, and do everything in their power to induce the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. to urge these members to become members of the Stove Mounters' International Union.

The Delegate, President Winter and the Executive Board of the Stove Mounters' International Union urge the adoption of this resolution in the convention.

Stove Mounters' Application for Extension of Jurisdiction

Resolution No. 18—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

We believe that the jurisdiction stated in our constitution is incomplete; be it

RESOLVED, That Section 2, Article 1, be amended to read as follows; its jurisdiction shall consist of and include all workmen engaged in mounting, assembling, fabricating and processing of stoves, and all cooking and heating and all refrigeration appliances such as: Mounters of Steel and Malleable Ranges, Electric Ranges, Portable and Flush Electric Heaters, Gasoline Stoves, Wire Racks, and Broiler Baskets, Oil Burners, Marine Ranges, Camp Stoves, Stokers, Refrigerators, and Cool-

ers, and Parts pertaining thereto, Drillers, Riveters, Machine and Bench Hands, White Metal Workers Repairmen, Cutters, Punchers, and Breakers, Press Hands, Pattern Fitters, and Filers, Manifold Fitters and Testers, Gaters and all Porcelain Enamellers, and such general workmen that are engaged in the various departments outside the Foundry Direct.

We earnestly urge the adoption of this resolution, so that the progress of this organization will not be retarded, and that we can meet the opposition, the CIO and maintain the A. F. of L. Organization

Stove Mounters' Application for Change of Title

Resolution No. 19—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Stove Mounters' International Union has asked for a Change of Title at a previous convention and the change not granted due to the wording processors, we have therefore amended the Title to which we seek permission of change; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. convention grant a change in our title to read as follows:

Allied Stove Mounters' and Porcelain Enamel Processors International Union of N. A.

Our 24th Convention held in St. Louis, Mo., July, 1938, adopted this resolution as to change of title and earnestly requests the A. F. of L. Convention to grant this change.

These resolutions, introduced by the delegates representing the Stove Mounters' International Union, call for a definition and enlargement of jurisdiction, and for a change in the title of their organization.

Your committee is favorably impressed with the objectives sought, which do not seem to be an extension of jurisdiction which would be an invasion of the jurisdiction established for other organizations. But your committee is of the opinion that the object of these three resolutions, instead of being acted upon by this convention should be referred to the Executive Council so that any other interested organization may have full opportunity of being heard.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Provision for Legislative Representatives of Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 22—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present national administration has approved a policy of collective bar-

gaining between employers and employees and is fostering the principle of selective representation; and

WHEREAS, The organized employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad have found it necessary because of their geographical location a long way from the United States to send selected representatives to Washington each year for legislative purposes; and

WHEREAS, Such representatives have always been financed by the Panama Canal Metal Trades Council, the government incurring no expense through such procedure; and

WHEREAS, The Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912 specifically gives the federal employees the right to representation before Congress either as an individual or as a group representative without reduction in compensation or position; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor make every effort through the Department of Labor and the office of the Secretary of War to provide that the chosen representatives of organized labor be allowed to proceed to Washington under instructions regardless of position, leave, or quarters status.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 23 and 26, which are as follows:

Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act

Resolution No. 23—By Delegates Fred W. Baer, John P. Redmond, James A. Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters.

WHEREAS, Through the efforts of the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois, which is comprised of locals affiliated with the International Association of Fire Fighters in Illinois, and the assistance of the International Association of Fire Fighters, a law was passed by the Illinois Legislature in June, 1937, which is known as the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Law; and

WHEREAS, The purpose of this Minimum Wage Law was to establish a minimum wage of \$150 per month for firemen in cities, villages and incorporated towns of a population of 10,000 to 25,000 in the state of Illinois; and a minimum wage of \$175 per month for firemen in cities of between 25,000 and 150,000 population; and

WHEREAS, After said Minimum Wage Law had been passed and became law, the constitutionality of the law was challenged by court action on the part of certain cities in the state of Illinois, as a result of which court action was taken, and the constitutionality of the law was upheld by the Illinois State Supreme Court, in December, 1937; and

WHEREAS, Following this decision by the Illinois Supreme Court, a rehearing of the case was asked by certain municipalities,

which are members of the Illinois Municipal League; and

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of Illinois granted such re-hearing and on June 22, 1938, such Supreme Court reversed its former decision, and handed down a decision holding the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Law to be unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, In this last described action, the Illinois Supreme Court did not rule upon the question properly before it,—namely, the police power of the State of Illinois and the power of the Legislature to legislate upon the wages and hours of public servants, but seems to have ruled upon a question which was not and could not properly be before the Court,—namely, the ability of municipalities to pay certain salaries or wages; and

WHEREAS, This last decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in this matter, by inference, clouds the constitutionality of all acts of the Illinois Legislature relative to wages and working conditions, thus doing untold harm to the cause of labor in the state of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The delegates to the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois in convention, and the delegates to the International Association of Fire Fighters convention in Atlanta have endorsed the request of the members of the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois that the American Federation of Labor be solicited to render all possible assistance, legal and moral, to the end that a further hearing be held by the Illinois Supreme Court in the matter of the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, assembled at its fifty-eighth convention, in the City of Houston, Texas, does hereby endorse the program of the International and its affiliated state body, the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois, in their efforts to secure a re-hearing by the Supreme Court of Illinois, in the matter of the decision of said Supreme Court on June 22, 1938, which held the Illinois Firemen's Wage Act to be unconstitutional; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates here assembled, at the fifty-eighth convention of the American Federation of Labor, do instruct the executive officers and the component parts of the American Federation of Labor to use every reasonable means to secure a re-hearing in the matter of the aforementioned decision of the Illinois State Supreme Court.

Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act

Resolution No. 26—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of Illinois upheld the validity of the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act in a decision handed down on December 22, 1937; and

WHEREAS, In response to a petition from certain municipalities, Members of the Illinois Municipal League, this Court granted a rehearing of the case after which, on June 22, 1938, the Court reversed itself and handed

down a decision holding the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act to be unconstitutional; and

WHEREAS, In this last described action the Illinois Supreme Court did not rule upon the question properly before it, namely: The police power of the State of Illinois and the power of the legislature to legislate upon the wages and hours of public servants, but seems to have ruled upon a question which was not and could not properly be before the Court, namely: The ability of Municipalities to pay certain salaries or wages; and

WHEREAS, This last decision of the Illinois Supreme Court in this matter, by inference, clouds the constitutionality of all acts of the Illinois legislature relative to wages and working conditions, thus doing untold harm to the cause of labor in the State of Illinois; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of the Associated Fire Fighters of Illinois, in Convention assembled at Maywood, Illinois, on this the second day of August, 1935, do hereby earnestly solicit the assistance and co-operation of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the International Association of Fire Fighters and the American Federation of Labor to the end that a further hearing may be had before the Illinois Supreme Court in the matter of the Illinois Firemen's Minimum Wage Act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be forwarded to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

These resolutions refer to a decision of the Supreme Court of Illinois reversing a previous decision, but held that the minimum wage law as applied to Firefighters was constitutional.

The resolutions call for moral support to the Firefighters in securing a re-hearing and a reversal of this decision.

Your committee is of the opinion that a reversal of the last decision is essential, for should it stand it may be used as a guide by other State Supreme Courts to handicap the proper and legitimate efforts of the Firefighters to be protected by state minimum wage laws.

Several states have already enacted similar legislation to that which was adopted by the Illinois Legislature without any question of constitutionality being raised by municipalities; but it might be an inducement for such action if the Illinois decision is not energetically appealed from by the Firefighters and the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

Your committee in recommending the adoption of these resolutions voices its approval of the steps already taken by the Firefighters and the Illinois State Federation of La-

bor, so that Firefighters as well as other municipal employes may receive the protection of the minimum wage legislation.

We further recommend that this convention approve the action taken by the Firefighters and the Illinois State Federation of Labor to have the decision under consideration reheard and vacated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938

(Pages 153-156, Executive Council's Report.)

This portion of the Executive Council's report refers to the legislative experiences following the introduction of the Wages-Hours Bill S. 2475 by Senator Black, May 24, 1937, and the later introduction of a Wages-Hours Bill by the American Federation of Labor which provided for a national minimum wage, a national maximum hour, and a simple form of administration. In voicing his opinion in support of the Federation bill, President Green said, in part:

"We are unalterably opposed to a complex system of Federal wage and hour regulations and their administration by a new Federal board, as contemplated by the Black-Connelly Bill. Labor, industry and the public are fed up with Federal boards. We have had extremely disappointing and disillusioning experiences with the National Labor Relations Board. Nor do we believe that the creation of a Federal Administrator with district wage boards under him would serve any purpose but to complicate and confuse enforcement of any wage and hour measure."

The Congressional Record indicates that the Wage-Hour Bill as originally passed in the Senate and in the House, underwent great changes when these measures went to the conference committee. To an exceptional extent new legislation was written into the Bill by the conference committee, at a time when the members desired adjournment so that they could return to their districts for the primary election, made discussion of the conference committee's report objectionable to the majority of both branches of Congress.

The measure as enacted provides for two outstanding positions taken by the American Federation of Labor—a national minimum wage, and a national maximum hour.

Unfortunately the Bill as shaped by the conference committee contains many additional provisions, some of which are defi-

nately objectionable. These require immediate amendment.

The Executive Council's report reminds us that we should be opposed to that portion of Section 14 of the Act which authorizes the administrator to determine the ratio of apprentices and the length of service.

Your committee calls attention to the fact that nowhere in the law is the term "apprentice" or "learner" defined; so far as the law is concerned the administrator being made responsible for such definition.

All well established apprentice systems have been the result of long time experience, negotiation and agreement between employers and the representatives of organized employees.

Your committee is of the opinion that the present administrator will administer Section 14 with judgment and understanding, but this does not alter the fact that Section 14 in its present form is not only unwise and disruptive, but definitely dangerous to the subject of apprenticeship, which has received so much attention by the American Federation of Labor from the beginning.

What your committee reports relative to apprentices, holds equally true of the so-called learners, and physically or mentally deficient.

Paragraph (c) Section 8 of the law provides for more than a single minimum wage rate. It authorizes the recognition of classifications in any industry, so that labor will be classified into various classifications, which may be given a minimum lower than 40 cents per hour.

As a matter of principle your committee is opposed to any authority being established under the Government which will relegate labor to various classifications. We do not believe that the day has come when labor will submit to being classified by law or by administration. Unquestionably this section of the Act requires drastic amendment.

Furthermore your committee finds that in harmony with some recent State legislation an extraordinary authority is given to the administrator for the control of industry committees to be set up under the Act. The industry committees to be appointed by the administrator are charged with the responsibility of making recommendations for their industry to the administrator which will be the basis for the administrator's decision as

to the minimum wage rate in the industry.

The Act provides, in Paragraph (d) Section 8 as follows:

"If the administrator disapproves such recommendations, he shall refer the matter to such committee, or to another industry committee for such industry (which he may appoint for such purpose) for further consideration and recommendations."

It is the conviction of your committee that this provision largely destroys the value of industry committees. It makes puppets of them and subjugates them to the absolute wish and the will of the administrator.

There are other provisions in the Act which were written in by the conference committee which require careful study before their full import can be made clear. These your committee will not attempt to analyze, believing that the Act as a whole requires most careful and calm study.

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council be instructed to most carefully study and examine this Act so that the necessary amendments may be prepared.

Your committee is further of the opinion that it is advisable that such amendments be prepared so that they may be introduced when Congress convenes so that Congressmen and Senators from the beginning of the session will be acquainted with the position which the American Federation of Labor has taken relative to the urgent necessity for amending The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Discrimination Against Workers on Account of Race, Color or Creed

Resolution No. 25—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, In the face of increasing threats of reaction and fascism, the policy of disunity caused by discrimination on account of race, color, creed or political affiliation weakens the forces of labor and labor's bargaining power; and

WHEREAS, Such discrimination in hotels, parks, playgrounds, restaurants, public places and the like as practiced against persons on account of race, color or creed, throughout the United States, is in violation of the principle and spirit of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the

United States Constitution and the Civil Rights Laws of most States, and does not make for unity; and

WHEREAS, Such discrimination is an un-American practice, that in a large measure is carried out by workers against other workers, workers as agents of employers, workers who may be members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, playing into the hands of reaction; and

WHEREAS, On page three of the International Constitution in the first paragraph of the Preamble it is pointed out: "Recognizing the fact that organizing is necessary for the amelioration and final emancipation of labor, therefore, we have organized the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America," a principle which can't be carried out without unity of all workers regardless of race, color, creed or political affiliation, as bulwark against the open-shoppers, reaction and the enemies of all labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-ninth Biennial Convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America go on record for the enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution and the Civil Rights Laws of the State; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record condemning the practice of discrimination against persons on account of race, creed or color in hotels, parks, playgrounds, restaurants, and public places; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this International Union immediately set up machinery to educate the members of our International Union against such practice; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record condemning any member of the International Union guilty of being a party to discrimination, either as direct agent, or witness, in behalf of employers and owners who do so discriminate—in violation of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution and Civil Rights Laws of the States—against persons and workers on account of race, color, or creed, and that any one found guilty will be subject to fine by the International Union and publicized in the International magazine; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That copies of this resolution be sent for adoption to the American Federation of Labor Convention and the Committee for Industrial Organization and released to the Nation's press and published in the International magazine.

Your committee finds that this resolution is an instruction to the officers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America, given to them by their last convention, to forward copies of the resolution to

the American Federation of Labor Convention and the Committee for Industrial Organization.

Inasmuch as the resolution is instructions to the officers of the above named organization, your committee believes that no action is required by this convention on this resolution and so recommends.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Security Protection for Seamen

Resolution No. 54—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Every State in this Union now has an Act on its statute books for unemployment compensation and old-age pension; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Social Security Act protects practically all workers in the United States except seamen; and

WHEREAS, The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America will submit a suitable bill to the next Congress under the provisions of which all seamen will be protected under the Social Security Act; therefore, be it.

RESOLVED, That this Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record urging passage of such a bill, and instructing the Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to work for the same.

This resolution seeks to bring all seafaring trades under the Federal Social Security Act.

Your Committee is of the opinion that all of the seafaring trades should be covered, and therefore recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Amendment to Social Security Act to Reimburse Undertakers

Resolution No. 55—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveliski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Under the present Social Security Act Laws, claims at death cannot be paid where the deceased died intestate or without near relatives, unless letters of Administration are taken out, which is expensive; and

WHEREAS, In most States morticians can present bills for burial to banks and receive payments, without letters of Administration or any red tape; therefore, be it

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

RESOLVED, That the 29th General Convention of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees International Alliance & Bartenders' International League of America call the attention of the American Federation of Labor to this injustice in the Social Security Act and ask the A. F. of L. convention to instruct their legislative agents to draft an amendment to the Social Security Act, that would permit Morticians to present and be paid from the Social Security Funds which had accrued to the deceased the amount due applied on the funeral expenses; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates from our International Union to the American Federation of Labor convention be and are hereby instructed to draft the necessary resolution to be presented to the A. F. of L. Convention that will procure the results as exemplified in the preceding paragraph.

The subject involved in this resolution is one that should receive careful attention by the American Federation of Labor, and in order that it may be assured of such study, it is recommended that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security appointed by President Green and the Executive Council, for its consideration and recommendation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Marine Hospital at Port of Los Angeles

Resolution No. 57—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The late Congressman Charles Colden had introduced a bill in Congress to have appropriations made for establishing a marine hospital in the Port of Los Angeles; and

WHEREAS, The Seventy-Fifth Congress of the United States made no final disposition of this bill; and

WHEREAS, All seafaring organizations are vitally interested in having such marine hospital established; and

WHEREAS, The hospitalization for seafaring men at the present time is inadequate on the Pacific Coast; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record in favor of such hospital in the vicinity of Los Angeles harbor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Houston, October, 1938, instruct the Executive Council and Legislative Committee to resubmit a bill having for its purpose the establishment of a marine hospital in the vicinity of Los Angeles, second largest port in the United States.

A resolution of similar import was introduced in the last convention of the American Federation of Labor and approved.

Your committee therefore recommends that the action of the previous convention be reaffirmed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

American Legion

President Green: We will now interrupt the report of the committee for the purpose of receiving a distinguished visitor, the National Commander of the American Legion. He is here as our guest. I ask the committee to escort him to the platform.

(The committee complied with President Green's request.)

President Green: I know I voice your sentiments when I say that we appreciate more than words can express the visit of the Commander of the American Legion to this convention. He accepted the invitation and traveled all the way from Seattle, Washington, in response to that invitation for the purpose of meeting you, greeting you, and bringing to you his message.

Perhaps I might explain for the benefit of those who do not know, that it has been a custom for the Commander of the American Legion, or his representative, to meet and greet the officers and delegates in attendance at our annual conventions, and in reciprocal fashion the President of the American Federation of Labor or his associate representative has responded to the invitation extended to attend and address conventions of the American Legion.

We have strengthened the bonds of friendship and goodwill between these two great organizations.

I recall with a feeling of distinct pleasure my attendance at the large and impressive convention of the American Legion held in New York one year ago. It was a matter of great regret that I could not respond to the invitation extended me to appear on your behalf at the convention of the American Legion which was held in Los Angeles just a week or ten days ago. However, I sent a message.

Now, the newly elected Commander of the American Legion is here. I take great pleasure in presenting him to you this morning. I know you will welcome him as our guest and that you will deeply appreciate the fine message he will bring to us.

I present to you Stephen A. Chadwick,

newly elected Commander of the American Legion.

MR. STEPHEN A. CHADWICK
(National Commander, American Legion)

President Green, and Ladies and Gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor:

The American Legion, whose members I have the honor this year to command, is again, as for many years past, pleased through me, to extend to the officers and men and women of this great convention, this distinctly American body which is the American Federation of Labor, its warm and cordial greetings.

We were disappointed in President Green not being able to appear at Los Angeles, but we look forward to your being with us next year in what may be the greatest convention the American Legion has ever held, in Chicago.

Shoulder to shoulder, your Federation and our Legion have taken their stand for justice, freedom, and democracy. We have equally affirmed, and will ever re-affirm, our position that America's problems can be met with an American approach and settled in an American and democratic way.

Our fathers, in varying generations, left the oppression, the intolerance, the suspicion, the regimentation, the dictation of mind and conscience, that characterized the old world. They turned their eyes westward to establish on this continent a new order. The spirit of progress—the spirit of free men, dictated that it should not alone be a new order, but a new nation.

Brave men, unselfish men, men who knew the dire consequences of failure, but knew also the everlasting glory and value of success, signed their names to what has become an imperishable document,—our Declaration of Independence. And they pledged to the establishment of the new nation, their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

With the War of the Revolution successfully won, wise men, students of history, practical visionaries, seeking to perpetuate and perhaps immortalize the existing liberties accomplished by the Revolution—acting as the chosen representatives of all of the people of the states, with the exception of one—promulgated a Constitution for the government of the new republic.

The rights of men there recognized are not transitory. They are not of passing import. They are as fundamental today as they were in 1787, as undying as when they found expression in the Sermon on the Mount. Your right to assemble in this convention, your right to protest, your right to petition, your right to speak, whether as an individual or as a Federation, is recognized in and sustained by the Constitution of the United States of America. We of the Legion are sworn to uphold and defend it. The hope of Labor is contained in respect for and support of it. Our two great organizations meet before and under the Constitution of the United States, on common ground.

You are aware, as we are aware, of those movements abroad on earth today which would tear down and bring into derision the milestones of human progress—those milestones which, as a people, we should venerate. Ignorant worshippers of foreign shrines, paid hirelings of alien dictatorships, venal fomenters of hate and malice, actuated by what are, to me, unfathomable motives, abuse our guaranteed liberties by their advocacy of various destructive "isms."

You have declared yourselves, the Legion has declared itself, on this subject. Your existence as Organized Labor, our existence as organized veterans; your right as individuals to aspire to better your condition; my right to aspire to better mine; your right to worship your God as you see fit, and my right to worship as I see fit—all these would be lost, if any of these foreign forms were ever suffered to supplant our Constitutional democracy.

We of the Legion—your veterans of 1917 and 1918—sought to take the fine, free spirit of America to Europe. We carried it with us in our war service. We carried it before us in the objectives declared by our then great President—Woodrow Wilson.

Europe was not ready to accept it. We came home, however, conscious of the duty to preserve in our own land, at all costs, the fine values inherent in our American system. We have reasoned, and have found support for it in our experience, that the strength of free government must exist in reason; that all children should receive an education from instructors who are intelligent enough to appreciate and sympathetically interpret the genius of our free, democratic system of government.

We do not accord to so-called academic freedom the right to indoctrinate and subvert the adolescent mind. Free education we support. Fair comparison we invite, but malicious subversion we condemn.

And, I say, let those who object to that statement identify themselves. They are the enemies, not alone of your children and mine, but they are the enemies of generations of what we hope may be free men and free women, yet unborn.

We believe our American progress and its progress worth our protection. We believe our children should be taught their cost in blood and treasure, and should be willing to protect them with their lives, if need be. In our fight for a military and naval establishment sufficient to cope with any emergency, we have had the benefit of your support. We expect it. Recent developments in Europe have confirmed this wisdom of our course, and I feel that today many, who a few short months ago were complaining of our insistence upon an adequate national defense, have seen the light, and are now in accord with us.

We of the Legion have recognized that wars will never again be the contests alone of Armies and Navies—whole Nations are involved—men, women, and children, the Armed Forces, industry and those who labor in industry—no one can, or should, escape the high

and serious responsibilities which come with common danger.

We have carried this thought to the Congress to the end that the Principle of Universal Service may be enacted into law. The means we leave to the wisdom of our chosen representatives. To the principle we invite your support.

You of the American Federation of Labor have your work to do. It will be unending. For you, as an organization, are in tune with human progress, and man must ever work, if he would eat. It is nature's way. There is no other way.

In the pursuit of the remedy, or remedies, for unemployment, we of the Legion are as interested as you are. We are men and women, the great majority of us in the prime of life. We have sons and daughters, seeking opportunity. Unemployment is not your problem, alone. It is our problem. It is the problem of the Nation, and to its solution, we pledge you our best thoughts and endeavor.

Ours is an organization differing from yours. Ours is a last man's organization. A few short years, and The American Legion with its million men and women of today, will be no more. We want you and your component organizations to know us. We want your aid in our endeavors, your sympathy, your encouragement. We are seeking to build a memorial in the hearts and minds of the people of America—a memorial that will survive us. We live in the hope that it may some day be said of The American Legion—"They returned from foreign shores. They had a basis of comparison. They taught us why we should love our country. They taught us why we should protect it. They contributed to its life. They prolonged its life into the years."

I appreciate sincerely the privilege of representing my great organization, the American Legion, before the great organization of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: It seems fitting and appropriate that I should make just a brief response to the impressive address delivered by Commander Chadwick this morning. His reference to the Constitution of the United States awakens within our minds a deep sense of appreciation of the value of freedom and liberty and of justice. We have learned much during the last few years by comparison. We have had an opportunity to behold the administration of the totalitarian state. We have observed with feelings of deep regret that the great democratic organizations of labor in these totalitarian states were the first to be attacked and were the first wiped out. The properties of these organizations were seized and confiscated. The leaders disappeared over night into the mist and darkness of uncertainty, we know not where. Because of that development in the control of dictatorships

abroad we here in America possess a new sense of value of the meaning of the Constitution of the United States, with its guarantees of liberty, justice and protection. And because as the years go by and the days come and go, we evaluate highly these priceless heritages left us, I want to assure the Commander of the American Legion, and through him to his splendid membership, of the unswerving, undying devotion of the hosts represented by the American Federation of Labor to our free democratic institutions, our own America.

We will stand in defense of our free democratic government, of our Constitution, of Americanism, and against every form of ism, let it be Fascism, Communism, or Nazism, and only for Americanism here in the United States. It occurs to me that the people of America can breathe with a feeling of relief when they realize that there are two great democratic organizations in America standing as a bulwark and as a barrier against the invasion of these subversive influences against our national life. We wish to strengthen the bonds of fraternity and understanding and good will between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion.

Commander Chadwick, please carry back to your associates the greetings of the 5,000,000 members of the American Federation of Labor. We thank you from the bottom of our hearts for your visit here this morning and for the impressive address which you have delivered.

I am asking this convention to settle at this time the procedure which we shall follow tomorrow. You recall that at the opening of our convention Chairman Stokes, of the Committee on Arrangements, announced that the committee had planned a trip for the delegates and visitors in attendance at this convention to San Jacinto tomorrow. Refreshments and entertainment are provided for the delegates tomorrow at this historic place. It occurred to all of us that we could respond to this very kind invitation, and we decided to do so, because in accepting the hospitality of the Local Committee tomorrow and recessing for a period of time, we can also observe a national holiday. As you know, tomorrow is a national holiday, Columbus Day. The banks and Government offices will all be closed in observance of this holiday. Now the question is, shall we work tomorrow forenoon and recess for the afternoon, making the trip to San Jacinto in ac-

cordance with the Local Committee's arrangements? There are two things we can do. One is to adjourn tonight and recess until Thursday morning, and take the whole day, or adjourn until tomorrow morning, meet here until noon, then recess for the afternoon and meet again on Thursday morning. I hesitate to express an opinion or suggest what course you should pursue, but the committee wishes to know so that they can complete their arrangements.

Delegate Bugnizet, Electrical Workers: I move that tomorrow at the adjournment of the morning session we recess until Thursday morning.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

President Green: The Chair will now announce, in accordance with the decision of our convention, that when we adjourn tomorrow at noon it will be until Thursday morning. I will now call upon the Chairman of the Local Committee on Arrangements to tell you about the trip and the accommodations that have been made to convey you to San Jacinto, and just where you can meet the committee for the purpose of making the trip.

Chairman Stokes: We will have most of you provided with private transportation by your local unions, but we have adequate transportation for those of you who do not go in the conveyances provided by your local unions. We will arrange to pick you up in front of the Coliseum immediately after the noon adjournment. We believe you will be interested in that historic battlefield. We are very proud of the monument erected in memory of that battle. We will have our transportation for you in front of the Coliseum here at the adjournment tomorrow noon.

On Thursday our Ladies' Committee would like to take as many of the ladies as possible on the trip around town.

I regret very much that any printed matter has been distributed in this hall without a label. I don't know who is to blame for it, but I take the blame as the committee chairman, and I promise you that no more literature will be distributed that does not bear the union label.

Chairman Stokes announced that members of the Typographical Union and visitors would be entertained in Room A on the mezzanine floor of the Coliseum immediately after the morning session.

Presentation to Fraternal Delegates

President Green: Now it becomes our duty, yours and mine, to present to our fraternal delegates and their good wives your token, our token of friendship and good will. It is a pleasant duty we are called upon to perform; it makes us very happy; and we want to make these, our dear friends, our visitors, happy. We want them to carry back to their homes a token of the friendship and good will of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention and of all those you represent. We are all pleased over the development which has taken place between the British Trades Union Congress and the American Federation of Labor. We have strengthened these bonds of friendship each year. The fraternal delegates, coming to us each year, make their contributions toward the establishment and maintenance of understanding, good will and friendship.

Now I am going to present to each of these, our friends and visitors from Great Britain and Canada, a gift which is your gift, presented to them with your assurance of continued friendship, friendly interest and good will. We are going to ask them to carry back to their homes the assurance of our deep and abiding friendship and good will.

Now, first of all, I am going to present to Fraternal Delegate Joseph Jones, President of the Federation of Miners of Great Britain, a beautiful engraved gold watch and chain, with a knife at the end of it, and on the back of it is engraved, "Presented to Joseph Jones by the American Federation of Labor on October 11, 1938." And here, Brother Jones, is this token of friendship for you. When you look at it, think of the American Federation of Labor and your friends. It carries with it more than the intrinsic value you see here in this beautiful present.

Fraternal Delegate Jones: Mr. President, officers of the American Federation of Labor, and friends—I must now gratefully acknowledge this further tangible expression of your unstinted kindness and of your boundless generosity. We shall leave this country encased in our minds the happiest recollections of our stay with you. And as we look at this gift from time to time, probably when we are inclined to lose faith in mankind, we will remember our stay with you and gather inspiration by living again this happy occasion; then we shall fold back

these memories again in the casket to remain until the end of our days.

Now, as to your future work, may I take this opportunity to express the sincere wish that your combined efforts may be crowned with success, that you may become in this country glorious embassies and that, above all, you will keep flying the flag of trade unionism and democratic liberty. And then, lastly, that you will emerge successful from the present internal difficulties, that you will reach that happy time when adjustments shall be reached with the name of the American Federation of Labor untarnished and with the strength and vigor and influence of your organization undiminished.

President Green: Now, we have a gift for Mrs. Jones. If I had my way I think I would discriminate a little in favor of Mrs. Jones. I think the committee did that, because here we have a beautiful diamond-studded watch which you are presenting, through me, to the good wife of Fraternal Delegate Jones. I present this watch to you, Mrs. Jones.

She is going to make a little speech, and that will repay you.

Mrs. Jones: Mr. President and Friends—I can only say "Thank you" for this splendid gift and also for the beautiful memories I have here. I have had a lovely time. Thank you very much.

President Green: Now we have a similar gift for Fraternal Delegate Stephenson. It is your present to him. Like that given Fraternal Delegate Jones, it is a gold watch and chain with a knife attached, and on the back is this engraving, "Presented to J. W. Stephenson by the American Federation of Labor, October 11, 1938."

I present this to you, Brother Stephenson, as your gift from these splendid men and women whom you have met here. It is a token of friendship and goodwill.

Fraternal Delegate Stephenson: President Green, Ladies and Gentlemen—Words are all too inadequate to express one's feelings on an occasion of this sort. In accepting your gift I want to say that on my side of the broad Atlantic we have an old tradition; that is, that we should never accept an edged tool as a gift from anyone without paying for it. And so I am proposing to pay your President with a British coin. I feel like my colleague, Jones, that nothing can break the harmony, the concord and the goodwill that has been

established between the British trade union movement and the American Federation of Labor. I believe that is true, because we are built on fundamentals that are immovable and eternal in the general scheme of things.

My stay here has been exceedingly pleasant. It has been instructive, and I shall go back to my work on the other side feeling invigorated and inspired because of the many contacts I have made here.

My wife is shaking in her chair, and I want to take this opportunity of saying on her behalf to both ladies and gentlemen how very much we appreciate your courtesy. We hope from time to time in some small way to demonstrate our lasting appreciation of all that you have done for us while we have been here.

Thank you.

President Green: Well, he made good. He has given me a coin. I shall always keep that as a remembrance of this delightful occasion and of their visit.

Now we have a wrist watch for Mrs. Stephenson similar to that which you have presented to Mrs. Jones, and as before, the committee has discriminated in favor of beauty and grace and attractiveness. There are no diamonds in the watches given to Brother Jones or Brother Stephenson, but there are diamonds in these gifts to the ladies.

Mrs. Stephenson, we always present these gifts conditionally, and the condition is that the recipient must make a speech. Now, here is your gift. It represents the voluntary expression of these splendid men and women here. Through this watch they desire to express their friendship, their goodwill and their appreciation of your visit. Accept it from them and keep it as a token of your visit to America.

Mrs. Stephenson: All I wish to say is thank you all very much indeed.

President Green: Now we have a watch just like those we gave to the fraternal delegates from Great Britain for the fraternal delegate from Canada, Brother Russell. Here it is, in gold, suitably engraved. I present it in the name of and on behalf of the officers and delegates in attendance at this convention.

We have also a gift for his wife who is home in Canada. We did not forget her. Here, Brother Russell, is a wrist watch for Mrs. Russell, similar to those given to the

good ladies from Great Britain. We hope you will take it home and when a favorable opportunity presents itself, give it to your wife, when she is in good humor.

Fraternal Delegate Russell: President Green, members of the Executive, delegates, guests and friends—On behalf of the organized labor movement of Canada I accept this beautiful gift. I shall wear it during the balance of my life, and, in the language of a linotype operator, when I have lifted my last take off the hook and the Creator has written "30" on it, I shall pass it on to my son.

On behalf of Mrs. Russell I want to extend my thanks to you for this beautiful gift. In conclusion let me say to you, President Green, Secretary Morrison, members of the executive, and delegates, my colleagues from Great Britain and friends, that I thank you for your kindness and courtesy to me during this convention, and I shall take back to Canada the memories of a most pleasant visit.

President Green: Just this one word in conclusion. We supplement the presentation of these beautiful gifts with an expression of appreciation of the visit of the fraternal delegates with us at this convention. We trust their entire visit will be a happy one, that they will carry back to their homes the most pleasant memories of a delightful stay with us here in the United States of America. We ask them to remain with us as long as they can, and we wish for them a happy and safe return to their homeland.

Now may I announce that all of this has been made possible through the service of our splendid Goodwill Committee, Chairman Albert Adamski and his associate delegate, Frank Weikel. These men appointed by the Chair made it possible for these gifts to be presented to our fraternal delegates. I present Chairman Adamski to you so you will know him.

Delegate Adamski, Garment Workers: Mr. President and fellow delegates, your committee wishes to thank you. You made it possible, and not the committee.

President Green: Now I will present to you his colleague, Frank Weikel. Some day he will be about the size of Adam. Here he comes, all blushing because he has to face you—Frank Weikel. Tell them how you got the money out of their pockets.

Delegate Weikel: Well, it was a tough job

getting the money, but we want to thank everybody for their generous contributions.

President Green: Now, after that very pleasant experience we will proceed to the regular order of business. The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey of the Committee on Resolutions.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Secretary Frey continued the report as follows:

Labor's Non-Partisan League

Resolution No. 24—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Kovelski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America,

WHEREAS, Two preceding General Conventions of our International have recorded themselves as favoring participation of labor in political action; and

WHEREAS, Labor's Non-Partisan League has established itself as the political center through which labor can express itself; and

WHEREAS, Labor's Non-Partisan League has been instrumental in these sections of the country and particularly in Washington to secure the passage of legislation favorable to labor, has given active aid and support to the Roosevelt New Deal Government which resulted in the adoption of laws favorable to labor; and

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has gone on record withdrawing from Labor's Non-Partisan League, a move which definitely plays into the hands of the reactionaries and endangers the gains made by Labor in the recent period; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 29th General Convention records itself as definitely in favor of affiliating with Labor's Non-Partisan League and requesting the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to immediately rescind its action in withdrawing from Labor's Non-Partisan League and arrange a conference with the League for the purpose of working out a joint program of political action; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event the Executive Council fails to take such action, that the delegates of our International Union be instructed to introduce this Resolution before the General Convention of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That Local Unions be encouraged to affiliate with Labor's Non-Partisan League wherever such organizations exist.

This resolution first of all, is a direction to the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders Interna-

tional League of America to affiliate itself with Labor's Non-Partisan League.

It is not within the purview of the American Federation of Labor to either comment or pass judgment on the direction given to any international by a convention of its own.

The resolution would seem to indicate that the American Federation of Labor has been in affiliation with Labor's Non-Partisan League, and based upon an alleged withdrawal from said League, would have this convention reaffirm a former affiliation, and which, as a matter of fact, never existed.

The resolution therefore being based upon erroneous predication, is not properly before this convention for consideration and action. Nevertheless, the resolution does question the validity of the non-partisan political policy heretofore followed by the American Federation of Labor.

On this subject your committee calls attention to the urgent necessity that our trade union movement keep itself free from partisan political commitments or alliance with any outside political body, no matter what its character may be. Your committee is of the opinion that Labor's Non-Partisan League is as dual to the nonpartisan policy of the American Federation of Labor as the Committee for Industrial Organization is dual to our movement.

Your committee therefore recommends non-concurrence with the resolution.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Meany, of the New York State Federation of Labor.

Delegate Meany: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I feel that it is appropriate on the submission of this report to give some thought to the experience of the New York State Federation of Labor with Labor's Non-Partisan League. The New York State branch of Labor's Non-Partisan League is known as the American Labor Party. It is the New York state branch of the League, officially so, and we feel that it is of interest to this convention to hear of the experience of the New York State Federation of Labor with this branch of Labor's Non-Partisan League. The American Federation of Labor, according to the record, on forty-five occasions during its last fifty-seven conventions has reiterated the non-partisan policy, the policy that labor should be neutral in so far as party politics are concerned. On twelve

of these forty-five occasions the reaffirmation of that policy took the form of a direct refusal to sponsor or inaugurate or approve of the formation of a labor party, these actions going back as far as 1885, and as recent as 1935. I am sure that the delegates to this convention and to all previous conventions have given a great deal of thought to this non-partisan policy, but I want to assure you that if there was any necessity of proving that the non-partisan policy of the American Federation of Labor was a sound policy, we have that proof in New York state, because we are not dealing with an abstract theory or with an academic problem of labor participation in politics.

We have labor participating in politics through a Labor Party controlled by John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman's Non-Partisan League, and we know what it is to contend with labor in politics. Nothing that has happened in the previous conventions of the American Federation of Labor present such substantial proof that there should not be a labor party as what has happened in New York state, where a labor party is in existence.

In the legislative field, which is the particular job of the State Federation of Labor, given to it by the American Federation of Labor, we have had our experiences. I am sure you all know that labor legislation—and I know this is true in our state—did not come from the creative genius of the politician. Every bit of labor legislation on the statute books has come out of the rank and file meetings of labor. It was not created by the statesman or the politician or those who run political parties. In a good many cases they adopted the demand of labor organizations for remedial and social reforms, but in no case that I know of have the politicians invented the idea that labor should have this or that particular reform.

Under the system that the American Federation of Labor practices, the democratic system, labor legislation comes from the rank and file of the membership. We had experience in New York state where the American Labor Party deliberately and officially set out to thwart the thoughts of the rank and file of one of our American Federation of Labor unions. We have a bill before our state legislature which came from a member unit of the State Federation of Labor, was approved by the convention of the State Fed-

eration of Labor, went into the legislative halls, and passed one branch of the legislature unanimously. On the 12th day of March of this year Mr. Lee Pressman came into New York City and called a meeting of the CIO representatives and announced that they were opposed to this particular bill which came from the rank and file of organized labor, to give collective bargaining rights to city subway employees. The very next day, on the 13th of March, this labor party, this so-called American Labor Party, decided they were also opposed to that particular bill.

And without going into the details of their opposition may I say to you that it boiled right down to a very, very essential and necessary point in the question of politics.

The CIO union that was involved was contributing to the American Labor Party, and the leaders of the American Labor Party who used their influence to defeat this bill told me very frankly that the employees of the independent subway system of the city of New York could not have the benefit of collective bargaining by law because they were not contributing to the Labor Party. Is there any more contemptible or sordid reason that ever was used to turn down a labor proposition before the people of that or any other state?

So here we have a labor party telling labor itself, "You cannot have your legislation because you are not putting the money of your members into the treasury of the particular political party to which we belong."

On another occasion a bill which every union member should have been interested in was defeated in the State Legislature last year by the efforts of the American Labor Party. This bill was to stop the police from interfering with legitimate, decent and honest picketing, to stop the police from framing up pickets on phoney charges of disorderly conduct. That bill also passed one House and was defeated in the other House because the members of the American Labor Party who were there decided it was too important a bill to have put through under the sponsorship of another political party. So by using certain inside methods in the Rules Committee in the State Assembly they defeated that bill because it did not bear the name of a member of the American Labor Party.

That is the situation we find in New York State in regard to the question of non-partisan politics. I want to say now that the

American Federation of Labor in that state today is non-partisan and is going to stay non-partisan. We are going to support and are supporting people of all political parties on the basis of their labor record, and on the basis of their labor record alone. After all, I think it is important to consider the basic question of a labor party and a class party in this convention. I think it is more important, perhaps, than practical examples of labor being turned aside from its desires by labor politicians, to consider just what it means.

After all, we have got to stick to the principles under which this organization is founded, and any political activity in which we take part must be true to the first principles of this organization. It must be for the purpose of serving the membership and the workers of America, and must not by all means be for the purpose of allowing this movement to degenerate into a scramble for public office.

No action of this Federation or any other American institution can long continue unless it squares with the thinking and the ideals of the American people. Ask the CIO leaders, ask those who sponsored sit-down strikes why they have abandoned the sit-down strikes, and you will find it is because they did not square with the ideals and with the thinking of the American people. A labor party such as we see it in New York State is a class party, and there is no place in America for a party founded on class or caste lines.

So I say to you that on this report the New York State Federation of Labor and its convention in Buffalo a month ago decided unanimously, by unanimous vote of the largest delegation ever to attend a convention, to reaffirm their allegiance and adherence to the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor, and unanimously condemned the so-called American Labor Party and its anti-labor activities in the State of New York. We are going to carry out the letter of the American Federation of Labor, and the instructions contained in that letter of March 21st, we are going to carry out the policies of Gompers and not bow to any political boss, no matter what party label he may bear, even if it bears the honored and sacred name of labor.

I thank you.

Delegate Jerome Davis, American Federation of Teachers: Mr. President, I think it has

been the historic position of the American Federation of Labor to always support its friends and oppose its enemies. Therefore, where Labor's Non-Partisan League supports the friends of labor we should support those candidates. It seems to me it is unwise to make a blanket assertion that we would never support labor parties. It should be understood that where labor parties support candidates that are favorable to organized labor, we should co-operate and work for their election.

It is my understanding that in the state of Minnesota a Farmer-Labor Party elected both United States Senators and elected a Governor who was favorable to organized labor. The American Federation of Labor knows that if the forces of labor are divided, candidates are divided. When the Wages-Hours Bill was up for consideration in Congress, while labor was split no bill was enacted. When all ranks of labor supported a bill it was enacted into law, and it seems to me it should be understood that where Farmer-Labor parties, such as in Minnesota, are supporting candidates that are favorable to organized labor, they should be supported and we should co-operate with Labor's Non-Partisan League where they are supporting candidates favorable to labor.

In the state of Iowa the State Federation of Labor supported New Deal candidates, and nothing that we do here should be construed to oppose the New Deal or the President of the United States, who has done so much for organized labor throughout America.

I therefore wish to be recorded as emphasizing again our historic position that where Labor's Non-Partisan League supports candidates for labor, we should co-operate in helping elect them.

In the State of Connecticut, where I come from, Labor's Non-Partisan League is supporting Governor Cross. They are supporting candidates for Congress who have a record favorable to organized labor. Labor should be united in support of all candidates that support the American Federation of Labor and the principles for which we stand, and nothing that is said on the floor of this convention should be construed as against those champions of the New Deal who have stood and supported organized labor on every measure coming before the floor of Congress.

So I hope nothing that is said or done will be construed to mean that we cannot unitedly

support all candidates who, by their actions, have supported organized labor.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Zaritsky, of the United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union.

Delegate Zaritsky, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union: Mr. President and delegates—It seems to me that we have decided to indulge in singing a song of hatred on any and every opportunity. I am not here to propound the theories or the philosophy of the so-called Labor's Non-Partisan League.

I will not take issue with any delegate or officer of the American Federation of Labor on the genuineness of labor's Non-Partisan League. The point I wish to make here is that the American Labor Party in the City of New York is primarily and exclusively a local labor party, and the American Labor Party, being a local proposition, it has no place in the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor represents and embodies the activities of our great labor movement in every one of the 48 states, and it is not our business to attack a local situation.

And my advice to my good friend George Meany would have been—had I known that he was to speak on the matter—to leave the American Labor Party out of the consideration of this convention. But, since the matter has been taken up, let me say this to you, my friends: Those of you who come from New York City, those of you who come from any city or state near New York City, know too well of the political situation which existed in that city for decades and generations. For years and years the citizens and labor in the City of New York had suffered from the most corrupt city administrations that this country has ever known. Who does not know of the machinations of Tammany Hall? Who does not know of the measures of oppression applied by the chief of that corrupt party in New York City, a local party which was a disgrace to the great Democratic Party of our nation? And were it not for the campaign carried on by organized labor, and in the past three years by the joint efforts of labor through the American Labor Party, we still would have an administration in the City of New York replete with graft and corruption, such as we had for many years.

I am not going to discuss with any one, nor will I take issue with my good friend

Meany, as to the activities of the American Labor Party, nor of the disagreements between the American Labor Party leadership and some of the leadership of the State Federation of Labor. I am not here holding a brief for any party. If the American Labor Party has made an error, in the judgment of the State Federation of Labor and its officer, the answer is that they are human and will continue making mistakes.

One thing is certain, that the American Labor Party conducted a campaign in 1936 on a national scale in the City and State of New York, and in 1937 the American Labor Party was instrumental in the election of the great liberal American, Fiorella LaGuardia, as Mayor of New York City. Who can stand here and condemn the American Labor Party because some other elements have also joined that party and are supporting the party even though uninvited? Haven't we men in the ranks of our own American Federation of Labor who perhaps to some of you are not desirable? But we are a labor movement, we do not discriminate, we accept any and every one who contributes his share in his way to the wealth and the well being of the nation. Any one who wishes to contribute of his efforts to the labor movement is accepted by the labor movement, and the American Labor Party of New York, being a local organization, accepts any and every one who professes friendship and offers support to the cause of labor.

One year ago in the municipal campaign in New York, there was no division in the ranks of labor, with one minor exception. A small, insignificant group of has-beens organized themselves as the tail to the kite of the now-forgotten, disgraceful Tammany Hall clique, and they polled as many as 7,000 votes in the name of labor; but, let it be said to the glory and the credit of the American Federation of Labor unions in New York City, that labor was not misled by that group of forgotten men in the movement. Labor was united in 1937 in the political campaign, with the result that today New York City has an honest, friendly administration.

Why bring in all those thoughts and words which but create confusion in the minds of our people? Let me make my position clear. I am not an active member of the American Labor Party, but that is no reason for me to denounce them or discredit them. I will give credit to whom credit is due, and if you will

forget about Labor's Non-Partisan League, about which few of the American Labor Party members know anything, if you take into consideration that there is a group of workers of hundreds of thousands embracing many American Federation of Labor unions working successfully for clean government, cleaning house in the city and electing an administration that is friendly to labor, I think you will see it is a mistake and an error of judgment on the part of my friend to bring this issue here on the floor of this convention.

It is tragic that the house of labor nationally is divided. Let us not add to our misery by furthering the split by making the issues stronger and by singing the song of hate in every city, town and village in this country of ours.

My point I wish to make is this: Let the local labor movement fight out the issue of policy in their own communities and let us keep this convention of our American Federation of Labor out of local politics.

Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles City Central Labor Union:

I arise with all the temerity and proper humiliation of a one-lunger to express my opinion concerning the committee's report on the so-called Non-Partisan League. I listened attentively to the last speaker, and it occurred to me that he attempted to bring in some local matters of New York that I think are not germane. Our experience on the Pacific Coast with Labor's Non-Partisan League, so called, is entirely different from the political activities, ostensibly or truthfully, on the part of those who are supporting the trade union movement.

We have in California an experimental ground that is perhaps a little different from any other place in the United States. We find there it is easier to start new religions, new political parties, ham-and-egg campaigns and other strange things, than in any other part of the country. But the group that has banded together in California under the banner of Labor's Non-Partisan League, so called, is perhaps the most militant and active party of that kind in the state, that has a definite program to carry out. The report of the committee, as I understand, is to non-concur in the resolution as presented and then disclaim all interference in the internal work of national and international unions. But it does seem to me this Federation could perhaps make a stronger statement on this

subject that would react to the benefit of the American Federation of Labor and the trades union movement.

It seems to me that the international and national unions affiliated with this American Federation of Labor could well look upon the local communities of this country, because there is where working people live, and inquire into some of the activities of some of the representatives upon the pay rolls of the national unions and some of the representatives of their local unions. It seems to me this committee could deal with the activities of various Central Labor Councils scattered throughout the country in connection with the Non-Partisan League.

In California there are portions of the state where the trades union movement is compromising, I call it, with the CIO; there are places in the state where there is no compromise, and the Non-Partisan League has been seized upon in a combination between the leaders of the Communist Party on the Pacific Coast and certain men who hold positions of leadership in the American Federation of Labor; and, as a matter of policy, a matter of tactics, they have squeezed and pushed into the background, so far as public notice is concerned, the leaders of the CIO, and then grabbed situations which are easy to analyze and take positions which they know in advance will be opposed to the position which the trade union movement will take. They force the trade union movement to go before the public with an air and attitude of being a house divided.

We had a situation in Los Angeles in which we were confronted with an anti-picketing ordinance, somewhat similar to the one that will be voted on in November in the state. We found, too, that in January of this year the City Council of Los Angeles passed an anti-picketing ordinance by a vote of 9 to 6 of its 15 members. The Mayor of that city, and the first one in that town, when it became necessary to stand on one side or the other, stood on the side of labor and vetoed that anti-picketing ordinance. He saved us in the worst crisis we had ever been in and out of which we came successfully. By his act, when they proposed to use the initiative to give us the same ordinance, we felt he had given to us certain political prestige in public opinion which we could not otherwise have had.

We felt the Central Trades Council would

support him in the campaign in which he was interested. We found that men with certain prestige as representatives of the American Federation of Labor and speaking for the Non-Partisan League, not only criticizing and attacking the Mayor . . . which they had a right to do . . . but attacking the labor movement because of its position in that case.

We found that the greatest argument used by the Employers' Association against us. In its appeal for public support was a claim that the public had to be defender from the results of a civil war in the labor movement. On our desks today there are hundreds of calls and messages, from people we do not know, but who do not like the Employers' Association, but because of the publicly expressed statement of these men in the Non-Partisan League, they say it seems to them the claim of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association was justified and that labor is engaged in a civil war which the public has to pay for.

We find that these same men, of the Non-Partisan League, met with the County Committees of the Communist Party. We find the president of a large central labor council and the president and secretary and the editor of the paper of another central labor council active members of the Non-Partisan League and taking the program of the Communist Party and Non-Partisan League.

We feel this convention should express itself in no unmistakable terms, and in a manner that the national and international unions affiliated with this Federation cannot fail to recognize, and clean house of some of the people connected with it. Certainly the American Federation of Labor has a right to go into the central labor unions which it charts and see that this is carried out.

Delegate Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor. Like the delegate from California, I had to take the floor on this subject because I consider that I am also a one-lunger delegate. However, unless somewhere else in the hands of some committee there is a resolution that calls for more definite action, I do not think that report of the committee on this resolution is sufficiently definite in the position being taken by the American Federation of Labor on this subject.

I have in my possession now the minutes of a meeting called in the State of Indiana, in the City of Indianapolis, on September

25th, following the convention of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, when an attempt was made to break our delegates into this Non-Partisan League, where one Mr. Oliver, the Executive Secretary of the National Non-Partisan League, made the keynote speech, and where a few of the American Federation of Labor local unions had representation, and where a telegram of congratulations was received from the great John L. you have heard so much about here, and from Sidney Hilman, congratulating Indiana's Non-Partisan League.

This is the same group that the State Federation of Labor has had some experience with in the past few months. When the State Federation of Labor attempted to carry on the program of the American Federation of Labor, that of supporting its friends and defeating its enemies, a candidate for United States Senator who had supported the program almost 100 per cent of the American Federation of Labor was up for re-election, an attempt was made to defeat him in the State of Indiana by this group of so-called Non-Partisan Leaguers. The Indiana State Federation of Labor stood out and insisted that the Democratic Party renominate this candidate for United States Senator, and finally won, in spite of the efforts of this so-called Non-Partisan League.

And in this Non-Partisan League is a group of the representatives of the railroad transportation organizations, whom we have considered as our step-cousins in the labor movement for many years, and yet they are now playing with, and are hook, line and sinker with the CIO crooks in the State of Indiana.

I think the American Federation of Labor should declare, and the international unions should serve notice upon their membership that if the State Federations of Labor are to retain the influence and the prestige they have builded in many years for the benefit of the labor movement in the various states, that the international unions would have to give their support to the State Federations of Labor and will have to serve notice to their local unions that they should give support to the State Federations of Labor and cease to give support to the Non-Partisan League or any other group that is attempting to build a prestige that they may speak, as they are now trying to do in our state,

to public officials and others in the name of labor.

Chairman Woll: Several of the delegates who have spoken on this subject have indicated that the committee might have considered this subject from the broader point of view than is presented in the specific resolution before you. The committee has a report on this same subject, which is broader in scope than that referred to in the resolution itself, and of course it is the desire of the committee that discussions might be centered on that report rather than upon a resolution improperly before the convention. We ask consent to present this resolution and the report of the committee so that the matter as a whole may be considered.

Chairman Woll read the following report.

Your committee, in connection with the subject matter of the resolution just acted upon, desires to call attention to the general letter of March 21, 1938, sent by the Executive Council to the officers of National and International Unions; State Federations of Labor, and Central Labor Unions, relative to the status and activity of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which is the political expression of the CIO. We desire to quote this portion of the letter.

1. The League is nothing more than a CIO agency, a ventriloquist's dummy for the CIO leaders. When the League speaks, it is with the voice of the CIO leaders. When it acts, it is the CIO leaders who pull the strings.

2. It is opposed to the best interests of American Labor and therefore should be opposed by the American Federation of Labor.

3. It is devoted chiefly to promoting the personal political ambitions of CIO leaders.

The letter further on instructs all State Federations of Labor; City Central Bodies, and local organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, to withdraw from association with Labor's Non-Partisan League.

Commenting on these instructions, your committee calls attention to the gratifying and almost unanimous response which followed the receipt of this communication by local unions; Central Labor Bodies, and State Federations of Labor.

In New York State the political expression of the CIO has adopted the title of American Labor Party, but its official letter heads indicate it is merely the New York branch of Labor's Non-Partisan League.

In other states, the CIO has adopted other political titles for the purpose of misleading trade unionists.

Your committee recommends that copies of this report and the convention's action thereon be forwarded to all Central Labor Bodies and State Federations of Labor, so that they may be received at the earliest date prior to the November elections.

Chairman Woll: I move you that this report be considered in connection with the previous report and the committee's recommendation be concurred in.

Delegate Randolph, Sleeping Car Porters: I think it is a mistake to identify the Non-Partisan League with the American Labor Party of New York. I am from New York. I know something about the political activities there. I am not a member of the American Labor Party or Non-Partisan League, but I do know that the Labor Party of New York has been one of the most effective and progressive agencies in American politics. It is responsible for the election, in a large measure, of Fiorella LaGuardia, and there is no man in public life today who is a more liberal and progressive representative of the people than Fiorella LaGuardia.

I think it would be a mistake for this convention to go on record by implication as condemning the American Labor Party. The people of New York do not identify in their mind the American Labor Party with the Non-Partisan League, and therefore I think it is important that this clarification be made.

Delegate Meany, New York State Federation of Labor: So there will be no misunderstanding on the part of the delegates to this convention, I will say that 700,000 representative members of the American Federation of Labor formed a committee in the city of New York last year and worked night and day through their membership and spent their money to reelect the liberal Mayor of the city of New York. Now the question has been brought in here of hatred extending into the field of politics and also a question that this is a local issue. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that when the New York State Federation of Labor received a communication from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and complied with the directions of the Executive Council contained in that communication, that they were not acting on a local matter. They were following out the instructions of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Labor Party is the official New York State branch of Labor's Non-Partisan League. The Chairman of Labor's Non-Partisan League is John L. Lewis, and the Vice Chairman is Sidney Hillman. The American Federation of Labor unions in the city of New York have had to contend with the CIO and we have met the CIO on the industrial field and defeated them. I wish to inform this convention that the locals of New York constitute a large part of the membership of this American Federation of Labor.

This is not a local issue. We have got to live with these people. They could not defeat us on the economic and industrial field, and they turned to the political field, through the instrumentality of the American Labor Party, the child of John L. Lewis, and I want the record to show that we are continuing the non-partisan political policy of the American Federation of Labor.

We are supporting for public office friends of labor irrespective of what political parties they belong to, and we are going to continue this fight and not surrender to the Communistically controlled American Labor Party that is represented by this circular issued by the Communist Party, which tells the trade unionists of the American Federation of Labor to support the American Labor Party. There is the circular distributed at our convention by the Erie County Communist Party, and I would like to submit that for the record. We are not going to surrender to John L. Lewis on the industrial field and we are certainly not going to allow him to pull the wool over our eyes on the political field.

The circular referred to by Delegate Meany bears the caption on the outer cover, "Welcome, Delegates, New York State Federation of Labor Convention."

The body of the circular reads:

Greetings to the Delegates, New York State Federation of Labor Convention—All Buffalo Welcomes you!

To State Convention Delegates and Members of Organized Labor:

At no time have the deliberations of the councils of Labor been so important than at present. Your convention meets at a time when the employers are endeavoring to cut wages and defeat the processes of genuine collective bargaining. The laboring men and women, Negro and white, view this convention with a feeling of confidence for the future, knowing that the great advances made will be continued.

Labor in recent years has made tremendous gains. New unions have been built and mil-

lions of workers have been organized. Open-shop industries have been brought under contract and wage increases won. Measures favorable to labor have been adopted by our State and National legislatures. The American Federation of Labor, with new millions in its ranks, has brought benefits of organization and collective bargaining, has increased purchasing power and improved working conditions.

Monopolies Aim to Block Labor's March!

Reactionary Big Business is counting heavily upon the coming elections. Wall Street is out to defeat every Roosevelt New Dealer, Labor and progressive candidate for the following reasons:

1. To emasculate, amend, and nullify the Wagner National Labor Relations Act, repeal the Wages-Hours Bill, defeat the State Unemployment Insurance Act and other social legislation.

2. To curb government aid to the unemployed by drastic reductions in WPA and PWA.

3. To stop so-called "government interference in business" and thereby give Wall Street a free hand in its wage-cutting and union-busting drive.

Reward Our Friends and Punish Our Enemies!

This year, more than ever, we need to "reward our friends and punish our enemies." Who has been the real champion of Labor in the Empire State? The American Labor Party, through its elected representatives in Albany, has been the most consistent fighter for the bills drawn up and supported by the A. F. of L. A calm appraisal of the record will substantiate this fact.

No Time for "Suicide Politics"!

There are those who wish to extend the present unfortunate split in Labor's ranks to the political field. Such a "suicide" policy for Labor is exactly what Reaction wants. In the decisive elections ahead, Labor's ranks must be united behind the program and endorsed candidates of the A. L. F. There is but one way to defeat the political stooges of Big Business:

Unite Behind One Progressive Candidate for Each Office!

Unity of the Labor movement into one powerful Trade Union Federation is most deeply desired by the membership of the A. F. of L., CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods. Political unity in the coming elections is the most promising note that such unity will be achieved. Unity negotiations can and must be resumed in the interests of self-preservation, common goal, and mutual benefit of all Labor.

Communist Party Works for Labor Unity!

The Communist Party hopes that your deliberations will reflect the heroic struggles and fighting traditions of the A. F. of L.

We hope that out of your convention will come further plans for the organization of the unorganized and the building of your great organization. Is it a "Moscow Plot" that the Communists who are members of the A. F. of L., CIO, and Railroad Brotherhoods fight for the building and strengthening of all unions, and for uniting them into one, powerful Labor movement? Is such an aim "un-American?" Only such disrupters within the trade union movement as John P. Frey can say so. Muzzling the same lies and slanders as Mayor Hague and bloody Tom Girdler, John P. Frey today places himself in the same category with these open-shop Labor haters.

We Communists, whatever our union affiliation may be, will continue to champion the cause of Labor Unity on the economic and political fields. Only thru unity can democracy defeat reaction in the coming elections. Only thru unity can we maintain our right to organize, defeat wage cuts, put America back to work, defend our democratic rights and institutions, and insure world peace.

Brother Unionists: Let us extend the unity we have achieved in hundreds of localities where the A. F. of L. and C.I.O. have jointly defended their common interests, such issues as Relief, Wage Cuts, Freedom of Tom Mooney, Support of Same Candidates, etc.

Forward to more and greater victories for Labor!

Forward to united political action of all Labor!

Forward to a united and powerful Labor movement!

Signed:

ERIE COUNTY COMMITTEE
COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.
75½ W. Chippewa Street
Buffalo, N. Y.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If not, all those who favor concurrence in the committee's report will say "aye" those opposed will say "no."

The report of the committee was adopted by the convention.

President Green: That concludes the report of the committee on the Labor Party and the Non-Partisan League.

It appears that the hour of adjournment has about arrived. Are there announcements?

Announcements

Delegate Coleman, Maryland and District of Columbia Federation of Labor: Mr. President, there are a number of publications on the table from the United States Government, the Labor Department, the Interior Department, and other departments in Washington which do not bear the union label. All of these publications are printed under

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

union conditions by a practically 100 per cent union personnel. I hope the delegates will take note of those publications and not throw them away, because they are government publications. They do not bear the union label, but they are printed under 100 per cent union conditions.

Delegates representing the State Federations of Labor were requested to meet on Tuesday evening, October 11, at 8:00 o'clock in

Room "B," Rice Hotel, for the purpose of discussing an educational program with the Director of the Workers' Education Bureau.

The President of the Houston Building Trades Council, Mr. Tom Reed, announced a meeting of the Council on Tuesday evening and invited visiting delegates to attend.

At 12:30 P. M. the convention recessed to 2:30 o'clock, P. M.

Seventh Day—Tuesday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order by President Green at 2:30 o'clock.

Absentees

Bower, Cadena, A. F.; Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDavitt, Mabey, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Schneider, Sexton, Simpson, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

President Green: I have a pleasing surprise for you this afternoon. I know you will be happy with me as I am happy when I acquaint you with it. We have with us this afternoon a great character, one of the greatest of artists. He has kindly consented to extend to you a word of greeting. He can do so in a most appropriate way because he is one of us, he is associated with the American Federation of Labor through his membership in the American Guild of Musical Artists, which is associated with Equity.

I refer to that great artist, Lawrence Tibbett. He is the President and organizer of the American Guild of Musical Artists, First Vice-President of the Radio Artists and a member of the Actors' Guild. All of these unions derive their charters from the Associated Actors and Artistes of America. He is a great singer, a loyal member of organized labor, an officer of a union affiliated with us.

I present to you our friend, Lawrence Tibbett, for a short address.

MR. LAWRENCE TIBBETT

Mr. President, delegates to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor—I wish that I could present my compliments, my greetings in the way in which someone down here suggested. That is the way in which I am trained to address audiences, and not by means of words and speeches.

However, I am delighted at this opportunity to become personally acquainted with you all. We are in that part of the country where they say "you-all" rather indiscriminately, but I mean it directly, with you all.

My association in affiliation with the labor movement as an officer in one of your many organizations has been very short indeed, two years, when a number of us first started to organize our American Guild of Musical Artists, but in that time I have become fully conscious of many things I knew only slightly before I became conscious of the power, the solidarity, the need for labor organization even in our own groups. I think they are

needed throughout the various activities of our nation.

I know that many of you have the opinion, certainly many people outside the rank and file of labor have the opinion that artists have no business with and in labor. Nothing could be further from the truth. Our cause is your cause and the cause of labor, and believe me when I say I am thrilled to be actively associated with you. I am grateful for the helping hand, for the friendliness which many of you in your great organizations have already extended to us.

I wish I could say all of this to you in song. You can see by this time that I could express it a little more keenly in that way, but I think you understand the position of the wage earner who is under contract, and I happen to be in that position here in Houston. I am giving a concert here tonight. By the way, if you are not busy I would love to have you come, but I know you are all busy. Nevertheless, I am under contract and cannot sing to you. In a few hours I will be right over on the other side of that curtain.

Again let me tell you how very happy and honored I am at the privilege of being presented here by your great President, and for the pleasure of meeting you personally. I hope it won't be long before I will have had that privilege again, and I bring you greetings from the American Guild of Musical Artists.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen.

President Green: We deeply appreciate this visit of Mr. Tibbett with us this afternoon. We shall remember it long. I thank him for coming to us and I thank him for his address.

We have with us a very good friend, one who has been associated with our movement for many, many years, one who helped our pioneers in the extension of organization among women workers. Her very name is enough. We know who she is when her name is mentioned—Miss Mary Anderson, head of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor. She is sitting here in the audience. I will ask Brother Myrup of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers' Union, Brother Frank Coleman, of the Central Labor Union from Washington, and Brother Joseph Franklin of the Boilermakers, three sturdy young men, to escort Miss Anderson to the platform.

(Miss Anderson was escorted to the platform by the committee.)

President Green (Continuing): It affords me great pleasure to present to you Miss Mary Anderson. I have presented her at previous conventions. In fact, I think she has

attended practically every convention of the American Federation of Labor for a number of years. We have always regarded her as a part of our great movement. She pioneered, as I have already said, in the organization of women workers and in the extension of the organization of the American Federation of Labor. She is serving now in a responsible position. She is doing her work well and in a manner that meets with the satisfaction of labor and the friends of labor.

I present to you our friend, a member of the organized labor movement, head of the Women's Department of the Department of Labor, Miss Mary Anderson.

MISS MARY ANDERSON

(Women's Bureau, Department of Labor)

Mr. President and fellow members of trade unions—I am always very glad to be at the American Federation of Labor convention. It seems to me that it is one time of the year that I see more of my old friends in the trade union movement than at any other time, so it is always with great pleasure that I come to your convention.

I wanted to say just a few words today about the women workers. There has been some progress, I am very glad to report to you, in the movement of women in the trade unions. Women have organized in the trade unions in numbers, just as men have organized in the trade unions in numbers in the last year.

Then, too, they are taking their place in the movement. I attended a regional conference in Chicago last week, where there were 108 women delegates from as many organizations throughout Wisconsin and Illinois, and it was a great satisfaction to see the young women getting on their feet and telling about their organizations, telling what the organizations had done in their trade.

I remember when I was very young and began my work in the movement I could not have done it, and it was a pleasure to see so many young women taking an active part in the movement, expressing themselves in regard to its progress. It seems to me that that is very heartening indeed.

Then something else has happened in the last year, and I refer now to the Wage and Hour Bill. It is a sad commentary on the wage structure of our nation when we say that many of our women and men, too, will get a raise of wages to 25 cents an hour, on the 24th of October, in about a week and a half, when we stop to realize that many people are not even getting twenty-five cents an hour. I say that is a very sad commentary on our wage structure, but that is

perfectly true, that a great many will get an increase in wages at that time.

I feel very strongly about the wage and hour bill because it does put a floor under wages in the industries of interstate commerce. It is not the twenty-five cents an hour, because I think that is far too low, but it is from that floor that the trade union movement can take hold and go up further.

It seems to me it has given a chance to the trade union movement to raise wages higher and to go up, and that there will not be that sinking when there is unemployment, as we have been having it for so many years—there will not be that sinking below 25 cents an hour at least, there will be a stoppage.

I also want to say that the states have a great chance under the wage and hour law. There are many industries that do not come under this federal wage and hour law and the states themselves will have to do something.

There is a movement on foot providing that this wage and hour law shall be extended to the states as state legislation and take in all of the industries that are now in the state not under the law. That of course would probably be an ideal condition, but there is a question there, it seems to me, and that is the fact that we do not know yet whether this wage and hour law is constitutional. It seems to me we might go a little too fast if we would extend the law now to the states, because of the fact that we do not know whether it is constitutional. I am apprehensive, of course, about the minimum wage laws now in the states that apply to women only, and I hope nothing will be done that will jeopardize what we already have.

Twenty-five states in the Union have the minimum wage law for women and it also prevails in Porto Rico and the District of Columbia, and I hope nothing will be done quickly until we know where we are going.

It seems to me we also ought to have a wage and hour law functioning a little bit before we understand it, and then we ought not extend it until the courts have passed upon the situation. I am very glad to be here, Mr. President, and I am glad to see as large a convention as you are having.

Thank you.

President Green: Thank you, Miss Anderson, for your visit and for your address this afternoon. We are pleased to have you in attendance at our convention. I hope you will stay and enjoy yourself during the remainder of the sessions.

On behalf of the Executive Council I wish to submit a resolution for your action and consideration—Secretary Morrison.

Secretary Morrison: This resolution refers to the death of Hugh Kerwin and also the appointment of Mr. Stillman in his place.

President Green: Are there objections?

Hearing none, the resolution will be accepted and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

The resolution is as follows:

Pledging Cooperation to Present Director of United States Conciliation Service

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates John J. Walsh, Amalgamated Meat Cutters' and Butcher Workmen of America, Frank Burch, Philadelphia Central Labor Union, and William Ketner, Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia.

Whereas, Since the inception of the United States Conciliation Service, more than two decades ago, the work of this Governmental Agency has been characterized by the outstanding service rendered to the workers of this Country, and particularly so under the direction of the late Hugh Kerwin, and

Whereas, Since his passing the exceptionally fine work of this Bureau has been carried on by his successor and,

Whereas, We believe that those who carry out the functions of Government that affect organized labor in an impartial manner should be commended, therefore be it

Resolved, That we, the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the 58th Annual Convention, at Houston, Texas, extend to the present Director of the United States Conciliation Service our assurance of fullest cooperation, to the end that the principle of conciliation in labor disputes may be assured a place in industrial relations between employers and employees in this Country.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS
(Continued)**

President Green: We will proceed to the regular order of business. The Chair recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on Resolutions, Brother Frey.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee, continued the report as follows:

Amendment of Motor Boat Act

Resolution No. 58—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For many years the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America endeavored to have amended the Motorboat Act of June 9, 1910, in order to protect adequately life and property; and

WHEREAS, House Resolution 8339, Seventy-fifth Congress, which was introduced for that purpose, was not finally acted upon; and

WHEREAS, The National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America again will sponsor a bill at the next session of Congress to amend this Act for safety at sea for "preventing collisions of vessels, adequate manning and regular equipment of motor boats" in navigable waters of the United States, and for regular inspection and adequate manning of certain steam and motor boats which are not used exclusively for pleasure and those which are not engaged exclusively in the fisheries in inland waters of the United States, and for other purposes, and which will include all vessels above fifteen tons propelled by machinery used for commercial purposes; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention go on record in support of such bill and instruct the Incoming Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to advance the intent of such a bill.

Your committee is in sympathy with the purpose of the resolution, but cannot commit itself in favor of any bill the provisions of which have not been submitted to the committee.

Your committee therefore recommends that the subject matter of the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request that it be helpful in every way possible.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

In Aid of Whaling Industry

Resolution No. 59—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In 1936 a law was enacted in Congress forbidding catching of the gray whale and, on the 5th day of August, 1937, this country with nine others signed treaties restricting the area as to where whales may be caught, namely, 35 degrees north latitude and 40 degrees south latitude and east of 150 longitude; and

WHEREAS, Many years ago whaling was quite an industry, and this country practically led the world and sent out ships all over the world to catch whale for the bone, which was a very useful product at that time but which has since been supplanted by various other materials and many new discoveries made in later years to replace that product obtained from the whale; and

WHEREAS, Those countries not parties to the agreement restricting the catching of gray whales, and especially Japan, is now taking all the opportunity of catching those whales; and

WHEREAS, Practically all companies which formerly operated under the "Stars and Stripes" are now in the hands of receivers on account of these restrictions, and many work-

ers who made their livelihood in the industry have been put out of employment; and

WHEREAS, If proper representation had been made to the federal legislators before passing these restrictions, which sabotaged the American whaling industry, this law would never have gone into effect; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this annual convention of the American Federation of Labor held at Houston in 1938 go on record for the repeal of the law passed in 1936 and also for the cancellation of agreements with other countries regarding catching of whales, to the end of restoring the American whaling industry to its former position; and that it instruct the incoming Executive Council and Legislative Committee to further the full intent and purpose of the resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Daniel C. Roper, Secretary of Commerce; and H. Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury.

As conventions of the American Federation of Labor have always aimed to protect and advance the opportunities for employment of American workers, your committee recommends approval of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Requesting Amendment of Federal Alcohol Administration Act to Permit Firms in the Alcoholic Beverage Industry to Advertise in Publications Sponsored by Employees in the Catering Trade

Resolution No. 60—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Section 5 (c) (2) of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act makes it unlawful for any producer, importer, wholesaler of alcoholic beverages to offer, or give any bonus, premium or compensation to any officer, buyer or persons directly or indirectly in the liquor trade; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Alcoholic Administration has interpreted that members of the catering industry are employees of tradesmen engaged in the liquor traffic; and

WHEREAS, The Federal Alcoholic Administration has refused permission to wholesalers, importers, distillers, to advertise in any publication or book issued by an organization whose members are working as catering industry employees, thus causing a hardship to some organization who issues publications and naturally expect advertisements from purveyors of alcoholic beverages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 29th General Convention of the Hotel & Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America, in convention assembled, condemn this interpretation of Sec-

tion 5 (c) (2) (copy of which is attached to this resolution as unfair); and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates of our International Union to the American Federation of Labor convention be and are hereby instructed to, by resolution, call the attention of the A. F. of L. to this very unfair interpretation of Section 5 (c) (2) and the A. F. of L. be asked to draft an amendment to this act that will permit employers, wholesalers, importers and distillers to advertise, if they so desire, in publications sponsored by employees in the catering trade.

CHARLES E. SANDS,
Delegate Local 75.

**TREASURY DEPARTMENT
Federal Alcohol Administration Division
Washington**

April 11, 1938

Mr. C. E. Sands, Vice President,
Bartenders' Club, Inc.,
913 Tenth Street,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Sands:

"Receipt is acknowledged of your letter of April 8th, in which you request the Administration to give its approval to the purchase of tickets to your forthcoming annual dance and the payment for advertisements in the dance program on the part of members of the liquor industry. It is noted that the funds realized through the sale of such tickets and advertising would be used to furnish your new club rooms and to care for your sick and aged members. It is further noted that members of your organization do not purchase liquor, but are employees in establishments where liquor is dispensed.

"Section 5 (c) (2) of the Federal Alcohol Administration Act, a copy of which is enclosed, makes it unlawful, under the conditions and for the purposes stated, for any producer, importer or wholesaler of alcoholic beverages to offer or give any bonus, premium or compensation to any officer, employee or representative of a trade buyer. It is understood that the members of your organization are employees of trade buyers, and since the funds contributed to your club by industry members through their purchase of tickets or advertising space would react to the benefit of your members, through making it possible to furnish their new club rooms and by assisting them in caring for their dependent associates, it is the Administration's opinion that such payments might involve liability under the provisions of the Act above mentioned. The fact that your members are not purchasing agents is not sufficient to remove such payments from the coverage of the Act, since employees, particularly those engaged in dispensing products, are in position to influence purchase of such products.

"While the Administration could not give a definite opinion on this matter unless it made a thorough investigation of the contributions and their effect after the dance had taken place, it is, of course, not in position to give

its advance approval to any payments of this nature.

"Very truly yours,
(Signed) JOHN L. HUNTINGTON,
Deputy Administrator in Charge,
Enforcement Division."

Inasmuch as this situation is of an extremely complicated nature requiring further study and consideration, your committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon resolutions Nos. 61 and 62, which are as follows:

Tax on Oleomargarine

Resolution No. 61—By Delegate Lev Loring, Tennessee State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine is conceded by chemists and food experts to be a wholesome and nutritious food product; and

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine conforms to all the requirements of the federal and state pure food laws and is sold purely on its own merit as an article of food; and

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine is used primarily by labor, its families and low income consumers because of its price economy and adaptability as a table cooking fat in the home; and

WHEREAS, The Oleomargarine industry used nearly three hundred million pounds of domestic farm products in the manufacture of Oleomargarine during the past fiscal year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Tennessee Federation in Conference assembled, That it is opposed to the taxation of this wholesome, nutritious and pure food product by federal and state governments, because such taxation harms both the low income consumers and the domestic farm producers of oils and fats; and because there is no social or economic necessity or sound reason for subjecting any food products that conform to the federal and state pure food laws to additional special and restrictive taxes or license fees or other harmful imposition; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the Resolutions Committee of the American Federation of Labor for consideration by the American Federation of Labor at its 1938 National Convention to be held at Houston, Texas.

Tax on Oleomargarine

Resolution No. 62—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine is conceded by chemists and food experts to be a wholesome and nutritious food product; and

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine conforms to all the requirements of the Federal and State Pure

Food laws and is sold purely on its own merit as an article of food; and

WHEREAS, Oleomargarine is used primarily by labor, its families and low income consumers because of its price economy and adaptability as a table and cooking fat in the home; and

WHEREAS, The Oleomargarine industry used nearly three hundred million pounds of domestic farm products in the manufacture of Oleomargarine during the past fiscal year; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Conference assembled that it is opposed to the taxation of this wholesome, nutritious and pure food product, because such taxation harms both the low income consumers of Oleomargarine and the domestic farm producers of oils and fats used in the manufacture of Oleomargarine; and because there is no social or economic necessity or sound reason for subjecting any food products that conform to the Federal and State Pure Food laws to additional special and restrictive taxes or license fees or other harmful imposition; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be presented to the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that both resolutions be non-concurred in.

Delegate Frey moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded by Chairman Woll.

Delegate Goudie, Chicago Heights Trades and Labor Assembly: I did not think it would be necessary to take the floor on this resolution. First, I want to announce that I am not a delegate from the Teamsters' Union, but I represent the Chicago Heights Trades and Labor Assembly. This resolution has come before this American Federation of Labor Convention ever since 1910 and always received favorable action up until 1935, which, to my knowledge, was the first year the American Federation of Labor ever went on record favoring taxation of margarine.

We all know that margarine is the poor man's butter. Those of use who can afford to buy butter naturally do not use margarine. The energy value of margarine is the same as that of butter, 3,500 calories per pound. The digestibility is the same as butter, 97 per cent. It seems to me that those of us who represent labor sitting in this convention certainly ought to have some consideration for the underprivileged workers that we represent who cannot afford to buy butter.

It reminds me, when we favor taxation on the poor man's butter, a good deal like the

man living in the mansion who wants the poor devil living in the small cottage to assume his taxes. I would like to quote from a few authorities on butter and margarine.

In the opinion of John Brown, who is President of the Land-O'Lakes Butter Company: "We do not want to be unfair to anybody who is producing a product in the United States. If it comes to taxing margarine that would be unfair to the peanut industry or the cotton industry or any other industry in the United States. We do not object to any edible product made here in the United States from products produced here."

And from the late Dr. Wiley: "Personally I am very greatly interested in the dairying industry, but I never considered that it was wise and proper for me to bolster up my own business and try to make it more profitable by denying my fellow farmer an open market for what he has grown and has to sell. I would blush with shame to try to add one penny to the value of my product by denying my brother farmer the right to sell his meats, fat and oil that he grows and has for market."

There are many others I could quote, but I don't want to take up the time of this convention. Some say that this is a packing house resolution. There is absolutely no foundation for that statement. I happen to have the honor of representing a small organization in the city of Chicago, an organization of teamsters of which the butter and egg salesmen who sell from the trucks, also the margarine salesmen who sell from the trucks. I have represented them over a period of 19 years. Never at any time have I had one of our butter employers or myself favor a taxation on margarine. The people that seem to be opposed to this resolution and favor taxation on margarine are the big milk dairies throughout the country. They are the ones who have been sending in telegrams, getting the officers of their organizations to oppose this resolution.

Delegates, I look upon this from a humanitarian standpoint, and I will transgress upon your time if you will permit me to give you my own experience, and I am not any too willing to relate it, but I want to try to get just action on this resolution. When I was a small boy ten years of age my father met with reverses. I was born in a fairly good mansion of eleven rooms. We were put out of that home and had to seek shelter

in a small cottage, and my brothers and sisters and my dear mother got to the stage where we knew what it was to be hungry. In fact, we made several meals on green peaches, and the only reason we had those was because we were fortunate enough to have a peach tree growing in the yard.

During the war I worked as a tea and coffee salesman. I made \$18.00 a week, and to make ends meet we used to buy one pound of butter and a pound of margarine and churn it together, not because we liked margarine, but through necessity we had to do that.

I cannot for the life of me, Mr. Chairman and delegates, after this Federation of Labor has gone on record year after year against taxation of margarine, understand how a committee can bring in an unfavorable report on this resolution. Why is it that these butter concerns that we have contracts with are not against this resolution? Why is it they do not favor taxation on margarine?

I think that the butter salesman, along with the margarine salesmen have as much consideration for just action in this convention as the milk drivers do. In fact, our margarine salesmen have a five-day week, the first five-day week ever in the Teamsters' movement. They receive \$40.00 a week in commissions and two weeks' vacation with pay, and I think that will compare favorably with any milk drivers' organization throughout the country.

All I ask of the delegates of this convention is to do justice to the people you represent, the underprivileged worker, the poor unfortunates who cannot afford to buy better butter and must use margarine. Are you going to sit in this convention and concur in this committee's report and say that those unfortunate, under-privileged people must pay a tax because they haven't the means that you and I have to buy butter? Then I say you should hang your heads in shame.

I hope you men and women of this convention will give this your earnest consideration and vote down the committee's recommendation and pass the resolution.

Delegate Hughes, Brotherhood of Teamsters: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I am glad that the previous speaker said he was not representing the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. I do, and it is the unanimous opinion of our delegates representing

our International Union that we approve the report of the committee as read.

We represent in this convention 60,000 men engaged in the dairy industry, and I have telegrams from every one of our local unions. I am not taking any sides with any of the producers at all. It is our own people, and we as delegates to this convention, whether we like it or not—and the same would apply to Brother Goudie, who just spoke—are duty bound to protect our people in every way, shape and manner.

I don't care much about the substitute he speaks of. Oleomargarine is not a substitute for anything but axle grease, and we quit using that when the horses went out of business. I am of the opinion that the time is not here for the American Federation of Labor to begin to dictate to the government the levying or taking of taxes off of any commodity.

Suppose we walked into the government tomorrow and laid down a resolution or a request that we take the tax off of beer, off of clothing. Where is the money coming from to carry on the workings of the government?

I am heartily in support of the action of the committee in nonconcurring in the resolution, and with the unanimous consent of the delegates representing our International Union.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: Mr. President and delegates, whatever may be the ideas of the friends of oleomargarine our concern must not be in the marketability or the profits made out of oleomargarine, but rather our concern should be for the consumers, who in the main are our people. The oleomargarine interests have been spending a lot of money for a good many years in order to market a spurious product. Oleomargarine was born in fraud. There was a time when they sold it as butter. The law stepped in and said, "You can't sell this stuff as butter, you must sell it for what it really is."

Restaurants used to dish it out to us as butter, and in some of the states the law finally stepped in and said, "If you want to serve margarine then you must serve it as margarine and not as butter," and the reduction in the sales of oleomargarine at that time was tremendous.

I wonder what the delegates would say if at the Rice Hotel tomorrow they dished out oleo-

margarine instead of butter. Are we going to promote the shacks of the slums and shoddy for clothes for our people because they are cheaper? I want to tax the shack in the slums so that only the very wealthy will be able to inhabit them, and I would tax oleomargarine for the same reason.

I don't think the American Federation of Labor should permit an imposition on the working men and women and their families.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey, of the committee.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, the committee did not act without giving much thought to the resolution. It is not altogether a question as to whether oleomargarine is a healthful substitute for butter. Since the convention has been in session your committee has received a large number of telegrams and other communications, some of them coming from cotton seed processors, some of them coming from organizations of dairy men. The fact to keep in mind so far as your committee is concerned is that after many years of action against a tax on oleomargarine a convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935, after full deliberation on the question, changed its previous policy and advocated a tax on oleomargarine. If that committee had reported favorably upon the resolution it would have been taking sides either with cotton seed processors, with the meat packing industry or with the dairy farmers. The dairy farmers have their own problems. We felt it would be absolutely unfair to either of these large groups for this convention to declare in favor of the policy which was favored by one and opposed by the other.

We have every sympathy with keeping the price of living down. We have closer relations with the farmers than ever before, and in the committee's opinion it would have been unwise to take issue or to show a predilection as for one group against another who represent millions of invested capital on the one hand and who represent the legitimate effort of American dairymen to get enough out of their labor to enable them to keep the interest on the mortgage paid.

President Green: Are there further remarks? If not, those in favor of concurrence in the committee's report please say "aye." Those opposed say "no."

The motion seems to be carried. The motion is carried and it is so ordered.

Brewery Workers' Union Label

Resolution No. 75—By Delegator John F. McNamara, John Clinton, James L. Kelley, Roy E. Seitz, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.
(Shown on Pages 39 and 40 first day's proceedings.)

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, the delegation representing the Firemen and Oilers desire to have this resolution withdrawn from the record. If there is no objection the committee will move that the resolution be withdrawn.

President Green: Are there objections? Hearing none, the motion is adopted and the resolution is withdrawn.

Single Wage Rate for Each Classification of Labor of Civilian Employees in Navy Yards

Resolution No. 78—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The schedule of wages established by the Navy Department for civilian employees in Navy Yards provides for three rates of wage under each classification of employees; and

WHEREAS, The existence of these three rates has made possible the re-hiring of Navy Yard employees at a lower rate than they had formerly received; and

WHEREAS, Through the laying off and re-hiring of Navy Yard employees, the equivalent to a reduction of wages is created;

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to give every possible assistance to the officers of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. and the officers of the International Unions affiliated with the Department in their effort to have second and third class rates eliminated, and the establishment in their place of a single wage rate for each classification of labor employed in Navy Yards.

Your committee recommends adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Provide for Consideration of Necessary Amendments to the Wages-Hours Act

Resolution No. 81—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor prepared a Bill providing for the establishing of a national minimum wage rate and a national maximum hour work week which was introduced into the last session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, Congress enacted a Wages-Hours Bill—the Fair Labor Standards Act of

1938—which provided for a nation-wide minimum wage rate and nation-wide maximum hours; and

WHEREAS, The measure finally enacted by Congress contained provisions which were not included in the Bill presented by the American Federation of Labor, and which could be made use of to the detriment of labor; and

WHEREAS, These provisions were incorporated in the measure while it was in the hands of the Conference Committee appointed by both branches of Congress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to consult with the officers of the four Departments within the American Federation of Labor, so that necessary amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act may be prepared and introduced at the earliest moment possible in the coming session of Congress.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 83 and 115, as follows:

Proposing Appointment of A. F. of L. Committee to Make Nation-Wide Study of Effects of Public Work Programs on Unemployment Conditions.

Resolution No. 83—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran and Edward L. Nolan, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The unemployment problem is still the foremost question confronting this nation; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that the Federal Government has spent many billions of dollars on made-work programs under the administration of several different types of agencies there are still not less than ten million unemployed persons in this country; and

WHEREAS, It is now obvious to all that this problem can no longer be viewed as a temporary or emergency problem but must be dealt with as a national economic problem which must be overcome if we hope to maintain our form of government and the morale of its citizenship; and

WHEREAS, It has been clearly established through experience gained during the operation of the present made-work programs that no program will successfully correct the existing condition unless all of the factors involved are coordinated under one agency which is free from any and all political influence in any form; and

WHEREAS, The present program under WPA designed to provide work for persons in need of relief does keep people alive and relieves to a large degree suffering and hard-

ship, it also lends itself readily to conditions which aggravate and increase the seriousness of our unemployment problem by its failure to maintain adequate regulation; and

WHEREAS, The unemployment condition is the paramount national question and is of such magnitude that it warrants the closest kind of study on the part of labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the A. F. of L. be authorized and instructed to appoint a national committee on Unemployment and Public Works Program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this committee be instructed to make a careful study and survey of the effects public work programs have had on the unemployment conditions throughout the nation and to prepare a full and complete report of their findings and recommendations prior to the next session of Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council be authorized to establish an adequate agency through which an effective campaign sponsoring legislation for the correction of existing unemployment conditions can be carried on and through which a careful analysis of the entire question can be made for presentation to our Federal Government.

Proposing Appointment of A. F. of L. Committee to Make Study of Effects of Public Works Programs Upon Unemployment Conditions

Resolution No. 115—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The unemployment problem is still the foremost question confronting this nation; and

WHEREAS, Despite the fact that the Federal Government has spent many billions of dollars on made-work programs under the administration of several different types of agencies there are still not less than ten millions unemployed persons in this country; and

WHEREAS, It is now obvious to all that this problem can no longer be viewed as a temporary or emergency problem but must be dealt with as a national economic problem which must be overcome if we hope to maintain our form of government and the morale of its citizenship; and

WHEREAS, It has been clearly established through experience gained during the operation of the present made-work programs that no program will successfully correct the existing conditions unless all of the factors involved are coordinated under one agency which is free from any and all political influence in any form; and

WHEREAS, While the present program under W. P. A. designed to provide work for all persons in need of relief does keep peo-

ple alive and relieves to a large degree suffering and hardship, it also lends itself readily to conditions which aggravate and increase the seriousness of our unemployment problem by its failure to maintain adequate regulation; and

WHEREAS, the unemployment condition is the paramount national question and is of such magnitude that it warrants the closest kind of study on the part of labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor requests the American Federation of Labor Convention to direct its President to appoint a national committee on Unemployment and Public Works Programs; and be it further

RESOLVED, That such committee be directed to make a careful study and survey of the effects public work programs have had on the unemployment conditions throughout the nation and to prepare a report of their findings and recommendations prior to the next session of Congress; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be authorized to establish an adequate agency through which an effective campaign sponsoring legislation for the correction of existing unemployment conditions can be carried on and through which a careful analysis of the entire question can be made for presentation to our Federal Government.

Your committee finds the object of these resolutions to be most commendable, and therefore recommends their adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Coleran, Operative Plasterers: I rise at this time, Mr. President, to endorse and approve of this resolution, and I hope for immediate action on the part of the President of the American Federation of Labor in seeing to it that this committee is appointed.

The reason I ask for that is that for the last eight years in every one of the conventions held by the American Federation of Labor a resolution has been presented asking that the government of the United States appoint a committee, through the President of the United States, to take up the very question that is now contained in that resolution, and that is a resolution presented at eight different conventions asking that the Government take up a long-range planning act which would take care of future unemployment.

This resolution that is presented here for your approval is only presented because of the fact that the government has failed to ap-

point that committee, although there is a law on the statute books since 1931, known as the Unemployment Stabilization Act, which gives the right to the President of the United States to appoint that committee.

For the administration in 1931 I can say that they did appoint a committee. That committee consisted of four of our Secretaries of the Cabinet, and I say without fear of contradiction that those four never met to take up this question, which in my opinion is of vital importance to the whole of the United States, even today.

It is true that the government is trying to aid against unemployment by the spending of billions of dollars through WPA. While it is a fact that this money is being spent as an emergency measure, it is bringing to organized labor not that which we would want, not that which would stabilize unemployment, but it is bringing to organized labor the destruction of some of the fundamentals that these unions assembled here today have striven for years to build up. It is not the solution.

But there is a solution, and that solution is contained in that resolution and can be acted upon by the committee appointed by this American Federation of Labor.

We have heard a delegate at this convention last week who was delegated by the President of the United States to make a survey of some of the countries in Europe. You heard his report, a commendable one, but you did not hear him talk about the vast amount of unemployment existing in those countries.

Our Executive Council in its report in the short space of time that they have to compile it from one year to the other, has called your attention to the fact of how much unemployment exists. They also give you in their report an idea of what WPA means in the spending of these vast billions of dollars. In reading the Executive Council's report you will note with interest that they, within the limited time at their disposal, have made a study of the unemployment situation. They show to you in their report an increase in unemployment from 7,573,000 in September of last year to nearly 11,500,000 in June of this year—4,000,000 more unemployed this year than last year.

While I say that the government is trying to do the best they can by the spending of these monies on WPA, and in most instances breaking down our conditions, using the fig-

ures of our own Executive Council there are still 8,000,000 unemployed. Just let us consider that and consider the legislation that we have been acting upon since the Resolutions Committee has been making its report.

I think this resolution is one of the most constructive resolutions that has come before this convention for action—that is, if it will be acted upon. Unanimously, for the last eight years resolutions have been adopted, but no action, and that is why I hope and trust that this will get immediate action.

I don't think the resolution goes far enough. While we have asked for long-range planning on public works, while we have fought for the Wagner Bill which was considered one of the wedges toward a long range planning and we were successful, I would like to ask at this time, Mr. President, that the sponsors of this resolution be allowed the privilege of adding something to the resolution, for this reason. In listening to Nathan Straus last week you heard him make the statement that he thought he was making some progress in the loaning of moneys on housing. He told you that he began with 48 set-ups which made application for money to be allocated to different states, so that building could proceed in the slum clearance areas. He told you that within a year 202 set-ups had been arranged, and he thought that was a remarkable movement for a period of one year. I do, too. I think it was remarkable. Any advance at all would be remarkable, but how can we compare that when we take into consideration that Nathan Straus is handling the government proposition of housing for the whole of the United States, and all he has at the end of one year is 202 set-ups, local set-ups on housing.

Quoting from his remarks, he said that when in Great Britain he found there were 15,000 in England alone. Now I don't know whether he meant to take in Scotland and Ireland, but he said in England, and if we take the area of England, where they have 15,000 set-ups and consider that with the area of the United States, I say there is something lacking somewhere. It is not Nathan Straus's fault, it is not Senator Wagner's fault, but it is the fault of someone. The reason for that is no set-up, nobody to force the issue on the different states and the different towns to make them come through.

Therefore, Mr. President, I would request from the sponsors of the resolution that they

be allowed to add to their resolution not only that the American Federation of Labor set up this body for long-range planning, but again call upon the President of the United States and call his attention to the fact that there is a law on the statute books of 1931, known as the Unemployment Stabilization Act, in which he is authorized to appoint a committee to see that the full intent and purpose of that Act is carried out.

With the privilege of the sponsors I would like to add that to their resolution.

Delegate Friedrich, Milwaukee: Mr. Chairman and delegates—This resolution introduced by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, and the identical resolution introduced by the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, is largely the result of a study undertaken by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, the Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee, and the Milwaukee Building Trades Council. We, like a lot of other local organizations, felt there was something very much amiss with the WPA set-up. So the three organizations set up a commission to make a study of the matter. I should like to give you just a few of the things we have found, because I believe they will be helpful in your own locals.

We found, first, that many local governments, when WPA funds were made available, felt they could now shift a part of their local taxation on the Federal Government. We found that in many cases men who had been working for the city or county governments on regular Civil Service appointments were out of work while WPA workers were doing the work they had formerly done. Now, manifestly, that is a clear violation of the spirit if not the letter of the law.

We further found this, too, which is perhaps even more serious, and that is that most of the WPA projects, by their very nature, must be construction projects, must be building projects, yet there are many workers who are not building tradesmen unemployed, and the result is that there are being shifted into the building trades industry thousands upon thousands of workers from other industries. Not only are they taking away work which would normally go to building tradesmen, but they are doing work which would normally go to building tradesmen in the future. The tendency is that once a worker gets into the building industry he is apt to attempt to follow through in that industry.

We had one situation where, in Milwaukee, a little local of 100 stonecutters had been in existence for many years, and that was all the trade could absorb, yet under WPA 200 men were employed and trained in that trade. We feel that is a situation which needs very careful study on the part of labor.

We recognize the fact that work projects are, of course, preferable to direct relief; we recognize that it is better for men to work than to be on relief without anything to do, but we know there must be safeguards around those work projects so as not to create injustice for workers now engaged in certain industries. We feel that this subject is one which needs very careful study. In making this observation I do not want to be understood as criticizing the Administration for the faults that have crept into the WPA. As President Colleran has stated to you, unemployment is increasing and the chances are that unemployment is not a temporary situation, but it is a permanent situation which will be confronting us for a long period of time, and it is therefore advisable, and it is necessary, that we endeavor to deal with that permanent situation on a basis that is a little more permanent than is the WPA set-up.

In our survey we made an extensive study and have a report which we will turn over to any committee the American Federation of Labor will appoint. We will give them all of the information we have been able to compile, so that the committee can use as much of it as they wish to.

On the proposition that President Colleran brought forward, as far as we are concerned we will be glad to have his suggestions included as a part of the work of that committee. We do not want to limit this investigation and study. We want to make it as broad as it is necessary to make it in order to get an effective remedy for this most deplorable situation which we are now facing.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: There are no objections on the part of the Chairman and the Committee to accept this suggestion, but they point out that the resolution originated with the delegates representing the Bricklayers International Union. I understand there is no objection to their report. Your suggestion was that the attention of the President of the United States be called to the Stabiliza-

tion Act which provides for the appointment of a committee and requests him to act in accordance with the authority conferred upon him.

Delegate Collieran: That the President of the American Federation of Labor and the Executive Council call upon the President of the United States to fulfill the purpose of that Act.

Delegate Bates: The purpose of the resolution is to have the American Federation of Labor appoint the committee. I doubt the desirability or the advisability of informing the President of the United States of any laws on the statute books. I presume the President of the United States knows about the laws as well as I do, and I don't want to tell him about this law. The "Resolve" states that a complete report of the findings of the committee to be appointed, when it is completed and reported on, be referred to the next session of Congress. If it is not completed by the time we have another convention of the American Federation of Labor it can then be completed and presented to the President of the United States.

President Green: We will leave the matter there, because it would be quite impossible for us to amend the resolution unless the author of the resolution accepts the amendment.

Delegate Collieran: President Bates said the President is fully aware of all the laws that have been enacted. We had to call his attention to it and he had not appointed the committee then and hasn't appointed the committee up to now.

Proposing A. F. of L. Committee for Study of Equitable Distribution of Taxes

Resolution No. 87—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A constantly mounting burden of taxation makes this subject one of the greatest concern to the American people; and

WHEREAS, The adjustment and even increase of taxation may be required for the purpose of continuing and perfecting the various social and economic objectives of wage earners not only as workers but as consumers; and

WHEREAS, There is a manifest effort upon the part of different branches of industry and business to shift this burden from themselves to others and particularly to the necessities of life, so that agitation for certain forms

of taxation is not bona fide effort for the raising of revenue upon an equitable basis but punitive and discriminatory and confiscatory in form and intent; and

WHEREAS, Inequitable, discriminatory and punitive taxes frequently have detrimental effect not only upon cost of living, but upon wages, hours, working conditions and employment; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor authorizes and instructs the Executive Council to establish a committee for the purpose of study and appropriate action concerning the crucial problem of equitable distribution of the tax burden with especial reference to taxes of discriminatory and punitive character.

By order of the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.

Your committee is of the opinion that a careful and complete study should be made of the problem of taxation under the direction of the Executive Council, and therefore recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the request to take such action as will secure a complete study upon the subject of taxation as referred to in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Reconstruction Finance Corporation Loans to Concerns Enforcing Unfair Labor Policies

Resolution No. 88—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has loaned public moneys to concerns who deny to their workers the right to bargain collectively, and which concerns also advertise that by their paying their workers wages which are 40 per cent less than the wages paid to organized workers, members of national unions, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, such governmentally financed concerns are able to sell the product of their grossly exploited workers at wholesale prices which are some 25 per cent less than the prices necessarily paid for the comparable products of our organized workers; and

WHEREAS, While every honorable effort has been made to prove to the officials of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation that this policy of financing chiseling exploiters of labor is detrimental to the best interests of America, as well as the American people; and

WHEREAS, Seemingly there is no governmental agency sufficiently interested in protecting the wage, hour and working condition standards built up by the national and inter-

national unions to whom those most vitally affected might appeal; and

WHEREAS, There is a vital need that, in the interests of millions of American workers, some way must be found to set aside this present system of loaning public government moneys to chiseling exploiters of labor who publicly seek to lower the none-too-high standards which now prevail; and

WHEREAS, There is only one person responsible for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation policy of financing exploiters of labor and the policy of our present government; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention direct our officers to request President Roosevelt to replace the present officials of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation with others who will not loan government funds to chiseling exploiters of labor, and failing to secure the removal or the replacement of these officials, that our officers be directed to seek legislation which will prevent chiseling exploiters of labor who deny their workers the right of collective bargaining and refuse to pay their workers the minimum wages which prevail in such industry, from securing loans of public moneys; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate of this department to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to present this resolution after adoption by the Union Label Trades Department Convention, to the American Federation of Labor Convention at Houston.

By order of the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.

Included in the substance of this resolution is the question of loans made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation under circumstances which might work disadvantageously to both employers and employees.

Your committee is of the opinion that no loan should be made by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which would in any way tend to make it more difficult for existing industrial enterprises having contractual relations with their organized employees, to carry on the fullest possible volume of production.

Your committee recognizes the validity of the problem, and recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council with the authorization to make a full investigation of the entire subject, including the extent this practice has developed and has worked injuriously, and thereby take such action as may be required to eliminate the evils complained of.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Duffy, Operative Potters: Delegates to the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention

of the American Federation of Labor—I think I am only speaking the truth when I say that the theme of the battle cry of the American Federation of Labor, as expressed in this convention, has been that of biased decisions, unfair rulings, usurpation of power and promulgation of policies by the various departments and agencies of the Federal Government that have definitely resulted in serious interference with legitimate trade union activities. There is an old saying that where there is much smoke there is bound to be fire. Goodness knows, there has been much in the way of condemnation offered by this convention, by reason of this conduct on the part of the various agencies and the individuals heading these various boards of our Federal Government.

Here is an instance where, by reason of the practice of the Reconstruction Finance Board, they threaten the very existence of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters. We have been dealing collectively with our employers for nearly 50 years, and these employers, during all of that time, have regularly, in season and out of season, sat around the conference table with our Conference Committee, and we have always brought forth an agreement which was the result of true collective bargaining. I can say with all sincerity that the result of these wage conferences of ours has been that our employers have dealt fairly with our people, and I believe to a degree not exceeded by the employers of any other industry in the United States of America or any place in the world.

I wish to mention in passing the fact that we have been affiliated with the American Federation of Labor since 1900 without a single break in all that time. Recently a joint commission was sent to England to make a study of the collective bargaining arrangements, or the employer-employee arrangements in Great Britain. That commission brought back a most glowing report, commending to the highest degree the policy of the employers in England because of the fairness with which the employers deal with their employees. May I repeat, we have accomplishments in these nearly 50 years' relationship with our employers that not even England has exceeded. May I say to you that the basic intent of the NIRA was to raise wages and to shorten hours, of course with the ultimate object of helping labor and advancing la-

bor's interests and furthering the improvement of labor's welfare.

Now we have made all of these accomplishments. The NIRA came and went on; it was not noted in its coming nor in its passing in our industry, because we have practiced honest-to-God collective bargaining. Can you imagine our concern? Do you wonder why we are alarmed and worried for fear that all these things are trying to be taken from us because the Reconstruction Finance Corporation is lending money to individuals, or rather to new concerns coming into an industry that is already overdeveloped and whose market is extremely limited. Then we have the menace of foreign competition to a degree that no other industry has to face.

Do you wonder that we enter a protest and why we are asking the American Federation of Labor to say to this American Government of ours that it should not be a party to tearing down something that they have been striving for in these various activities since 1933, and those objectives sought in the enactment of the many laws that have been enacted by Congress since 1933?

Some individuals who absolutely could not go to any bank of any standing, or to any financial institution that has the security of its funds in mind, that would loan them money; and only because of political influence they are parties to lending money to new concerns coming in—may I say again, to an industry that is already overdeveloped and has a very limited market. A sad part of the whole thing is this: One of these firms in particular went and offered its products for sale to competitors of our employers at 25 and 30 per cent less, only because of the fact that they are paying their employees 40 per cent less in wages than our employers pay to our members.

I want to again say that that is a most startling statement to make. At least it has hit your ears with a lot of force. It may sound almost unbelievable, but, gentlemen, those are the facts. Is it not a sad commentary when our Government, those representatives who have been preaching by word of mouth, in season and out of season, since 1933 that their program called for the advancement of the working men and women of the nation, to think that they would be so reckless as to offer Government money for

such plans. We in labor circles usually do not refer to such a complaint in any reasonable terms. It seems to me it is a sad day when the Government of the United States of America will so conduct its business that it can, whether unwittingly or thoughtlessly, whether knowingly or otherwise, become a party to helping chiseling employers and to destroy a set-up of the kind and type that we have in the pottery industry of this nation.

I sat in the first meeting of the Industrial Conference, after the breaking off of the NIRA, at which conference Major Berry presided. I entered my protest at that time against any governmental intrusion or interference with the regular trade union activities. And still I am of that same opinion.

Our members are wondering what is going to happen to their jobs. What are they going to do to provide for their dependents after the Federal Government passes upon a few more of these applications for loans in addition to the one I have specifically referred to that is paying its employees 40 per cent less than our wage scale, which happens to be the Shawnee Pottery Company of Zanesville, Ohio, who secured their loans through the Democratic political boss of that county, an attorney who never has had any interest in the pottery industry.

I do not know whether the applications have been passed upon finally or not, but there are two potteries to start in the very near future in Paris, Texas, and they are depending, so I am reliably informed, if they have not already secured it, on a \$150,000 loan to operate each of those potteries in Paris, Texas. And I have it from a source that I have no reason for doubting that the program calls for the employment of a few skilled potters that have been imported from up North. Then they are to use native labor at wages even less than the employers to whom I have referred as paying 40 per cent less than the wages paid in potteries where we have a collective bargaining arrangement. It is also recorded from a source I believe to be true, that there is another making in Wheeling, West Virginia, and that there is another in Gordon, Georgia, with rumors of other places in the Southland where they expect to take advantage of native labor. And you know what that means.

I am somewhat disappointed with the report of the committee. I was anticipating

something more definite, something more decisive, and something more direct than the report, because, brothers and sisters, to us this is our bread and butter. It is true I understand the RFC was conceived for the purpose of bringing about resumption of employment in industry, to give employment to American citizens, and I am 100 per cent in accord with that objective. But where is the gain in an industry like ours? With the industry over-developed as it is, with our markets so limited as they are, where is the gain, I ask, in using Federal money to start potteries in localities where it is the specific intention to establish exceedingly low wages, much lower wages than are now being paid the organized pottery workers of the country? I say, where is the gain?

Assuming that there are as many potters skilled in employment in pottery making after they get through with this program as there are at the present time, there can be only one result. I grant there will be as many potters employed, yes, but they will be employed at a wage much lower than the established wage for pottery workers in this country, and it will be driving out of employment pottery workers who have spent their entire lives in the industry.

And where are they going to find employment? Probably they can go on relief, but to any intelligent, any observant American citizen the destructiveness of that relief program must be apparent. It is not bringing back prosperity. We do not want relief. We want a decent and a fair chance to continue on with this fine collective bargaining system that we have practiced for nearly 50 years, and I do not think we are asking anything from the American Federation of Labor that we have not the right to expect, and that is immediate action, because immediate action is necessary because of the fact that these applications have already been granted or they are to be approved in the very near future.

I am sorry I cannot be more specific and accurate regarding whether or not they have been approved, but that is because in Washington they do not believe in keeping you informed regarding these matters. I have written many letters, I have appealed to our congressmen and our senator. I have asked for service in this connection, with the usual experience that if they do answer your letters it is in a very evasive way. The fact

of the matter is I doubt if we would have received a reply at all from these letters of protest had it not been for the fact that we have in the State of Ohio, running for re-election, a senator who bears the title of "Dear Robert," and he knows that he has a fight on his hands for re-election. In that situation he has gone through the motions of trying to get us the up-to-the-minute information regarding these matters, but it has not been what we expected.

May I say to you we are expecting service in this situation, and if we do not get it, and get it very shortly, I am very much afraid that the per capita tax to the American Federation of Labor from the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters will certainly decrease considerably. And I am not saying that with any thought in mind of wanting to be nasty and mean toward the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, because, after all, all the real danger here is taking the bread and butter from thousands of pottery workers and their dependents.

No, we haven't, may I say, 400,000 members with 400,000 votes that we can offer to any political party; neither do we have any bulging treasury so that we can offer financial assistance to any political party. I say to the powers that be in Washington that we have demonstrated in a most unusual and most practical way for nearly 50 years an honest-to-God collective bargaining basis that challenges, in my opinion, the sincerity of the powers that be in Washington who have been offering lip service to the working men and women of this country.

May I say our experience and our accomplishments are a challenge to their sincerity for the success of a practical and an honest-to-God employer-employee relationship, and they could show their sincerity in their acceptance of that challenge by immediately providing rules and regulations that will stop Uncle Sam from being a party to assisting chiseling employers, who certainly are destructive of the interests and the welfare of the workers of this nation.

Let me say in conclusion that the pottery industry is not the only one involved, because I understand the garment industry and the glass industry have suffered likewise, and the question is what industry will do next.

President Green and members of the Executive Council, I say to you now in behalf of and in the interests of the people I rep-

resent, please take immediate action to have this destructive policy stopped.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? There being no further remarks, the question recurs on the committee's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: I feel justified in assuring President Duffy that, inasmuch as this resolution was referred to the Executive Council, we shall give it priority and preference. We will take it up as quickly as possible.

Application of Upholsterers' International Union for Transfer of A. F. of L. Directly Affiliated Local Unions of Mattress, Bedding, Casket, Awning Workers

Resolution No. 90--By Delegates Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, There exists at the present time a number of Federal Labor Unions operating under Charter, issued by the American Federation of Labor composed of workers engaged in the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding, Casket, Awning and other allied crafts; and

WHEREAS, The Upholsterers' International Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, has jurisdiction over the organization of these industries; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it be recognized that these existing Federal Labor Unions do properly belong with the Upholsterers' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That these existing Federal Labor Unions be at once notified by the American Federation of Labor to transfer to the Upholsterers' International Union; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor issue no more Charters to Federal Labor Unions in the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding, Awning, Casket and allied crafts of the industry, but upon receipt of applications for Charters from such groups of workers that they be at once turned over to the Upholsterers International Union.

The introducer of this resolution has requested your committee to amend the resolution by eliminating the words "furniture and frame," so that the first whereas will read:

"WHEREAS, There exists at the present time a number of Federal Labor Unions operating under charters issued by the American Federation of Labor composed of upholsterers, mattress, bedding, casket trimmers

and awning workers, and allied crafts; and" so that the last resolve shall read:

"RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor issue no more charters to Federal Labor Unions having as members upholsterers, mattress, bedding, casket trimmers and awning workers, and allied crafts; but upon receipt of application for charter from such groups of workers, that they be at once turned over to the Upholsterers International Union."

Your committee in submitting the resolution as amended favors the purpose of the resolution, but there may be other crafts having an interest, and so that there may be no action taken which would create further questions, your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council so that any International Union interested in the purpose of the resolution may be heard.

In connection with its report the committee believes that a careful examination should be made by the Executive Council so that where Federal Labor Unions exist, the members of which should properly be under the jurisdiction of affiliated National or International Unions, the necessary steps may be taken which will bring about such necessary transfers of membership as the facts and circumstances justify.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Issuance of International Charter to Cement Plant Employees

Resolution No. 91--Introduced by Delegates Joseph A. McInerney, President, and Herbert Rivers, Secretary-Treasurer, of Building and Construction Trades Department.

In accordance with the action of the Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, we submit the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Labor went on record at the 1934 American Federation of Labor Convention held in the City of San Francisco to launch an organizing program to organize mass production workers in plants, factories and other places of employment; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in carrying out this organizing program did organize certain cement plants in Federal Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, Trade organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor have

also organized certain cement plants and have obtained trade agreements; and

WHEREAS, these Federal Labor Unions have formed a Council and through such Council are now seeking to obtain a National or International charter from the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the issuance of a National or International charter to the Cement Plant Employees would infringe and trespass upon the existing jurisdiction of the respective trade organizations who are now affiliated with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, the products of the cement plants are handled and used exclusively by mechanics and laborers that are part of already existing militant trade organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, the employees of the manufacturing cement plants would be highly protected and benefited by being directly affiliated with the respective trade organizations that handle the products of the said cement plants: Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the International Organizations affiliated with the Building and Construction Trades Department in convention assembled protest to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and to the American Federation of Labor to the granting and issuing of a National or International charter to the Cement Plant Employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the employees of the cement plant already organized in Federal Labor Unions transfer their affiliation to the respective trades and labor organizations already having jurisdiction over their work; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the American Federation of Labor transfer and assign to the respective International Unions the employees in the cement plants belonging to each craft and calling; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the Building and Construction Trades Department be directed to present this resolution to the American Federation of Labor at its Fifty-eighth Annual Convention for their consideration and action.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Territorial Form of Government for Puerto Rico

Resolution No. 95—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court on various decisions has declared that

Puerto Rico is a part of the United States as an organized territory, but that it is not an incorporated one; and

WHEREAS, We believe that a proper territorial form of government for the island should be initiated by Congress without further delay to the end that the people of the island be enabled to rapidly develop full and complete economic and political self-government: therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled believing Puerto Rico to be a full part of the United States, therefore makes the recommendation that an incorporated territorial form of government be initiated and established in Puerto Rico by the Congress of the United States without further delay and that the people of Puerto Rico be enabled to rapidly develop full and complete economic and political self-government by granting the right to elect its Governor and other high officials.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Formation of "Latin" Federation of Workers for Pan-American Countries

Resolution No. 96—By Delegate Santiago Iglesias, Puerto Rico Free Federation of Workingmen.

WHEREAS, A report from the City of Mexico has announced that a "Latin" Federation of Workers was organized by the CMT under almost the same principles and aims of the Pan-American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, It has been established that the Pan-American Federation of Labor did not make differences between labor organization from Latin or Saxon areas and believing that the "Latin" Federation of Workers appears to be a creation of racial prejudices and a dual organization against the Pan-American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By this convention assembled of the American Federation of Labor, that we reject the idea of dividing the Western Hemisphere labor between Latin or Saxon federations and we call upon all the labor organizations throughout all America to maintain the principles and aims of the Pan-American Federation of Labor as it embodies the idea of a United Labor Federation regardless of the divisions of "Latin" or "Saxon" America.

Your committee recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted by unanimous vote.

Proposing Convention to Form an International Union of Seamen

Resolution No. 98—By Delegate Wm. R.

Ross, Central Trades Council, Mobile, Alabama.

The necessity for proper organization of the Seamen plying their vocations along the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts and Great Lakes is one of great importance, not alone to the men directly involved, but to the communities which depend in large measures upon the marine industries for their prosperity and welfare.

It is believed that if the men constituting the so-called "unlicensed personnel" were given the opportunity to express themselves in a general conference, some feasible and practical plan could and would be promulgated whereby those directly affected would be benefited and the wholehearted cooperation of the workers secured. Several efforts have in the past two years been made to revive the principles of the former International Seamen's Union, namely a Union where the entire direction was under the control of the members. The most recent effort, that of organizing under a Federal charter, was productive of good results and it is believed that if the plan had been carried out and a convention held, the growth would have been rapid and the interests of those now holding aloof, secured. The Seamen want a permanent organization; an organization representative of their vocation, an organization with specified purposes and directed by men of their own choosing. It is believed that the present plan should be continued for a period of four months with the express understanding that at the end of that time (four months) a convention is to be held and a permanent International Union perfected, with officers to be elected by a referendum vote of the paid-up membership and a constitution adopted by the same manner. At present and as carried on in the past months, the Seamen are, so to state, "all at sea." One plan after another is proposed, tried and then discarded. This entails the expenditure of time, effort and money without permanent achievements and creates the thought in the minds of the workers of inability of leaders to cope and deal with problems as they arise. Uniform contracts cannot be made as at present operated.

In the interest of the Labor Union movement generally, that of the American Federation of Labor and the Seamen in particular, the Central Trades Council of Mobile recommends to the officers and delegates in convention assembled in Houston, Texas, that they go on record as favoring the holding of a convention of the seamen now members of Federal Union No. 21420, and such as may become members between the present time and some definitely stated date, under the auspices and direction of the American Federation of Labor, to the end that an International Union of Seamen may be organized and the opponents of the American Federation of Labor Union movement kept from sowing seeds of strife and discord in the marine industry of our nation.

Your committee is advised that pending negotiations for agreement making possible the very early chartering of a new international

union of seamen are proceeding most favorably, and that the formation of such an international union is about to be consummated. In view of this development your committee recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Protect Trade Union Agreements in U. S. Investigation of Fluid Milk Distribution Industry

Resolution No. 99—By Delegates Daniel J. Tobin, Thomas L. Hughes, John M. Gillespie, John O'Rourke, George Wilson, F. W. Brewster, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The fluid milk distribution business in the United States employs approximately 200,000 workers, ranking it among the nation's leading industries; and

WHEREAS, Until the last several decades this industry was notorious for its sub-standard wages and excessive hours; and

WHEREAS, Affiliated Locals of Milk Wagon Drivers and Inside Dairy workers of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America have been instrumental in organizing a substantial portion of the employers engaged in the distribution and processing of fluid milk; and

WHEREAS, Economic conditions in the industry have allegedly created an unstable state of chaos in the industry which in some sections of the country is rampant with unfair trade and labor practices; and

WHEREAS, The Department of Justice pursuant to the exercise of its function, has seen fit to make a nationwide investigation of the operation of the fluid milk industry which at present is being conducted with a view of stopping any inequities in the light of the greatest public good; and

WHEREAS, Many employers both large and small, have been notorious for their anti-union attitude as evidenced by the low wages and long hours prevalent in the dairy industry; therefore, be it

RESOLVED that the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled herewith goes on record as welcoming a study of this industry by the Government, in which study care ought to be exercised so as not to create conditions making it impossible to improve sub-standard wages and hours, as they now exist in some localities; and be it further

RESOLVED that the American Federation of Labor goes on record as approving any instrumentality of the Government which will result in stopping any monopolistic practices on the part of any given industry in the

United States and especially in the fluid milk business if the evidence shows such a monopoly exists in any given area; and be it further

RESOLVED That the President of the United States and Congress be petitioned to the effect that any proposed change in legislation, or voluntary marketing agreements contain no provisions which would be inimical to the welfare of the workers engaged in this vast industry which would lower wages or lengthen hours, or which would disturb the stability of conditions existing through trade union agreements.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Reduce Competition of Foreign Sugar for Benefit of American Beet Sugar Industry

Resolution No. 100—By Delegate Roy M. Brewer, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

(The original resolution appears at page 227 of the second day's proceedings.)

Substitute Resolution

Your committee has been requested by the introducer of the resolution to offer a substitute reading as follows:

WHEREAS, The Beet Sugar Industry of America is of greatest importance to the workers and farmers of this Nation; and

WHEREAS, The welfare and prosperity of the workers and farmers engaged in the beet sugar industry is directly affected by the welfare and prosperity of the industry as a whole; and

WHEREAS, Many of the workers in this industry are members of this great American Federation of Labor; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor record their allegiance to the many workers in the Beet Sugar Industry, and express their hope to the Government officials charged with the administration of the Sugar Act of 1937, that this Act be administered, as was clearly intended by Congress at the time of its passage, in such a way as to maintain the American Sugar Industry and thereby protect the welfare of the many workers dependent upon it for a livelihood.

Your committee recommends approval of the substitute.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The Committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 101 and 102, which are as follows:

Protesting Issuance of Charters by Canadian Trades and Labor Congress to Provincial and Local Central Labor Unions.

Resolution No. 101—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Hamilton, Ont., Trades and Labor Council.

WHEREAS, Section 3 of the report of the Special Committee on Relations of Organizations in Canada and the United States, at the A. F. of L. Convention of 1910, gave to the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress the sole right to issue charters, certificates of affiliation to Provincial or Local Central Bodies in Canada; and

WHEREAS, The action of the officials of the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress in welcoming known Communists and the Communist-dominated CIO into the Trades and Labour Congress and its affiliated Provincial and Local Central Bodies has proven detrimental to bona fide International Unions, resulting in loss of prestige in the eyes of the general public and the refusal of the Federal and Ontario Provincial Governments to act upon any of the legislative programmes of the Canadian Congress; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That Section 3 of the report of the Special Committee on the Relations of Organizations in Canada and the United States, at the 1910 Convention be repealed, and that the sole right of issuing charters to Provincial and Local Labour Central Bodies in Canada shall be in the hands of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

Protesting Infringement Upon Jurisdiction of Affiliated International Unions by Trades and Labor Congress of Canada

Resolution No. 102—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

WHEREAS, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada is maintained as a Canadian Legislative Mouthpiece for the American Federation of Labor, by the International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, through chartering of National Unions, is continually infringing upon the jurisdiction of International Unions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, instruct its Executive Council to order the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada to refrain from issuing National Charters to any Groups where there is already an established International Union having jurisdiction over said Groups; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Officers of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, be ordered to turn over to the proper International Unions, all Members of its National

Unions, whose type of work places them within the jurisdiction of International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The hearings before your committee indicate a most regrettable condition within the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, due to the infiltration of both the CIO and the Communist Party. The testimony given to your committee indicates that for over a year it had been practically impossible to secure consideration of labor legislation due to the attitude of the Provincial legislatures to give consideration to legislation which, in their opinion, was fostered and shaped by CIO and Communist sources.

Further testimony indicates that the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress had issued the equivalent of national charters to groups of workmen in Canada in conflict with the jurisdiction of existing International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

It has also developed it was issuing charters to Central Labor Councils without consultation, advice or approval of the American Federation of Labor. This has raised the serious question of the control of such Central Labor Unions, as well as the National Unions chartered by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Your committee is convinced that unless this condition is speedily remedied, vital injury will be done to the legitimate trade union movement in Canada and to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress itself.

Your committee believes that under existing conditions in Canada, the Executive Council should issue instructions that every Central Labor Union composed of unions of affiliated organizations must hold a charter from the American Federation of Labor in addition to such charters as it may hold from the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

These instructions embrace likewise instructions to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress that it cannot issue charters to any local or Federal union, or charters of any kind, without such application for charter first having received the approval of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

And with the further understanding that all charters heretofore issued by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, or those hereafter to be issued, may be suspended or re-

voked at any time by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor under conditions and circumstances which would justify such action.

We submit these recommendations in lieu of the resolutions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 103 and 104, which are as follows:

Adequate Taxation Against Shipping Companies to Pay Operating Costs of Canals and Harbors, Dominion of Canada.

Resolution No. 103—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

WHEREAS, One of the greatest contributory factors to our ever-increasing national debt is the tremendous expenditures on our canals and harbors; and

WHEREAS, The services supplied through these expenditures are used almost entirely by private corporations and companies for gain; and

WHEREAS, Any taxes and tariffs levied against shipping companies for the use of these services do not ever pay the operating costs in connection with any canal or harbor; and

WHEREAS, Due to these conditions, the general public, through their taxes, are subsidizing private corporations and companies; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to instruct all affiliated Central Bodies and Local Unions of affiliated International Unions in Canada, to petition their Local Federal members of Parliament to have the Dominion Government make all canals and harbors self-sustaining.

Protesting Tax Exemption of Interurban Trucks and Buses Operating in Canada.

Resolution No. 104—By Delegate John F. Cauley, Trades and Labor Council, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has continuously opposed unfair or cut-throat competition, because such competition always forces a lowering of wage rates and living standards; and

WHEREAS, The policy of the American Federation of Labor instructs us to work diligently for the success of those who support us, if we wish to make of ourselves a success; and

WHEREAS, In the Dominion of Canada there exists a Department of Transport with Federal jurisdiction over all railways in the country, which fixes all railway freight and passenger rates; and

WHEREAS, At the present time there is no Federal or Provincial Board with authority to set freight or passenger rates on highway trucks or buses in existence; and

WHEREAS, The railways are required to buy, maintain and pay taxes on all their right-of-ways, while interurban buses and trucks pay nothing whatever for the use of the streets in cities, towns and villages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record to instruct all affiliated Central Bodies and Local Unions of affiliated International Unions in Canada, First, to petition their Local Federal and Provincial members of Parliament to have all interurban trucks and buses placed under the jurisdiction of the Federal Department of Transport, and, second, to petition their local city, town and county councils to compel all interurban trucks and buses to pay for the use of streets within the limits of all cities, towns and villages.

These resolutions, while dealing with separate subjects, relate to legislation desired by our Canadian membership.

Your committee finds itself in accord with the legislation sought, but believes it inadvisable that a convention of the American Federation of Labor should make a specific declaration relative to Canadian legislation, feeling this is a subject properly within the jurisdiction of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

It is therefore recommended that these resolutions be referred to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, with the favorable comment made thereon by your committee.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Cauley, Hamilton, Ontario, Trades and Labor Council: Mr. Chairman, while I agree with the recommendation of the committee, inasmuch as it is a legislative matter and therefore under the jurisdiction of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, under the present set-up of that Congress the question cannot be handled to the satisfaction of the international unions in affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. Unless the Canadian Congress situation is cleaned up, and do doubt it will be, in view of the former resolution—nevertheless, we have to appear before the Ontario government this November, and rather than attempt to go to the Ontario government through the Trades and Labor Congress under their present set-up, we had far better stay home, because as you well know, the political battle in the last Ontario election was fought on one issue and

one issue alone. That issue was to keep Lewis and CIO lawlessness out of the Province of Ontario. On that platform the present Ontario government received the largest majority that any government has ever received in the history of the Province of Ontario.

In the supposedly CIO stronghold of Oshawa, the elected member was elected on that platform. Therefore, at the last presentation to the Ontario government last February 8, when President Draper, of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, surrounded himself with known members of the Communist Party, with officials of the CIO, not one piece of legislative matter presented to them was acted upon.

In that presentation the organization of which I am a member had three points. Following President Draper's interview with the government, we were requested to present our own legislative demands from our own organization, that of the Engineers, and they were acted upon and passed. These resolutions that are before the convention at the present time affect in the neighborhood of 90,000 members of international trade unions in the Province of Ontario.

To turn this matter over to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress at the present time, in view of the fact that it is not likely to be cleaned up by November, will nullify our efforts to obtain this legislation for another year. The only reason we have brought resolutions to this convention is in view of the Canadian situation, and we only ask from this convention that the convention endorse these requests in order that when we appear before the Ontario government this coming November, I, as the spokesman for the legislative body from our central body, can say to the Ontario government that we are submitting this necessary legislation and that we had it approved by the international unions in Ontario affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Therefore, while I quite agree, as I said a while ago, with the committee's report, I would request in order that it go in the record that we be allowed to at least say to the Ontario government that the American Federation of Labor and the international unions in affiliation with it support us in this legislation, and we sincerely hope before another convention of this body rolls around that the Canadian situation will be straightened up.

Other than that you will have to set up a new Congress the same as we had to set up a new central body in Hamilton, and I may say for the benefit of the delegates and the presidents of the various international unions, while it may be a little to the side of the mark, that there has not been one international union that stayed with the American Federation of Labor in the city of Hamilton since we took our stand that has not increased its membership, in many cases doubled its membership. We have once more regained public opinion, whereas in the case of the dual CIO central body, chartered by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, three of the international unions that went with them have practically gone out of existence and the CIO in Hamilton is an absolutely dead issue. In my opinion there are not fifty paid-up members of the total CIO organizations in the city of Hamilton.

With that, Mr. Chairman, I would like this convention to endorse our request.

Secretary Frey: Mr. Chairman, the committee endeavored to meet Delegate Cauley's problem and avoid a definite commitment by a convention meeting in the United States upon legislation being introduced into another country. I would like to re-read one portion of that report. This is what we say:

"Your committee finds itself in accord with the legislation sought."

If the convention adopts the committee's report, that is an endorsement of the legislation without committing this American Federation of Labor to specifically declare itself in connection with legislation in another country. The committee believes that its report grants exactly what Delegate Cauley requested.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Prevailing Wage Scales for Labor Employed in Industries Producing Materials for W. P. A. Projects

Resolution No. 106—By Delegate Jos. N. Cummings, Federation of Labor, Detroit and Wayne County, Michigan.

WHEREAS, The WPA has established a fairly decent prevailing wage in all of the various labor classifications covering all districts in the United States for force account labor, and

WHEREAS, Much of the activity of WPA

on furnishing materials, such as stone, sand and gravel, etc., are let on a contract basis, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Detroit and Wayne County Federation of Labor request of and at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor that they instruct their Executive Board to request of WPA officials that all labor performed in the furnishing of materials on a contractual basis, should be paid not less than the prevailing WPA wage scale schedules for the locality in which the labor is being performed.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

\$30.00 Monthly Minimum Old Age Pension

Resolution No. 110—By Delegate Roy M. Brewer, Nebraska State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The Old Age Pension Program of many of the states of the Union is wholly inadequate to sustain life; and

WHEREAS, Under the Social Security Program, there is available the sum of \$15.00 per month, provided it is matched by an equal amount by the states, making a pension of \$30.00 monthly for the needy aged; and

WHEREAS, Many of the states in the Union, including Nebraska, have not as yet seen fit to provide their needy aged with a pension equivalent to \$30.00 monthly, and now therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in cooperation with the various State Federations of Labor, begin a nationwide campaign for a minimum pension of not less than \$30.00 monthly to the needy aged, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the various state legislatures that have not as yet passed such legislation be urged to take advantage of the maximum provisions for old age pensions under the Social Security Law.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Committee on Social Security appointed by the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Establishment of International Union of Office Workers

Resolution No. 113 by Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is apparent that the Office Workers' Unions as now chartered by the American Federation of Labor are widely scattered and need closer cooperation and coordination and could extend their power

and prestige by combining into an International Union; and

WHEREAS, Existing Office Workers' Locals can be more thoroughly united and solidified through the formation of an International Union which would bring about uniformity in wage standards and the promotion of organizational activities among unorganized workers in the office and clerical field; and

WHEREAS, The growth and development of Office Workers' Unions during the past year has proven that the formation of an International Union is essential to the advancement of office workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at its last Convention held at Denver, Colorado, organized the American Federation of Office Employees National Council as a forerunner to an International Union; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor endorse this resolution which will place the Federation on record for the establishment of an International Union for Office Employees; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to introduce and work for this resolution.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Condemning Attitude of U. S. Senators and Congressmen Opposing Great Lakes-St. Lawrence Waterway Project

Resolution No. 114—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, For many years an effort has been made to obtain a deep-seaway connecting the Great Lakes with the Atlantic Ocean by means of a canal along the St. Lawrence River Route; and

WHEREAS, Various states not adversely affected by, nor concerned in the construction of the canal, have refused to support us in our desire and need to obtain this means of direct ocean transportation and power therewith; and

WHEREAS, Our various Senators and Congressmen have during these many years assisted in or permitted the passage of legislation favoring those states whose Senators and Congressional Representatives have wrongfully, willfully and maliciously refused and denied us, without just cause, this much needed national improvement and the benefits thereof; and

WHEREAS, Such shamefully unjust and detrimental action is now worthy of note and attention on the part of our Honorable

United States Senators and Congressional Representatives, who favor this legislation and the creation of such a canal for the greater good of our country and its people; and

WHEREAS, They have within their power the right to refuse and deny to such unjust Senators and Representatives in Congress, any further assistance in matters affecting the welfare of their states or until such time as such objection to the enactment of legislation favoring the deep-seaway is withdrawn and the Legislation enacted; therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, that our various Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to take immediate steps to obtain for our nation this much needed improvement; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event of the failure or refusal of Congress to pass or favorably act upon the proposed canal and the required legislation therefor, that our United States Senators and Representatives in Congress, favoring the same, be requested to oppose any and all legislation favoring states whose Senators and Representatives refuse or fail to cooperate and assist us; and be it further

RESOLVED, That they be requested to continue such opposition until such time as the proposed legislation for the deep-seaway be passed and the construction thereof assured; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor delegate present a similar resolution to the American Federation of Labor Convention.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Opposing Consolidation of Railroads Until Evils of Railroad Financing Are Eliminated

Resolution No. 116—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt in conference with Railroad Labor Representatives and Railroad Officials this week, discussed the financial difficulties of the railroads, and in the President's remarks he cited consolidation of the railroads as one of the matters for consideration; and

WHEREAS, The railroads are in need of a complete overhauling of their financial set-up, lowering of the interest rates on many millions of dollars in bonds that should be considered little better than worthless and a program of manufacturing of their own equipment and supplies, rather than their present system of purchasing at excessive prices; and

WHEREAS, Consolidation will mean more unemployment with a discontinuance of rail-

road service to many communities and yet not scratch the surface in lessening the railroads' problems; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Forty-sixth Annual Convention of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, go on record as opposed to consolidation of the railroads until after all evils of railroad financing have been eliminated; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be presented to the coming American Federation of Labor Convention and to the Presidents of the 21 standard Railroad Labor Organizations.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council so that it may confer with the officers of the Railway Employees Department of the A. F. of L.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Changes in Requirements for Distribution of American Federationist Among Members of Directly Affiliated Local Unions

Resolution No. 117—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, It is the policy of the American Federation of Labor to send a copy of the "American Federationist" to members of Federal Labor Unions who have paid dues for the previous month; and

WHEREAS, Union members that are lax in dues payments are also usually lax in attending meetings of their Union and therefore get very little education on Unionism; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor requires Federal Labor Unions to submit a monthly report of members that have paid dues during the previous month, together with a list of new members; members suspended or retired and changes of addresses; and

WHEREAS, In the case of Federal Labor Unions having several hundred or thousands of members; the preparation of such a monthly list requires several days each month; and

WHEREAS, The policies referred to above do not tend to simplify the operations of Federal Labor Unions nor do they tend to educate the Federal Labor Union members on Unionism as much as is possible; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Delegate of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor to the next convention of the American Federation of Labor introduce a resolution at the A. F. of L. convention embodying the following rules to govern the issuance of the Official publication of the American Federation of Labor, entitled, "American Federationist" to Federal Labor Union members.

1. Federal Labor Unions shall supply a copy of their membership roll together with the

addresses of their members to the Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor each year; thereafter they shall be required to submit a monthly list of new members; members suspended, retired or withdrawn together with changes of names and addresses.

2. A copy of the "American Federationist" shall be sent to all members in good standing with the Federal Labor Union and the American Federation of Labor; the definition of "good standing" to be determined in accordance with the Constitution and By-Laws of the Federal Labor Union; provided such Constitution and By-Laws have been approved by the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee having consulted with those in charge of keeping the records in Washington, recommend adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Request Boards of Education to Require X-Ray of Chest in Health Examinations of School Students

Resolution No. 119—By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York City and Vicinity.

WHEREAS, recognition of the occupational hazards in certain industries has taken on a new significance over the past few years; and

WHEREAS, in the State of New York there has been placed on the statute books a splendid law known as the Occupational Disease Law; and

WHEREAS, in the schools of the Nation, particularly the vocational schools, we are training boys and girls to take their place in industry; and

WHEREAS, health examinations in the schools, particularly the vocational schools are a necessary part of the organization, and a thorough knowledge of a child's physical set-up should be a part of his entrance regulations to the vocational schools; and

WHEREAS, no physical examination can be said to be complete without an X-ray of the chest to discover hidden and unsuspected disease before clinical symptoms of advanced disease appear; and

WHEREAS, with the recent advent of the dollar chest X-ray for survey purposes, it is no longer prohibitively expensive to include that important clinical measure in routine health examinations; and

WHEREAS, with the speed at which such chest X-rays can now be made, within the school building, there is a very minimum of time lost from the regular class room work; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Committee on Education of the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity, recommends to Boards of Education that an X-ray of the chest be made a routine part of the complete periodic health examination of all

Senior High School pupils, Continuations and Trade School pupils; and be it further

RESOLVED, that the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity in meeting assembled on Thursday, September 22, 1938, in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, New York, unanimously adopts this resolution and recommends that the delegate to the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Houston, Texas, present this resolution to the Committee on Education with the recommendation that throughout the Nation boards of education be requested to follow this same logical procedure in setting up vocational education programs.

Your committee recommends concurrence with the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Assist Committee of Affiliated Organizations, New York City, to Expose Activities of "National Federation of Labor, Inc."

Resolution No. 120—By Delegate James C. Quinn, Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity.

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Labor, Inc., which was established some months ago, apparently to organize and foster company unions and thus block real organization of workers, sought and was denied a charter by the New York State Board of Standards and Appeals, as "not in the interests of sound public policy" because, the purposes of the proposed federation "are not wholly altruistic or solely designed for the promotion of the mutual betterment, protection and advancement of workers" and "the similarity in name to that of the American Federation of Labor would tend to create confusion and to deceive"; and

WHEREAS, The National Federation of Labor, Inc., later obtained a charter from the State of Delaware, and the organization has since been endeavoring to operate in the City and State of New York, apparently attempting to set up "straw unions" to prevent bona fide unionization of hitherto unorganized workers; and

WHEREAS, A committee has been formulated in the City of New York, on which there is represented officers of the following organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, viz.: Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York, Long Island and Vicinity, Allied Printing Trades Council of New York State, International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees and Moving Picture Machine Operators of the United States, International Brotherhood of Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mill Workers of the United States, and Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union of America; and

WHEREAS, This committee having been

formulated to cooperate in exposing and offsetting the activities of the said National Federation of Labor, Inc.; and

WHEREAS, the aforementioned joint committee organized in the City of New York, believes that its activities should be directed and supervised by representatives of the American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Central Trades and Labor Council of Greater New York and Vicinity in meeting assembled on Thursday, September 22nd, 1938, in Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, New York, unanimously adopts this resolution and recommends that the Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Houston, Texas, give approval to this proposal, and that the subject matter be referred to the Executive Council for its consideration and action.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be compiled with and referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Compulsory Arbitration Clauses in CIO Agreements

Resolution No. 121—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor and all unions affiliated therewith have consistently opposed the inclusion of compulsory arbitration clauses in agreements affecting their membership; and

WHEREAS, This policy has proved to be an economic protection to the bona fide organized workers of the United States during the fifty-eight years of existence of the American Federation of Labor; and throughout the life of the labor movement in each state of the Union; and

WHEREAS, A dual alleged union organization, commonly referred to as the CIO, has since its inception attempted to menace the interests of the workers of California and the entire Pacific Coast, particularly in the maritime industry, by agreeing to a compulsory arbitration provision in agreements with employers; and

WHEREAS, Such practice creates a precedent detrimental to the workers; and

WHEREAS, The aforesaid dual organization has also agreed to the fixing of penalties for individual members for violation of agreements, in absolute violation of the constitutional rights of American workers and in violation of the principles of American trade unionism as exemplified by the American Federation of Labor and affiliated unions; and

WHEREAS, Such practices as those being prosecuted by the dual union organization are a dangerous factor and may bring about a set-back in the constructive activities of American Federation of Labor Unions and

destroy many years of hard, constructive, and consistent effort in the interest of bettering the conditions of workers; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention go on record against any form of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this convention instruct the Executive Council of the Federation to give all possible aid to such unions as are suffering because of the insincere practices of the dual organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be requested to give financial and moral support to all of its affiliated unions in resisting compulsory arbitration as well as the inroads or attacks by dual organization, with particular reference to the unions on the Pacific Coast.

Your committee is in complete accord with the object of this resolution, but cannot recommend that the American Federation of Labor bind itself to give the financial support referred to in the resolution.

Your committee therefore recommends adoption without the recommendation for financial assistance.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

To Permit Ladies' Garment Workers Federal Labor Union No. 21398, San Francisco, California, to Renew Organization Activities.

Resolution No. 122—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 is a bona fide union directly chartered by the American Federation of Labor, and affiliated with the California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council; and

WHEREAS, With the direct assistance of the California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council, General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 has been successful in organizing workers in the women's apparel industry under the banner of the American Federation of Labor who were previously unorganized, thereby bringing to these workers the benefits of a bona fide non-political labor organization; and

WHEREAS, General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 has organized workers in the field formerly under the jurisdiction of a union now directly or indirectly affiliated with the CIO, known as the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union; and

WHEREAS, The international president of this union has seemingly made overtures or representations to the American Federation of Labor, intimating that his organization might re-affiliate with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, President William Green, deciding that further organization at this particular time by the General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 in opposition to an international union seemingly interested in bringing peace and harmony to the labor movement would not serve the best interests of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398, being a loyal affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, has strictly complied with the request and advice of President William Green to discontinue accepting into membership any additional workers who wish to become affiliated with the General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398; and

WHEREAS, Despite such withdrawal from the field of organization by the General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398, many unorganized workers have been deprived of the opportunity of union affiliation, and will continue to be deprived of this opportunity through inability of any other union to give them the benefit of organization; and

WHEREAS, President William Green and the Executive Council have made every reasonable and honorable attempt to make possible the re-affiliation of organizations including the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, who cast their lot with a dual organization; and

WHEREAS, Despite all overtures, representations and intimations made by the leaders of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, there is no concrete evidence of any further re-affiliation by that organization with the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, The California State Federation of Labor has called this matter to the attention of the present convention of the American Federation of Labor and respectfully suggested that, if the re-affiliation of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is not consummated at a very early date, the General Garment Workers Federal Union No. 21398 be authorized to renew its organization activities, especially in the cotton goods industry; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record as approving the suggestion made by the California State Federation of Labor convention.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Ordinance of Shasta County, California, Requiring Licensing of Labor Organizations and Representatives to Carry on Activities

Resolution No. 127—By Delegates Joseph A. McInerney and Herbert Rivera, A. F. of L. Building and Construction Trades Department, delegates to this Convention.

In accordance with the action of the Convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, we submit the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the Board of Supervisors of the County of Shasta, State of California, did adopt the following ordinance in regular session of said Board the 25th day of July, 1938:

"The Board of Supervisors of the County of Shasta, State of California, do ordain as follows, to-wit:

SECTION 1. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation, whether as principal, clerk, servant, agent or employee, outside of the limits of any incorporated city of the County of Shasta, by force, violence, menace, threat, intimidation, coercion or corrupt means, either directly or indirectly, to seek, solicit, induce, or attempt to seek, solicit or induce, any person to join or take membership in any labor union or organization of employees or any other organization, or by force, violence, threat, intimidation, coercion, or corrupt means, either directly or indirectly, to seek, solicit or induce, or attempt to seek, solicit or induce, any employer or other person to compel or induce any employee or any other person to join or take membership in any labor union or organization of employees or any other organization.

SECTION 2. It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation, whether as principal, clerk, servant, agent or employee, outside of the limits of any incorporated city in the County of Shasta, to solicit or obtain membership of any employee of any employer in any labor union or organization of employees without first having procured a license to do so, as in this ordinance provided.

SECTION 3. The Board of Supervisors is hereby designated as a licensing board for the issuance of license under this ordinance.

SECTION 4. Any person desiring a license to engage in or carry on the work of soliciting membership as herein provided shall make application in writing to the Board of Supervisors upon such forms as may be provided by said Board of Supervisors, a copy of which shall at all times be attached to said license.

SECTION 5. Said application shall be left with the Clerk of said Board of Supervisors. Notice of the time and place of hearing of said application by said Board of Supervisors shall be given by publication in said County for not less than once a week for four successive weeks prior to the date of said hearing.

SECTION 6. Upon said hearing the said Board of Supervisors shall receive evidence and determine whether said applicant is of good moral character, and is likely to use force, violence, threats, menace, coercion, intimidation or corrupt means in his proposed work of solicitation. If the Board of Supervisors are satisfied that said applicant is of good moral character and will not resort

to force, violence, threat, menace, coercion, intimidation or corrupt means in his proposed work of solicitation, it shall direct the issuance of a license to said applicant for said purpose of solicitation upon payment of the license fee herein provided for.

SECTION 7. Each person to whom a license is issued hereunder shall pay to the County of Shasta for each period of one quarter a license fee in the sum of \$25.00.

SECTION 8. Any license to be issued hereunder shall be issued by the Tax Collector of the County of Shasta, State of California, upon payment to him in advance of the license fee hereinabove set forth. All money received in payment of said license fee shall be paid into the General Fund of the County of Shasta by the Tax Collector.

SECTION 9. No license issued under this ordinance shall be assignable or transferable nor shall it authorize any person, firm or corporation, other than the one named in the license, to do such business of solicitation. The photograph of such licensee shall be at all times attached to said license and shall be exhibited by said licensee to any person solicited for membership thereunder prior to any solicitation of membership authorized by said license.

SECTION 10. Each separate act in violation of any provision of this ordinance shall constitute a separate offense, and every person, firm or corporation violating any of the provisions of this ordinance shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and shall be punishable by a fine not exceeding \$500.00 or by imprisonment in the County Jail of the County of Shasta for not exceeding six months, or by both fine and imprisonment.

SECTION 11. This ordinance is hereby declared to be enacted in the exercise of the police power of the County of Shasta, State of California, if any section, sentence, clause or phrase of this ordinance shall be declared invalid, such declaration shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this ordinance. The Board of Supervisors hereby declare that it would have passed this ordinance and each section, sentence, clause and phrase thereof irrespective of the fact that any one or more sections, sentences clauses or phrases is declared unconstitutional or otherwise invalid.

SECTION 12. This ordinance is hereby declared to be an urgency measure necessary for the immediate preservation of public health and safety and should be put into full force and effect immediately upon its adoption. The facts constituting such urgency measure are as follows:

Because of the proposed construction of Shasta Dam hundreds of laboring men and organizers are migrating to this county and many unauthorized labor organizers and agitators are preying upon the bona fide and law-abiding labor factions, thereby causing a grave problem of kindred matters and in a manner detrimental to the general welfare of the County of Shasta, all of which would

cause irreparable damage to the peace, health, safety and morals of the County and its inhabitants" and

WHEREAS, the institution of such fees specified in this ordinance is nothing more than subterfuge to aid enemies of organized labor to destroy the activities of bona fide trade unions in this country and if permitted to go unchallenged will spread to other sections of this United States.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor go on record as condemning this ordinance in the most emphatic terms and condemn such vicious, detrimental legislation which has for its purpose the suppression of bona fide trade union activities and the denial of the constitutional rights of the individual members thereof.

Your committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Requesting That Maritime Commission Be
Petitioned to Allocate Three or More Ves-
sels to California Shipyards in U. S.
Ship Building Program**

Resolution No. 129.—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, Wm. E. Walter, Harry Nacey, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has appropriated one hundred million dollars for a shipbuilding program; and

WHEREAS, The Shipbuilding Corporations in California have shown no desire to submit bids for the construction of any of these vessels unless contracts be awarded Shipbuilding Corporations in California under a proviso of a ten per cent plus costs basis; and

WHEREAS, The Maritime Commission has power under the Welch amendment, with the approval of the President, to turn over work to the Pacific Coast Shipbuilding Yards, regardless of bids; and

WHEREAS, Shipbuilding is one of the major industries of California; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of various crafts engaged in shipbuilding, request the California State Federation of Labor assembled in Convention at Santa Barbara, California, September 19th to September 23rd inclusive, to petition the Maritime Commission to allocate three (3) or more vessels for construction, to the California shipyards; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Vice President of the United States, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of Labor, Maritime Commission, President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, President and

Secretary of Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, Governor and members of the California State Legislature, and the California State Chamber of Commerce.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Activity of Affiliated Organizations to
Defeat Anti-Labor Proposition No. 1 on
the November General Election Ballot
of California**

Resolution No. 130.—By Delegates John Coe-field, C. M. Baker, C. J. Haggerty, Joseph Marshall, Tom Nickola, Harry A. Milton, Daniel C. Murphy, Geo. C. Benton, James Waugh, Geo. W. Stokel, M. J. McDonough, M. J. Colleran, Edward L. Nolan.

Greetings:

WHEREAS, there is now before the people of the State of California one of the most vicious anti-labor proposals they have ever been called upon to consider; and

WHEREAS, this proposal appears under the title of Labor and is identified as Proposition No. 1 on the November 8th General Election ballot; and

WHEREAS, said proposal threatens the existence of every unit of organized labor in California, and the conditions for which individual unions and the American Federation of Labor movement in general has fought hard and to great expense and suffering for many years; and

WHEREAS, this proposal has for its purpose the destruction of every labor organization in the State of California, and if adopted will particularly impede the splendid progress of the Building and Construction Trades movement; and

WHEREAS, the proponents of this measure are fully aware that if adopted the functions of bona fide American Federation of Labor Trade Unions will be practically nullified in such a manner as to make them impotent to assist their members or sister organizations; and

WHEREAS, this measure makes it impossible for all councils, such as Building and Construction Trades Councils to work for the purposes for which they are organized, or to use their economic strength in the assistance of their affiliated unions, and

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled request all affiliated International Unions and their affiliated Unions throughout the State of California to have their friends and sympathizers vote against this unfair measure which we believe is the greatest threat that has ever confronted the trade union movement in America; and

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this Convention of the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as condemning this proposition, known as Proposition No. 1, as a vicious, un-American proposal, and hereby pledges the full support of this Federation to the California Labor Movement in its campaign against this tricky and misleading measure, and urges all International Unions to render immediately all possible support, financially and otherwise, to their affiliated organizations in California.

Your committee recommends concurrence with this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Graham, Montana State Federation of Labor: Mr. President, there are two other states that have as vicious initiative measures to be voted on at the fall election. The State of Oregon and the State of Washington have bills to be voted upon that are more vicious than the law proposed in California. The Washington Act provides that in case of a strike the union that is proposing the strike must give a notice of thirty days to the county auditor in the county in which the strike is to take place. If the strike is statewide, then the notice has to be given to the auditor in each county, and the auditor sets the date that suits his own pleasure when the strike vote is to be taken.

The bill provides that if a Typographical Union wants to go on strike the employer has to submit the names of all his employees in that print shop to the county auditor, and those who have employees in that print shop other than members of the Typographical Union who want to strike must vote on whether the strike shall take place in that shop or not; that is, the stereotypers, the pressmen, the bookbinders and the office help will vote on whether the Typographical Union members are to go on strike or not.

It is a vicious Act and it is an Act headed towards the totalitarian state. A similar Act is proposed in the State of Oregon, and if these things are allowed to go on it will mean the breakdown of our trade union movement on the Pacific Coast. The ones who have started these initiative measures in the States of California, Oregon and Washington are the associated industries, the associated farmers and some women's organizations that have been organized by the Chamber of Commerce and associated industries. We have also the Chamber of Commerce lined up to put these measures over. They have se-

cured signatures to secure the initiative in these states and put the measures on the ballot, and they have secured the money, they have barrels of money to put the measures over.

I believe the American Federation of Labor convention ought to go on record to give the State Federations of Labor in California, Oregon and Washington financial support if these measures carry in order to make a test of it in the Supreme Court of the United States.

If the measure is carried it will mean the end of trade unionism as we know it in the Pacific Coast states, and I would rather see the report of the committee referred back to the committee and take a little bit more energetic action on the measure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee amended Resolution No. 131 in the last "Whereas" by inserting the words "and all other railroad organizations." The amended resolution reads:

Pledging Assistance to Railroad Labor Organizations in Resistance to Wage Cut

Resolution No. 131.—By Delegates Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Mary Foley Grossman, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, according to the report of the Executive Council Page 53, "a reduction in the already too low wages of railroad employees is positively unjustified";

WHEREAS, wage cuts on railroads open up the danger of wage cuts in all industries, therefore be it

RESOLVED that the 58th Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge support to Railroad Brotherhoods in their resistance to this wage cut, and be it further

RESOLVED that for the purpose of cooperation with the Railroad Brotherhoods and all other railroad organizations a Committee be appointed.

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution as amended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Protesting Attitude of International Longshoremen's Union in Continuing Charters Issued to Licensed Officers

Resolution No. 132.—By Delegate John A. O'Connell, San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, the delegate from the San Francisco Labor Council to the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Denver,

Colorado, in 1937, was instructed by this body to protest the issuance of a dual licensed officers' charter by President Joseph P. Ryan and the International Longshoremen's Association, and

WHEREAS, this delegate carried out the instructions of the San Francisco Labor Council and resolution submitted at that time was referred to President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for speedy endorsement, and

WHEREAS, various conferences between the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, held with President Green in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C., have been fruitless because the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association refuse steadfastly to revoke dual charters, and

WHEREAS, the International Longshoremen's Association has failed to revoke charter No. 1650 composed of coastwise and ocean going Licensed Officers, although ordered to do so by President Green; therefore be it

RESOLVED, that this body reaffirm its former position of protesting the issuance of such dual charter and demand the International Longshoremen's Association to immediately revoke all charters issued to any organization not coming under their jurisdiction, and be it further

RESOLVED, that the officials of the International Longshoremen's Association be requested to pledge their organization to a policy of non-interference not only in the jurisdiction of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, but also any other legitimate affiliate of the American Federation of Labor which has been victimized by this raiding policy without regard to the decision and ethics of the legitimate American Federation of Labor policies, and be it finally

RESOLVED, that the delegate from the San Francisco Labor Council to the American Federation of Labor Convention to be held at Houston, Texas, be instructed to submit this resolution and work for the fulfillment of its purpose according to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Request That A. F. of L. Organizer Be Stationed at Lake Charles, La.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate W. R. Mayo, Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Southwest part of the State of Louisiana is not organized as well as it should be, particularly in several in-

dustries, such as the rice milling industry, which is one of our largest industries; laundry workers, which is one of the lowest paid classes of employees in the South; also the teamsters, chauffeurs and truck drivers in this section have deplorable conditions, and are all very anxious to be organized, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the Central Labor Union at Lake Charles, Louisiana, do earnestly request through our delegate, that the American Federation of Labor station an organizer in Lake Charles, Louisiana, and vicinity, to organize the above mentioned trades.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the President of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Favoring Support of the Proposed Domestic Allotment Plan for Agriculture

Resolution No. 135—By Delegates M. J. Dwyer, International Longshoremen's Association; W. R. Mayo, Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union; R. Varnado, Port Arthur, Texas, Trades and Labor Council; J. W. Park, Beaumont, Texas, Trades and Labor Assembly; Fred Sandberg, Sr., Texas City, Texas, Central Labor Union; W. R. Ross, Mobile, Ala., Central Trades Council.

WHEREAS, Employment and prosperity of labor and capital in commerce and in transportation depend directly and almost solely on the volume of commercial movement; and

WHEREAS, volume of commercial movement depends on the nature and volume of production, which is in the long run identical with the nature and volume of consumption; and

WHEREAS, the present low income of the farmer causes the greatest disparity in the exchange of industrial and farm products because of the minimum movement in commerce; and

WHEREAS, the present low production of farmers is one of the reasons causing this disparity in prices, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That a change in farm legislation be supported for the adoption of the Domestic Allotment Plan, which plan calls for parity prices on domestically consumed production, thereby causing the maximum exchange of industrial and farm products and the greatest movement in commerce. (Summary attached.)

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Pledging Cooperation to Present Director of United States Conciliation Service.

Resolution No. 136—By Delegates John J. Walsh, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America; Frank Burch, Philadelphia Central Labor Union, and William Ketner, Federal Labor Union No. 18887, Philadelphia.

WHEREAS, Since the inception of the United States Conciliation Service, more than two decades ago, the work of this Governmental Agency has been characterized by the outstanding service rendered to the workers of this country, and particularly so under the direction of the late Hugh Kerwin; and

WHEREAS, Since his passing the exceptionally fine work of this Bureau has been carried on by his successor; and

WHEREAS, We believe that those who carry out the functions of government that affect organized labor in an impartial manner should be commended; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the American Federation of Labor, assembled in the 58th Annual Convention at Houston, Texas, extend to the present Director of the United States Conciliation Service our assurance of fullest cooperation, to the end that the principle of conciliation in labor disputes may be assured a place in industrial relations between employers and employees in this country.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Vice President Woll: This completes the report of the committee on all resolutions presented, with the exception of a resolution of thanks which will be reported upon at the close of the convention.

However, the committee has several sections of the report of the Executive Council upon which to submit a report. The committee will continue its report upon the opening of tomorrow's session, on the balance of their report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ADJUSTMENT

President Green: The Chair now recognizes Chairman Rickert, of the Committee on Adjustment.

Vice-President Rickert: Delegate Maloney, Secretary of the committee, will read the report.

Delegate Maloney, Secretary of the committee, reported as follows:

Masters, Mates and Pilots vs. Longshoremen

Resolution No. 71—By Delegate John J. Scully, National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has infringed upon said jurisdiction by issuing dual charters, viz, 933-5, Railroad Marine Workers, 1503 and 1550 composed of Licensed Officers on coastwise and ocean-going steamships. Those charters were issued in the Port of New York, but our membership have been disturbed not only in the Port of New York but in the ports of Philadelphia, Pa.; Baltimore, Md.; Norfolk, Va., and Boston, Mass., also Local No. 1510 of Baltimore, Md., composed of Licensed Officers on inland craft; and

WHEREAS, The said International Longshoremen's Association, with the approval of its President, Joseph P. Ryan, has invaded contracts where the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America held closed shop conditions and by duress and coercion of both employer and employees, has revoked these contracts and demoralized labor conditions; and

WHEREAS, These raids of membership and flouting of the jurisdiction prerogatives of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, have been properly brought before the Tampa and the Denver Conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and each convention has ordered President Green to get the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America together to adjust said violations; and

WHEREAS, Both President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor have reaffirmed the jurisdictional rights of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America; and

WHEREAS, Various conferences between the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, held with President Green in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C., have been fruitless because the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association refuse steadfastly to revoke dual charters; and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has failed to revoke charter No. 1550 composed of coastwise and ocean going Licensed Officers, although ordered to do so by President Green; and

WHEREAS, The representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association by subterfuge, coercion, duress and misrepresentations have evaded all authority of the American Federation of Labor and flouted same openly, defiantly and deliberately; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America respectfully petition the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Houston, Texas, that the charter or charters of the In-

ternational Longshoremen's Association granted to said International Longshoremen's Association, be and hereby is suspended from any active participation in the American Federation of Labor affairs until such time as the International Longshoremen's Association shall obey the constitution, President and Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That before the International Longshoremen's Association can be reinstated in the American Federation of Labor and their charter received, the President of the International Longshoremen's Association be requested to pledge his organization to a policy of non-interference not only on the jurisdiction of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, but also any other legitimate affiliate of the American Federation of Labor which has been victimized by these raiding policies without regard to the decisions and ethics of legitimate American Federation of Labor policies.

Your committee finds that to the Denver convention it confirmed the facts as to the jurisdiction rights of the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America.

Your committee wishes again to confirm this. It condemns and disapproves the trespassing on these rights by the International Longshoremen's Association.

We believe that President Green and the Executive Council should continue their efforts to protect the jurisdiction of this organization, and use every effort to compel the International Longshoremen's Association to remain within its own jurisdiction and discontinue trespassing on the jurisdiction of other International Unions.

Your committee so recommends.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Scully, Masters, Mates and Pilots, Mr. President and Delegates:

I arise to oppose the recommendations of the committee and I pray for your indulgence and consideration. The recommendations of the committee if approved will not relieve our troubles which have been going on for more than three years where a sister organization in the American Federation of Labor in violation of its Constitution are issuing charters and organizing men over which they have no jurisdiction.

The entire world is now rocked by the unethical and hoggrish conduct of one Adolph Hitler. I am impressed more by his methods because they so closely resemble the treatment my organization has received at the hands of the International Longshoremen's

Association under the leadership of Joseph Ryan.

Hitler's first excuse for invasion is to call all opponents "Reds."

Mr. Ryan calls all of his "CIO's."

In common with Hitler, he knows he is crying wolf but it's plausible at the moment. Let me say here, our organization has voted overwhelmingly against the CIO. That ghost is now laid. Not one of our locals has gone CIO, yet Mr. Ryan has lost thousands that way.

At the two previous conventions, our organization offered resolutions condemning Mr. Ryan for sabotage and piracy of our legal jurisdiction within the American Federation of Labor and asking redress. Briefly, this brigandage has been perpetrated by the issuance of four charters dual to ours, viz.: Associated Marine Workers issued to one Wm. A. Maher, a renegade from our organization, expelled because of criminal activities therein. Mr. Ryan issued a charter to Captain Maher although he knew him of old both as dual to our group and a person of doubtful integrity. Mr. Maher used Mr. Ryan's influence and money to increase his flimsy organization and then deserted to CIO and left Mr. Ryan on the beach.

The next assault on our membership was a charter issued to Harbor Boatmen, Local 933-3; now changed to No. 333. Here again our members were coerced into joining the International Longshoremen's Association because that organization refused to handle freight. Many members kept two cards since they could not work otherwise.

The third assault was the issuance of a charter to the Railroad Marine Workers, 933-5. This piracy invaded a field we had organized, forced abrogation of our existing agreements and thoroughly disorganized the Railroad Marine Workers; many of whom pay no dues to anyone pending adjustment of this jurisdiction.

The fourth rape was the issuance of a charter to the United Licensed Officers. This group is now split in two and in legal toils. Mr. Ryan refused to cancel this charter, although he issued it knowing it to be dual to our group and that President Green had frequently refused this group a charter. This group has disintegrated and at a very recent date, Mr. Ryan revoked its charter but not until the cash register refused to jingle with

dues. The revocation of this charter was no compliment to us, the Executive Council or President Green, who had ordered the charter withdrawn.

These four charters were issued in New York Harbor. Mr. Ryan had done within the American Federation of Labor what John L. Lewis got the grand bounce for, namely, he had set up a vertical union regardless of craft and maintained this hodge-podge in spite of and in defiance of the Executive Council, President Green and the constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

No doubt you are wondering why nothing was done to stop this sabotage. The past two conventions ordered President Green to get the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots together; this was done many times. The matter was brought to the Executive Council several times. President Green and the Council reaffirmed our jurisdiction but Mr. Ryan continued his depredations.

Not content with local piracy in New York and impervious to and defiant of any suggestions, Mr. Ryan has invaded our locals in Baltimore, Norfolk, Philadelphia, and in New Orleans is now trying to do the same. In addition to this, the International Longshoremen's Association is also trying to interfere with the bar pilots on the Hudson River, threatening to tie up ships if they do not join the International Longshoremen's Association.

After this recital, you can understand that Mr. Hitler's conduct is perfectly understandable to me. Mr. Ryan has his same tactics and employs them, namely, circulation of libel about groups he wishes to smother, coercion of men and interference with their duties by refusing to handle freight which they bring to SS piers, complete indifference to any ethical position in the American Federation of Labor of a sister affiliate, expenditure of sums of American Federation of Labor money to break down a legitimate group and its legal jurisdiction with our own extra assessments to the American Federation of Labor part of these funds, absence from conferences, chronic discourtesy in answering or even acknowledging letters of protest, complete defiance of President Green and the American Federation of Labor, which to date has been on a par with Mr. Hitler's misdeeds that are unpunished and unchanged.

Our organization is appealing to you in

the same plight as the Czechs appeal to the world. We have been coerced, threatened, badgered, belied and treated like vermin, while we were not only fighting the CIO, but also living to the letter of the American Federation of Labor constitutional ethics and never failing to contribute our per capita and extra assessments from reserves diminished by the predatory piracy of the International Longshoremen's Association.

While you brothers are concerned with world democracy and brotherhood justifiably, we feel charity begins at home and in our case ask our brothers assembled here for simple justice which will stop Mr. Ryan's activities and restore our membership and jurisdiction. It is a small request to ask from you because you are all-powerful and can do what you will. The convention's recommendations, both at the Miami and Denver Conventions, have not been able to do this through the Executive Council or President Green to whom Mr. Ryan thumbs his nose.

Therefore we feel that justice can only be obtained through your actions in voting down the report and recommendations of the Adjustment Committee and vote to approve Resolution No. 71 as written.

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco Central Labor Council: Mr. Chairman and delegates to this convention, I am here by instructions of the San Francisco Labor Council to acquaint the Executive Council with what is going on on the West Coast of this country so far as the activities of the International Longshoremen's Association are concerned.

We have a resolution here in conjunction with the resolution of the Masters, Mates and Pilots, and I have been instructed to acquaint the delegates to this convention with the contents of that resolution, wherein it says that the International Longshoremen's Association should not infringe upon the jurisdictional rights of any other union.

There is plenty of work to do on the West Coast by that International Union without interfering with our good friends, the Masters, Mates and Pilots.

There are 17,000 longshoremen out there who are CIO, and the International Longshoremen's Union practically turned them over to the CIO without a contest, good, bad or indifferent, and thereby strengthened the hand of that gentleman known as Harry Bridges, an alien, a non-citizen, in feather-

ing his nest and placing him in the limelight and on the front page of every newspaper in this country.

If the International Longshoremen's Association cared to perform a laudable act for the labor movement of this country, they would do their bit to try to straighten out that situation so that we might enjoy a little peace and tranquility on the Pacific Coast.

The CIO has every port on the West Coast except Tacoma, that is ably represented here today by my good friend, Paddy Morris, who had the guts and the intestinal fortitude to stand against all the onslaughts of Bridges and his satellites, some of whom you would have to have an interpreter to get their names.

So I say, give the necessary relief to the Masters, Mates and Pilots. They are affiliated with our Council, and through all the machinations of the Maritime Federation in that particular locality they have withstood their onslaughts and withdrew from that Federation and are loyal to the American Federation of Labor.

We thought we could not do very much with these gentlemen who wear the gold braid and give the orders aboard ship, but they have finally come down on all fours and have become a part, if I may use the term, of the common herd and are rubbing elbows with the rest of the men and women of labor in San Francisco.

I know whereof I speak, because I went to sea, I took orders from a lot of these fellows and at last the trade union movement has taken them and made human beings of them, even though they work for the corporate interests of this country.

This little old man sitting to my left is entitled to all the help you can give him. We do not like to revoke charters, especially International Unions. Brother Scully realizes the superhuman task he has in getting this committee to recommend the revocation of a charter, but they should at least be taught the ten commandments, some of these International Unions, and send a fellow into the West Coast, and if he comes into my office I want him to come in with his hat off, like he intends to stay for awhile and is not going places until he helps us out.

I know when this matter goes into the hands of President Green he will do like he has always done, he will do the decent thing

in the premises and tell Mr. Ryan to go and organize the longshoremen and leave the Masters, Mates and Pilots alone—and for that we will say "Amen".

Delegate Owens, International Longshoremen's Association: I have listened to the rather serious indictment of our International Union coming from the West Coast. The matters complained of about the off-sea officers, those charters have been revoked for a considerable time.

As far as Bridges goes, Bridges arrived at his position through democracy. He was elected by all the men on the West Coast when they were in our organization. Our organization did not want to recognize him because he was not a citizen of this country. That district, composed of all of the workers there, recommended that he be recognized and put on the payroll. We did this. When he got his chance to go with Lewis he went. The National Labor Relations Board has done all in its power to see that he stays there, and we have not been neglectful.

We have kept men on the payrolls over there, we have followed their every advice, and it just seemed that the workers out there were not ready to come around and listen to reason.

Now as to the Associated Marine Workers, for many years I was secretary of the Transportation Trades Council in New York. One of our big problems was when there was a strike and the teamsters stopped with the longshoremen over something, these men on the boats would tow the barges, etc.

At one time we passed a resolution asking the Masters, Mates and Pilots to get together so we might have a united labor movement, but they did not have the same spirit you displayed here yesterday, they wouldn't sit down with one another. So what was the answer? Time rolled on and we found out that when we had strikes, members of the Masters, Mates and Pilots were towing boats and scabbing on us.

The situation, as you know, is very tense. We stepped in there, we built an organization, which they have not done in twenty years, of 3,000 men. They could not do it. We went along from that and we came down to the time when the National Maritime Union came into existence. When the N. M. U. came into existence on the West Coast and the Bridges outfit was hooked up, they tried to steal the Seamen's Union. We told

our men to work. The men did this. The President of the Masters, Mates and Pilots issued a statement in which his organization was put into the fight on the side of the N. M. U., and they put pickets in front of our men in New York and said, "This is an A. F. of L. strike; go to work."

That is the situation we were up against, and we were not going to take it laying down, because they were not doing what was right. If you remember, as the Executive Council must know, while we were in Washington the Masters, Mates and Pilots on the East Coast in New York were members of the Communistically controlled Marine Council, and they did not get out of there until the racket became so great, before subcommittees appointed by the American Federation of Labor had handled this thing, before they made such a stink about it that finally after awhile they voted to get out, and we revoked those charters.

We may be able to settle this thing. I have worked and we have worked right along, and I have been responsible a whole lot for the revocation of the charters of 308 and 1550, but we are not in a position to hand over our outfit to those that tow the commerce in and out of these ports. We can't do it.

I guess that will conclude my side of it. We are willing to go along with the committee's report, and I want to thank you.

President Green: Are there any further remarks?

Secretary Maloney, of the Committee: I have no desire to discuss this particular question. The subject matter was before the Denver convention and your committee has again affirmed the facts as stated in the resolution. However, we do not believe that this convention is ready to agree to suspend the charter of any International Union at this time. Furthermore, we do not believe that the delegates to this convention are ready to take this matter out of the hands of President Green and the Executive Council.

We feel that eventually a proper solution of this matter will be found, and that at this time, in recommending to you that the matter be left in the hands of the President and the Executive Council, we are doing the proper thing.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Stove Mounters vs. Sheet Metal Workers

Resolution No. 72.—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

This resolution appears on pages 38 and 89 of the first day's proceedings.

Your Committee reports that Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union, desires to withdraw this resolution and we recommend he be given permission to do so.

President Green: Are there objections? Hearing none the request for withdrawal is granted and it is so ordered.

Stove Mounters vs. Foundry Employees

Resolution No. 73.—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees have raided the membership of Locals affiliated with the Stove Mounters' International Union, especially in the West Coast District; and

WHEREAS, Said raids on the membership of the Stove Mounters' various locals has created an intolerable condition, and has been condemned by President Green of the American Federation of Labor; and

WHEREAS, Members who have deserted our ranks to go into the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees are using Banners with the inscription CIO while still claiming to be members of the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Stove Mounters' International Union, duly assembled at their 24th convention, send a formal protest to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and that the recommendation be made that the International Brotherhood of Foundry Employees Charter be suspended from the American Federation of Labor, at their duly assembled convention the first week of October, 1938.

We therefore ask that the 58th convention take action as above requested.

Your Committee recommends that President Green be instructed to call a Conference within 90 days of the International Unions involved for the purpose of adjusting the matter.

The report of the committee was adopted.

Building Service Employees vs. Hotel and Restaurant Employees

Resolution No. 74.—By Delegates George Scalise, Wm. McPetridge, Thomas Burke, Charles Hardy, Mathew Taylor, Building Service Employees' International Union.

WHEREAS, The Executive Council of our American Federation of Labor, at its meeting

held at Miami, Florida, last February, by a divided vote, made the following recommendation, affecting the jurisdiction of our Building Service Employees' International Union:

"1. In all hotels or apartment hotels, those employed come under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees organization, except as follows:

- (a) Elevator operators and starters who are regularly employed as such.
- (b) Window washers and exterminators employed by private contractors.

"2. In apartment hotels where no restaurant, bar or culinary establishment is operated, those employed come under the jurisdiction of the Building Service Employees organization"; and

WHEREAS, if such recommendation were adopted, it would transfer from the membership of our Building Service Employees International Union such workers as janitors, janitresses, porters, housemen, scrub women, maids and others employed in hotels engaged in the maintenance and servicing of the building, and place them under the jurisdiction of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance; and

WHEREAS, The charter issued to our Building Service Employees International Union by the American Federation of Labor in 1921 granted us the following jurisdiction:

"This International Union shall be composed of and have jurisdiction over all local unions of workers or those eligible for membership who are employees in the maintenance and operation of all buildings, institutions, schools, theaters and grounds"; and

WHEREAS, A hotel is certainly a "building" if it is not an institution; and

WHEREAS, The charter of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance makes no provision for membership of janitors, janitresses, porters, housemen, scrub women or maids, any more than it does for engineers, electricians, firemen, painters or carpenters who are eligible for membership in their own craft unions; and

WHEREAS, The Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance has never organized or attempted to organize building service and maintenance employees in hotels, but has confined itself to organizing the employees in the catering or culinary field, such as the waiter, the cook, the kitchen help and the bartender; and

WHEREAS, If the recommendation of the Executive Council formulated at its meeting of February, 1938, at Miami, Florida, should be adopted, it would cause confusion and would be inimical to the best interests of workers engaged in the servicing and maintenance of hotel buildings; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor, in Fifty-eighth Annual Convention assembled in Houston, Texas, that the Building Service Employees International Union, has and shall continue to have sole jurisdiction over all employees in all buildings, including hotels, who are engaged in the maintenance and servicing of such buildings, except such employees as come under the jurisdiction

of other international unions, and that the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and Bartenders International League of America, has and shall continue to have jurisdiction in hotels over employees engaged in the culinary and allied fields, which include the kitchen and restaurant, and such employees as the cook, beverage dispenser, waiter, waitress, and miscellaneous kitchen and restaurant workers.

After an extended hearing of the parties interested in this resolution, your committee feels that it is absolutely necessary and urgent that at the earliest possible date, there should be called a conference by the President of the American Federation of Labor of the representatives of both these organizations, and other interested chartered organizations of the American Federation of Labor, who may be affected by the decision.

And, we further believe that the result of this conference should be reported to the Executive Council, and the Executive Council itself should then set forth, and clearly define the jurisdiction limits of both of these International Unions.

We so recommend.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Upholsterers vs. Carpenters

Resolution No. 125—By Delegates Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The Upholsterers' International Union of N. A., as well as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, both affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are conducting organizing campaigns in the general Furniture Manufacturing Industry, and

WHEREAS, Under these circumstances jurisdictional lines have overlapped, with resultant friction between the two Organizations, and

WHEREAS, Instead of this discord between the two Internationals there is urgent need of cooperation and understanding as both International Unions are faced with the opposition organizing work of the CIO in the same field, and

WHEREAS, The CIO has been making capital out of the discord between our two International Unions to the disadvantage of both as well as the American Federation of Labor, and

WHEREAS, The Upholsterers' International Union has made several attempts at conferences between itself and the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, for the purpose of ironing out differences and arriving at a common plan of cooperative organizing effort, and

WHEREAS, Such conferences have failed, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Houston Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which begins its sessions October 3, 1938, instruct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to arrange for a conference between the representatives of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and the Upholsterers' International Union at which there shall be present also a representative of the American Federation of Labor, for the purpose of bringing into harmonious cooperation, the two International Unions involved.

Your committee recommends that the President of the American Federation of Labor call such a conference, as requested in the resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Maloney: This concludes the report of the Committee on Adjustment, and it is signed by the following members:

T. A. RICKERT
JAMES MALONEY
ROY HORN
JOHN F. McNAMARA

J. B. ETCHISON
CHARLES L. BAGLEY
WILLIAM EGAN
LOUIS VOGLAND
E. J. BROCK
FRANK BREWSTER
D. W. TRACY
H. B. PERHAM
JAMES McCONNELL
W. F. ROBINSON
GEORGE W. LAWSON
CHARLES HARDY
JOSEPH F. KELLEY
HARRY NACEY
WILLIAM WALSH

Committee on Adjustment.

Secretary Maloney: I move the adoption of the report of the Committee on Adjustment as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Opportunity was given for announcement of committee meetings, and at 5:40 o'clock p. m. the convention was adjourned to 9:30 o'clock Wednesday morning, October 12th.

RESOLUTIONS

Following are the resolutions submitted at the morning session, without objection:

Requesting That Maritime Commission Be Petitioned to Allocate Three or More Vessels to California Shipyards in U. S. Ship Building Program

Resolution No. 129—By Delegates J. A. Franklin, J. N. Davis, Wm. E. Walter, Harry Nacey, International Brotherhood of Boiler Makers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers of America.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has appropriated one hundred million dollars for a shipbuilding program; and

WHEREAS, The Shipbuilding Corporations in California have shown no desire to submit bids for the construction of any of these vessels unless contracts be awarded Shipbuilding Corporations in California under a proviso of a ten per cent plus costs basis; and

WHEREAS, The Maritime Commission has power under the Welch amendment, with the approval of the President, to turn over work to the Pacific Coast Shipbuilding Yards, regardless of bids; and

WHEREAS, Shipbuilding is one of the major industries of California; and therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we, the members of various crafts engaged in shipbuilding, request the California State Federation of Labor assembled in convention at Santa Barbara, California, September 19th to September 23rd inclusive, to petition the Maritime Commission to allocate three (3) or more vessels for construction, to the California shipyards; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, Vice President of the United States, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of Labor, Maritime Commission, President and Secretary of the American Federation of Labor, President and Secretary of Metal Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor, Governor and members of the California State Legislature, and the California State Chamber of Commerce.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Urging Activity of Affiliated Organizations to Defeat Anti-Labor Proposition No. 1 on the November General Elections Ballot of California

Resolution No. 130—By Delegates John Coe-field, C. M. Baker, C. J. Haggerty, Joseph Marshall, Tom Nickola, Harry A. Milton, Daniel C. Murphy, Geo. C. Benton, James Waugh,

Geo. W. Stokel, M. J. McDonough, M. J. Collieran, Edward L. Nolan.

Greetings:

WHEREAS, there is now before the people of the State of California one of the most vicious anti-labor proposals they have ever been called upon to consider; and

WHEREAS, this proposal appears under the title of Labor and is identified as Proposition No. 1 on the November 8th General Election ballot; and

WHEREAS, said proposal threatens the existence of every unit of organized labor in California, and the conditions for which individual unions and the American Federation of Labor movement in general has fought hard and at great expense and suffering for many years; and

WHEREAS, this proposal has for its purpose the destruction of every labor organization in the State of California, and if adopted will particularly impede the splendid progress of the Building and Construction trades movement; and

WHEREAS, the proponents of this measure are fully aware that if adopted the functions of bona fide American Federation of Labor Trade Unions will be practically nullified in such a manner as to make them impotent to assist their members or sister organizations; and

WHEREAS, this measure makes it impossible for all councils, such as Building and Construction Trades Councils to work for the purposes for which they are organized, or to use their economic strength in the assistance of their affiliated unions; and

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. in convention assembled request all affiliated International Unions and their affiliated Unions throughout the State of California to have their friends and sympathizers vote against this unfair measure which we believe is the greatest threat that has ever confronted the trade union movement in America; and

THEREFORE, BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor does hereby go on record as condemning this proposition, known as Proposition No. 1, as a vicious, un-American proposal, and hereby pledges the full support of this Federation to the California Labor Movement in its campaign against this tricky and misleading measure, and urges all International Unions to render immediately all possible support, financially and otherwise, to their affiliated organizations in California.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Pledging Assistance to Railroad Labor Organizations in Resistance to Wage Cut

Resolution No. 131—By Delegates Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, John M. Fewkes, Mary Foley Grossman, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, According to the report of the Executive Council, Page 53, "a reduction in the already too low wages of railroad employees is positively unjustified."

WHEREAS, wage cuts on railroads open up the danger of wage cuts in all industries, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Convention of the American Federation of Labor pledge support to Railroad Brotherhoods in their resistance to this wage cut, and be it further

RESOLVED, That for the purpose of co-operation with the Railroad Brotherhoods a Committee be appointed.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Protesting Attitude of International Longshoremen's Union in Continuing Charters Issued to Licensed Officers

Resolution No. 132—By Delegate John A. O'Connell, San Francisco Labor Council.

WHEREAS, The delegate from the San Francisco Labor Council to the American Federation of Labor Convention held at Denver, Colorado, in 1937, was instructed by this body to protest the issuance of a dual licensed officers' charter by President Joseph P. Ryan and the International Longshoremen's Association, and

WHEREAS, This delegate carried out the instructions of the San Francisco Labor Council and resolution submitted at that time was referred to President Green and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for speedy endorsement, and

WHEREAS, various conferences between the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association and the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, held with President Green in the American Federation of Labor Building in Washington, D. C., have been fruitless because the representatives of the International Longshoremen's Association refuse steadfastly to revoke dual charters, and

WHEREAS, The International Longshoremen's Association has failed to revoke charter No. 1550 composed of coastwise and ocean going Licensed Officers, although ordered to do so by President Green; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this body reaffirm its former position of protesting the issuance of such dual charter and demand the International Longshoremen's Association to immediately revoke all charters issued to any organization not coming under their jurisdiction, and be it further

RESOLVED, That the officials of the International Longshoremen's Association be requested to pledge their organization to a policy of non-interference not only in the jurisdiction of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America, but also any other legitimate affiliate of the American Federation of Labor which has been victimized by this raiding policy without

regard to the decision and ethics of the legitimate American Federation of Labor policies; and be it finally

RESOLVED, That the delegate from the San Francisco Labor Council to the American Federation of Labor Convention to be held at Houston, Texas, be instructed to submit this resolution and work for the fulfillment of its purpose according to the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

**Requesting International Unions to Assist
Radio Station WCFL, Chicago, Ill., to
Secure Advertisers**

Resolution No. 133—By Delegates Alfred C. Woyner, Chicago Federation of Labor; Joseph J. Kehoe, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America; Geo. W. Jones, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association; Chas. F. Wills, Office Employees' Union No. 20732; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; Leo E. George, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

WHEREAS, Radio Station W C F L, the "Voice of Labor," owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor, has recently entered into closer relations with the American Federation of Labor, wherein a representative of the American Federation of Labor is now a member of the Board of Trustees and the Board of Directors of WCFL and has a voice in the management and the shaping of the policy of the radio station, and

WHEREAS, Radio Station WCFL is the only known and recognized labor radio station throughout the United States and has operated as such continuously and uninteruptedly for over twelve years, weathering some of the darkest periods in the economic history of our country, namely, the years of the depression followed by the recession, and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has donated the services of WCFL whenever and wherever needed, in the interest of organized labor, to the extent of approxi-

mately One Hundred Thousand Dollars a year, this expense being borne entirely by the Chicago Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, and

WHEREAS, Radio Station WCFL, desiring to increase its coverage so as to take in all of North America and thus be of still greater service and benefit to the labor movement, hopes and intends to increase its power to 50,000 watts, which will require an expenditure of approximately Two Hundred Thousand Dollars, and

WHEREAS, The various national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are in a position to call to the attention of radio advertisers the fact that WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," is the only recognized labor station in the United States, and by interesting large radio advertisers, can help to bring about a speedier realization of the plans of WCFL to increase its power to 50,000 watts, therefore be it

RESOLVED that the American Federation of Labor will do all in its power through its various national and international unions and other organizations to attract advertisers to Radio Station WCFL in Chicago.

Referred to Committee on Education.

Request That A. F. of L. Organizer be Stationed at Lake Charles, La.

Resolution No. 134—By Delegate W. R. Mayo, Lake Charles, La., Central Labor Union.

WHEREAS, The Southwest part of the state of Louisiana is not organized as well as it should be, particularly in several industries, such as: The Rice Milling Industry, which is one of our largest industries; Laundry Workers, which is one of the lowest paid classes of employees in the South; also the Teamsters, Chauffeurs and Truck Drivers in this section have deplorable conditions, and are all very anxious to be organized; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That, we, the delegates of the Central Labor Union at Lake Charles, Louisiana, do earnestly request through our delegate that the American Federation of Labor station an organizer in Lake Charles, Louisiana, and vicinity, to organize the above mentioned trade.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Eighth Day—Wednesday Morning Session

Houston, Texas,
October 12, 1938

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Heaketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabee, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Schneider, Sexton, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

INVOCATION

(Rabbi Tofield, Congregation Adath
Yeshurun)

Let us attend to Sacred Writ: (Psalm 90: 14-17.)

O satisfy us in the morning with Thy mercy;
That we may rejoice and be glad all our days.

Make us glad according to the days wherein
Thou has afflicted us,

According to the years wherein we have
seen evil.

Let Thy work appear unto Thy servants,
And Thy glory upon their children.

And let the graciousness of the Lord our God
be upon us;

Establish Thou also upon us the work of
our hands;

Yea, the work of our hands establish Thou it.

Our God and our Creator, cause Thy glory to shine on the path Thy children set out to pursue this day. Avail unto us the wisdom that has been bought by the toil and hardship of those who trod the earth before us. We are Thy instruments in creating the store of human welfare. May we also merit to make fraternity, equality, and justice manifest in our own brotherhood and in the brotherhood of mankind. Then shall the work of our hands unite with the spirit of our souls in serving Thee. Be with us as Thou hast ever been with them who strive to increase the happiness of Thy children. Dauntless in spirit and unflinching in deed may we rise from blessing and worshiping Thy Holy Name. Amen.

Supplemental Report Committee on Credentials

Secretary Iler reported as follows:

Your Committee received a communication from President John J. Hynes of the Sheet Metal Workers' International Association, advising that it will be necessary for him to return to Washington, D. C., to attend to mat-

ters requiring his personal attention and submitting the name of Henry J. Brennan to be seated in his place.

We have also received a communication from President George L. Berry of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union advising that W. W. Strong has been appointed to succeed George L. Berry as his alternate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

In accordance with the instructions in these communications we recommend the seating of the newly appointed delegates-elect.

In compliance with communication received from President Powers of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union we recommend the seating of Charles A. Luck in place of Frank B. Powers, who is compelled to leave the city.

Your Committee has examined credentials and further recommends the seating of Earl Dietz, representing Federal Labor Union No. 18852, Kansas City, Kansas, with five votes.

Respectfully submitted,

LEO E. GFORGE, Chairman,
W. J. MORAN,
HENRY C. ILER, Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: The Chair reports the receipt of two resolutions, one dealing with an increase in foreign trade, and so on. Objections have been offered to this resolution, and it will be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and action.

Another resolution urges a state law to regulate salt mines in Texas. No objection being offered to this resolution, it is referred to the Committee on Resolutions and will be included in the proceedings of today's session.

Secretary Morrison: There was a little brochure of letters presented at this desk that has been mislaid. It contained letters from Governor Leche of Louisiana, Mayor Maestri of New Orleans, the New Orleans Association of Commerce, the State Federation of Labor, and other bodies, inviting the next convention to be held in New Orleans. If any one has found this brochure, if it is brought to this desk it will be returned to the man who submitted it.

COMMUNICATIONS

Secretary Morrison read the following telegrams:

Atlantic City, October 11, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor
Rice Hotel, Houston.

In 1939 the eyes of the world will be focused upon history's greatest world's fair of all time in New York City. The Atlantic County Building Trades Council believes that in view of the fact that recent A. F. of L. conventions have been held in Tampa, Denver and Houston the 1939 convention should come East to Atlantic City and thereby give delegates and their families an opportunity to combine convention attendance with a visit to the great New York World's Fair.

Atlantic County Building Trades,
GEORGE T. HAINES, President,
JAMES MONTGOMERY, Secretary.

National Federation of Post Office Clerks
South Orange, New Jersey,
October 5, 1938.

William Green, President,
American Federation of Labor,
Houston, Texas.

Dear Brother Green:

I am extending to you, to the Executive Board of the American Federation of Labor and to the delegates at the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor all the best wishes for a successful convention from the membership of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks in New Jersey. May the deliberations of the Federation during your sessions go down in history as a step forward for the betterment of conditions for the people who labor and the country at large.

With my best wishes to you, I am,

Fraternally and sincerely yours,
(Signed) THOMAS F. FLANAGAN,
National State Representative
National Federation of P. O. Clerks
55 Riggs Place,
South Orange, New Jersey.

Postal Telegram

New York, October 8, 1938.

William Green, President,
Fifty-Eighth National Convention,
American Federation of Labor.

Greetings, best wishes, success, name National Federation Labor Cuba and people. Glad report your efforts since 1936 resulted organized labor Cuba united and growing. Batista changing giving democracy labor. Your convention statement now would further consolidate gains labor Cuba. Fraternally,

G. GELT, Representative Labor Cuba.

President Green: These messages will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

Chairman Stokes, Local Committee on Arrangements, announced the final details for the trip to the San Jacinto Battleground.

President Green: The regular order of business will now be taken up. The Chair recognizes Secretary Frey, of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS (Continued)

Urging State Law to Regulate Salt Mines in State of Texas

Resolution No. 137—By Delegate Gene Carroll, Salt Workers Union No. 18952.

WHEREAS, There being no State law relative to salt mines, and taking into consideration the vast dangers as a result of this, and, too, realizing coal mines and numerous other mines are covered by various laws to secure for their workers safe and healthful working conditions, members of Salt Workers Union, in view of the fact that the other mines are required to maintain two or more shafts, salt mines should also be required to maintain two or more shafts.

WHEREAS, from all information we can gather relative to this, salt mines in State of Texas are classified as "Quarries" and therefore rendering them exempt from State mining law, which has rendered our efforts in vain; and too, making our means of escape inadequate under all circumstances,

WHEREAS, Salt Workers' Union, whose members work 716 feet underground and with only one shaft as a means of escape, and said workers at their time of employment are several hundred feet from shaft, and therefore rendering it inaccessible, deem it necessary and highly important for us to ask for assistance in securing such legislation, as our efforts through employer or otherwise have been unsuccessful,

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor make every effort to assist Salt Workers' Union in securing such legislation.

Secretary Frey: This resolution was introduced this morning and referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Frey: The remainder of the committee's report is upon sections of the Executive Council's Report referred to it.

Introduction

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 65, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee notes with special satisfaction the statement that the Federation has emerged triumphant from a most serious

campaign to disrupt our movement by the Committee for Industrial Organization.

The introduction contains evidence that the principles and policy of form of organization which the American Federation of Labor has maintained, has proven itself capable of successfully overcoming attacks from within the labor movement as those which have come from the outside.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Social Security

Old Age Provisions, Unemployment Compensation, Appeals

On the section of the report of the Executive Council under the above caption, and upon the sub-heads noted above, pages 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, and 145, the committee reported as follows:

Under Social Security, the Executive Council's report deals with Old Age Provisions; Unemployment Compensation, and Appeals. This section of the report contains statistical information of the utmost importance.

Your committee notes the statement that the problem of service for wage earners is more complicated in this country than in others because of area and numbers covered, and the difficulty presented by Federal and State jurisdiction.

The suggestion is made that a central clearing agency is necessary for the wage earners' fullest protection.

Your committee would direct attention to the fact that the Executive Council has created a Committee on Social Security which has functioned from the beginning.

Your committee is definitely of the opinion that this committee should continue its function for it is properly designed to act as the central clearing agency for the American trade union movement in the field of Social Security, and is recommended by the Executive Council.

With these comments your committee recommends approval of these portions of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

National Health Conference

On the section of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, pages

147 and 148, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee recommends that the Executive Council continue the study of National Health, with the view to securing all available data, and suggests that the Committee on Social Security of the American Federation of Labor be requested to work in conjunction with the Executive Council in connection with this important question.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

WALSH-HEALEY ACT

Labor Standards Under Government Contracts

On the sections of the Report of the Executive Council under the above captions, pages 97 and 151, the committee reported as follows:

Walsh-Healy Act and Labor Standards Under Government Contracts

Your committee notes with approval that the administration of the Walsh-Healey Act has resulted in direct benefit to some two million workers. The Walsh-Healey Act now covers all purchases of manufactured goods by the Government amounting to 10 thousand dollars or more, with the exception of vessels for the Merchant Marine and large floating objects, such as floating drydock.

In this connection your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor assist the Departments principally affected by having the minimum contract price now provided for by law, reduced to a substantially lower amount; and that the Walsh-Healey Act be further amended so that all contracts entered into by governmental agencies for marine vessels or large floating objects should come under the prevailing wage provisions of the law.

Your committee further recommends that State Federations of Labor consider the advisability of having state legislation enacted which would apply the principle of the prevailing wage to state purchases.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Barbers and Cosmetologists Legislation

On the section of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 168, the committee reported as follows:

Your committee approves of this portion

of the Executive Council's report, and also of enactment for the District of Columbia of legislation similar to that which has already been enacted by the Legislatures of 43 states.

We recommend that the Executive Council continue its efforts to secure the enactment of this legislation in the District of Columbia.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act

On the section of the Report of the Executive Council under the above caption, page 168, the committee reported as follows:

This section of the Executive Council's report gives valuable information and your committee recommends approval.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

HIGHWAY CONSTRUCTION

(Page 169, Executive Council's Report)

This portion of the Executive Council's report refers to the sum of \$100,000,000.00 appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, and the sum of \$115,000,000.00 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941, to be used in the construction of highways by the states with the aid of Federal funds, such construction to include roadside and landscape developments, sanitary and other facilities as may be deemed reasonably necessary to provide for the suitable accommodation of the public.

The Executive Council further informs us that this highway construction is of great benefit as it is estimated that 80 per cent of the funds appropriated will go to labor.

Your committee while approving of this additional expenditure of Federal funds for highway and incidental construction, cannot overlook the question of wages to labor which is involved.

Highway construction is largely carried on through contracts awarded private contractors who pay the prevailing wage.

Some of this construction work is done under the direction of Army engineers, and it is understood that in many instances they secure their labor from lists of those on relief.

Representatives of International Unions find that not only are the idle members of their organization given no opportunity for employment on highway projects under the direction of Army engineers, but that contractors for highway construction find it difficult, if not impossible, to secure contracts because of the lower wages paid to workmen who are under the direction of Army engineers.

Your committee, while heartily in favor of additional highway construction, recommends that the Executive Council make an investigation of the facts to which your committee refers, and take such action thereon as will protect the standard of wages established by private road contractors, and assure idle members of trade union organizations an equal opportunity for employment at the prevailing wage on all additional highway construction provided for in Public Bill No. 584.

Your committee further recommends that the Executive Council examine the Bacon-Davis Act with the object of discovering whether this act may not be applied to all highway construction so that the prevailing wage may be made mandatory.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA

(Page 169, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee is in hearty concurrence with this portion of the Executive Council's report, and recommends every possible step be taken which will provide for the full and adequate enforcement of the law.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

FILIPINO EMIGRATION

(Page 169, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee recommends concurrence with this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

JAPANESE INVASION OF CHINA

(Page 201, Executive Council's Report)

In connection with this report, which we commend most emphatically, we repeat our declaration of last year to the effect that our condemnation falls upon all goods manu-

factured in Japan and offered for sale in the United States.

We ask all Americans to refuse to buy goods manufactured in Japan until the war lords and autocrats of Japan learn to respect the rights and liberties of the Chinese people.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

NAVAL CONSTRUCTION LAW (Page 170, Executive Council's Report)

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONSUMERS' COOPERATION (Page 179, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council has reviewed the progress made by the cooperative groups in our country, particular attention being called to the warnings contained in last year's report, urging local labor groups launching cooperative enterprises to adhere to the Rochdale principles, and to be certain that none but sound business principles and practices are followed.

The report further emphasizes that where our unions join in consumers' cooperative effort, it must be kept in every way separate and distinct from the trade union organization, and must not be permitted to interfere in any way with union business.

The treasuries of the two organizations must be kept separate and the cooperative must stand on its own feet and earn its own way if it is to be of service and value to the union membership.

We recommend approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHILD LABOR (Page 188, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council's report reviews the efforts of the American Federation of Labor since 1888 to secure a constitutional amendment which would prohibit the employment of children in the workshops, mines and factories.

Reference is made to judicial decisions in connection with the effort to have a sufficient number of states ratify the Child Labor amendment.

Attention is called to the great step forward by the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 which prohibits employment of children under sixteen in the manufacture of goods entering interstate commerce.

This portion of the Executive Council's report is a record of progress made to eliminate child labor from our industries. It is informative.

Your committee recommends approval of the report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS (Page 200, Executive Council's Report)

In this portion of the Executive Council's report, attention is called to the grave international situation in Europe with the constant threat of war. The Council declares that differences between nations should be adjusted through agencies of peace.

The report recognizes that a definite threat to peace is found in the spread of dictatorships with their steady and sinister attack on the democratic form of government, whether in Europe or in our country.

In view of world conditions, the Council believes it appropriate that this convention should reaffirm the expression of previous conventions declaring unyielding opposition to Communism, Fascism, and Nazism.

The Council closes this portion of its report with the statement that the American Federation of Labor will strive for the preservation of world peace, insist that our own Government follow a policy of strict neutrality; that we resist with every power at our command all attempts to involve our nation in a foreign war; and that we devote ourselves to the preservation of our democratic form of government; the protection of our free institutions; of free assemblage; free speech; free press and religious freedom—all of the vital principles and democratic rights which are our common heritage guaranteed by the Bill of Rights and the Federal Constitution.

Your committee recommends approval of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CREDIT UNIONS

(Page 177, Executive Council's Report)

The Executive Council's report reviews the development of Credit Unions and the service they may be to trade unions.

The Council, however, declares that their study of credit unions has not proceeded far enough to provide for a basis of complete analysis at this time.

The Council does recommend that its Committee on Credit Unions continue their studies, and that it take up with the Federal Credit Union section of the Farm Credit Administration, the question of granting credit union charters to Central Labor Unions covering membership of affiliated locals. That local unions operating credit unions observe the safeguards provided by the Federal Credit Union section of the Farm Credit Administration.

Your committee recommends approval of this portion of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Woll: Mr. Chairman and delegates, that completes the report of the committee on all matters submitted to it. The committee has a final observation to present to the convention entitled, "Present Day Trends and Tendencies," and also a resolution later on containing an expression of thanks for the arrangements made for the successful holding of this convention.

Following is the committee's final report and observations:

Report of the Resolutions Committee on Present-Day Trends and Tendencies

In concluding its report, your committee feels the time has come when the American Federation of Labor should re-state certain fundamentals in most emphatic form.

Under pressure of the need for reform in certain fields in which reactionary employers refused to yield to the march of the times, government began a process of stepping in to bring about restraint of undue and often brutal defiance of labor, of the citizenship and of all standards of decency.

The State—by which we mean principally the Federal government and in a lesser degree the governments of States—did not stop with the setting up of guarantees. It de-

fined offenses and prescribed the manner of dealing with offenses.

We must remember, of course, the great surge of legislation of this kind came immediately after President Roosevelt assumed office in the midst of depression. In the hectic days and weeks following the closing of the nation's banks, when a people desperate for safety and recovery, was willing to accept almost any proposal of government, we were given the first stages of the ensuing program of extension of governmental power and authority.

There is no disposition to question the sincerity of motive involved. But we have arrived at the point where we must repeat a phrase that we have used since the infancy of our movement: We must not allow our movement to be run by those outside our movement, no matter how sincere their friendship or who they may be.

In years gone by we have had to fight an unceasing battle to protect ourselves and our movement from the machinations of uplifters and professional saviors of the people. One effort after another has been made and defeated. Had we not conducted this unceasing battle of defense, our movement would long since have found itself under the control of some branch or other of what we have called the intelligentsia.

For one decade the Socialist party sought to divert our energies toward partisan "class conscious" political action. It sought to lead us toward reliance on the State and to seek to capture the State through the ballot. Our records for that period are filled with resolutions, generally defeated, calling upon us to turn to the state for almost everything under the sun. We set up a principle in our infancy. It was that we want from the State nothing which we can do for ourselves through voluntary collective action. We set up another principle which was that the labor movement must make its own policies and control its own destinies.

At this hour we are in danger of losing the benefit of both of those principles.

The tendency of today is for the state to take over more and more functions which we believe belong to labor itself, in and through its organizations. Already the State is seizing control of our destiny through a National Labor Relations Board which has and uses the power to define the boundaries of our unions, to determine what shall be their

character and even when and where there is or is not a strike in effect.

This extension of State authority represents a philosophy. That philosophy now clashes definitely with the philosophy of our labor movement. Without any intention of using a label as a means of conveying disparagement, we must say that it should be clear to every American that the philosophy which is being developed in action, by which ever-increasing domain is being given to the State, is expressive of the philosophy and the practice of socialism. The philosophy underlying the fascist government could be given expression through a democratic method, but it is not. It finds expression through a dictatorship. The philosophy of Karl Marx, which is the heart of socialism and which communism also claims as its fountainhead of inspiration, could be given effect through democratic means, but the only experience we have shows us again the frightful features of dictatorship.

We have no fear today of dictatorship in the United States. The whole drive to extend the authority of the State is thus far one which aims to bring greater opportunity to the masses of the people. We give full credit for right motives. But we have been too willing to accept gains at the price of lost liberty and lost capacity for self-determination and self-action. We may well hesitate and consider how much farther we will travel in the present path.

It is the duty of the state to prevent injustice, to give guarantees, just as they are given in the bill of rights. But we have courts, not boards, to enforce the guarantees found in the bill of rights and made articulate through statute law.

The courts, too, have abused their power and even today are manned by all too many reactionary judges. But the judicial system is eminently the right system.

Boards and commissions almost always have judicial as well as administrative powers—they become judges, juries and executioners. And they seek an ever-widening field for the use of their power.

We believe that business has learned the folly of its earlier ways, that it has, largely come to realize that labor has a right to function as a collectivity, just as business has a right to function in that way. We believe business, largely, has come to realize

that no single group has a right to exploit the wealth and the people of our country by reason of possession of economic power. We believe the principle of collective bargaining has come into general recognition.

We may well question whether we should not withhold even tacit encouragement for such proposed measures as the contemplated bill for the imposition of federal licenses, until we have had further opportunity to determine if ways for curbing alleged abuses cannot be found which will not carry with them another extension of State authority which, in turn, we may be sure will be extended to unknown lengths. The next reach may easily enough be toward our unions.

We should note that a joint commission composed of members of Congress and representatives of Federal Government departments is engaged in a study of business. We do not know what may be revealed by that study, but we do know that while some are engaged in an effort to promote honest, non-partisan and unprejudiced inquiry, there are all too many reports of bias and hostility to business per se.

We should make every effort and we so recommend, to further the constructive services of government, which serve but do not intrude or seek to control, of which we find splendid examples in the United States Conciliation Service, the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics and similar services and in such agencies as the United States Housing Authority. These we should and must support. We may well recall that the United States Department of Labor came into being as the result of a bill drawn by the American Federation of Labor and following a campaign by the Federation.

But service is one thing, while domination and dictatorial control constitute something else. We must examine every measure with this test in mind: Is the aim a further guarantee of human rights and a service to our people, or is it the creation of another link in a growing incubus of bureaucracy, soon to be translated into another step toward a State Supreme? On that basis we must judge and the time to take our stand and draw the line is now.

If the American people, informed and aware of the facts, desire to plunge onward toward complete domination by the state, they have the right to pursue that course. The majority must rule. But the American

people must not be forced, by stealth and indirection, into such a condition.

It may be that we must curb some of our own willingness to rush to the State for everything. It may be that many among our own ranks must cease to cry for the State to relieve every hurt. But somehow and by some means that trend must be stopped, or we shall cease to live in a democracy.

This movement of ours has set up as a goal the extension of democratic practice in industry. We adhere to that purpose. Democratic practice in industry does not mean over industry, high up in the realms of supreme state authority. It means that the men and women in industry itself must come together in orderly manner to find ways toward self-control, self-government, self-elimination of abuses and self-regulation in the common good. That is our refuge from State supremacy and we call upon industry, upon management, upon finance, to join with us to that end.

We have come to a time when there must be a halt, or we fear there can thereafter be no halt. We do not question or disparage any motive. But do raise the question of present day trend and tendencies. Much of this trend has developed out of a lack of consultation with labor in the affairs of state. Unfortunately qualified representatives of our organized labor movement are not to be found on those governmental agencies called upon to administer laws designed to benefit the workers. The Welfare mind has for the time being triumphed over the Labor mind for power. And labor is, day by day, paying the price in lost rights, lost liberties, lost sense of how to operate through the machinery of trade union democracy.

A nation may be well fed, and sacrifice its liberties. Life calls for food, but it calls, finally, for something above all substance. And that is what Patrick Henry had in mind when he proclaimed to the Colonial patriots, "Give me liberty or give me death."

Chairman Woll moved the adoption of the concluding observations of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Lynch, Pattern Makers: Mr. Chairman, I believe that the committee, in the presentation of this report, has covered entirely too much philosophy for immediate digestion. This viewpoint may set forth the viewpoint of the chairman of this committee, but

there are certain observations in it that would bear considerable scrutiny. I don't know how much the chairman of this committee has had to do with business, but when he reaches the gratuitous conclusion that business today is conscious of the error of its ways, it hardly squares with my experience in the field.

I believe a report of this kind, before being adopted by the convention, should be gone over by the Executive Council, or at least it should have been printed and presented to the delegates for their consideration before subscribing to the vast amount of philosophy set forth therein. So far as I am concerned, Mr. Chairman, I want it to appear in the record that I refuse to adopt the philosophy that every governmental intervention in the interests of organized labor constitutes Socialism, Fascism or bureaucracy.

I know that the organized labor movement has benefited considerably from some of the things done by the present Administration, and I for one am not willing to abide by the gratuitous philosophy of the chairman of this committee in what might be construed as a general condemnation of the present Administration.

Vice-President Woll: Mr. Chairman, may I say that this does not express the philosophy of the chairman of the committee. This is the expression of the full committee, arrived at after full discussion of the subject involved. The committee has likewise made it clear that it questions motives of no kind and that it is in no sense a criticism of the present Administration. To the contrary, we find much that is of value in that. It merely calls attention to trends and tendencies in the making and in the asserting of labor's right in the participation of the administration of all laws enacted and intended for the benefit of labor, and it is not in any sense a criticism of the Administration or any of the boards to which this convention has responded.

President Green: The Chair would like to make just a slight observation. I, like you, must arrive at the conclusion that a specific analysis of the economic, legislative and political program of our nation at this time, as set forth by the committee is, to say the least, a bit confused. I note, for instance, in one section of the report where the committee refers to a legislative proposal that was approved by the representatives of the American Federation of Labor after conferences between the leaders of the American

Federation of Labor, in a rather critical way. I refer to the legislation which we sponsored providing for the licensing of corporations, a bill that we studied most carefully and that we submitted to Senator O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, for introduction. This measure provides that the Federal Government license corporations, so that the government itself may control the corporations in a more direct way, and correct the abuses that are engaged in by corporations.

The bill also provides that the license of a corporation can be revoked in the event the corporation refuses to abide by laws regulating the employment of children, inspection, and in violation of statutes which provide for collective bargaining and the right to organize and be represented by men of your own choosing.

In accordance with an understanding we have gone ahead to the point where we have given that measure the support of the American Federation of Labor.

I appreciate the fine attitude of the committee, all right. I know that it wants to protect labor fully and completely, but a comprehensive report such as this, brought in at the conclusion of the committee's report, is a bit confused, because we haven't time to go into it as fully and completely as we should.

Delegate Frey, Secretary of the Committee: Mr. Chairman, in connection with President Green's remarks I would like to read one paragraph of the report:

"We may well question whether we should not withhold even tacit encouragement for such proposed measures as the contemplated bill for the imposition of federal licenses, until we have had further opportunity to determine if ways for curbing alleged abuses cannot be found which will not carry with them another extension of State authority, which, in turn, we may be sure will be extended to unknown lengths. The next reach may easily enough be toward our unions."

As to the federal licensing bill referred to, I had the privilege in the Vancouver convention of introducing a resolution which led to the declaration by the convention in favor of licensing corporations. It had been adopted previously in a convention of the Metal Trades Department. After the convention of the American Federation of Labor had adjourned I wrote numerous articles in defense of a

national licensing act covering all manufactured goods entering inter-state commerce. At that time we did not have any federal legislation regulating labor conditions. We had no legislation declaring company unions illegal organizations. It was before any of the legislation which has since come to us. It was before our trade union movement or before Congress had considered federal legislation. Had this legislation not come, my attitude toward pressing for a federal licensing act at this time would be quite different from what the report indicates.

We are of the opinion, or I am of the opinion that with the legislation already on the statute books enacted in recent years regulating what business men may do in their treatment of labor, it is well that we permit the existing legislation to function before we go further, to give us an opportunity of discovering whether Congress will be responsive to our requests in connection with legislation and the amending of legislation now in existence.

The committee's report is not and should not be accepted as a condemnation of the licensing of corporations. It is instead a suggestion that instead of pressing for this additional legislation at this time we permit existing legislation to function so that we may discover the results. When I advocated a federal licensing of corporations at the Vancouver convention, it was with the conviction, which I still hold, that the enactment of the legislation which the convention approved of would have made unnecessary much of the legislation that has since been enacted affecting our interests.

I am also of the opinion now that had the federal licensing act or measure which the convention approved of in Vancouver, been enacted, much of the legislation affecting our welfare since then would have been wholly unnecessary, that a federal licensing act would go further in protecting the welfare, the rights and the interests of labor, than all of the legislation affecting our interests which has been enacted since that time.

Unfortunately, the convention's convictions were not translated into federal legislation. Other legislation took its place, and your committee, therefore, does not condemn the federal licensing act, but it does say it is well for us now to pause and instead of pressing for the enactment of federal licensing at this time, that our trade union move-

ment have a little further opportunity to deal with the problems created by the legislation affecting our welfare which has been placed on the statute books since our Vancouver convention.

Vice President Gainor: It is with a great deal of hesitation that I appear on this rostrum at this time, but I am so deeply concerned about the philosophy, as I interpret the subject as reported by your committee, that I cannot resist the impulse to submit some observations in connection therewith.

America is a nation of individuals. Individualism is a dominant note. When the Constitution of the United States was written the population was largely agricultural, some 85 per cent of the people living on farms. And this fact was reflected in that great document, the Constitution of the United States. The philosophy of Thomas Jefferson was a concept that the people best governed should be the people the least governed, and that runs through the early history of our country. But the growing interdependence of our country created a continuing economic pressure which no public administrator can resist, and as a result thereof, with each succeeding year, we have extended the functions of our Government.

Originally we looked with some apprehension on the public schools, preferring them to be privately operated. But from an agricultural people we developed into a people highly interdependent. My father, as a boy in Indiana, before the first railroad came—upon which he worked as a boy of 15—lived on a farm where practically the essentials of existence were produced, including food, clothing and shelter, by individual efforts. Today I, his son, and living in such an interdependent system of society that I perform some special item of social service, while it takes a million men to get my dinner. Thus as time passed the state, in response to irresistible economic pressure, has been called to extend its functions to promote public welfare.

Private endeavor undertook to build the Panama Canal but failed. We suffered the miserable service of toll roads, and there was no escape from it except for the state to take over those roads. In fact, to a great extent we exercised the police powers of the nation only to protect the liberties of the people.

Time was, and not long ago, where each succeeding year yellow fever ravaged the South. Private endeavor could not eradicate it. The Government took over the work of mastering the yellow fever and succeeded. Thus it has been with each succeeding administration of our Government, no matter whether it was conservative or liberal, we have continually extended the functions of government in response to compelling economic need and not because of our socialistic inclination, but because our common sense said it was the best way.

Herbert Hoover, whose philosophy of rugged individualism is well known throughout our country, became President of the United States. However, when a great national emergency, during our depression of 1929, confronted him, he dismissed his individualistic philosophy for the time being and extended the functions of government into domains hitherto left exclusively for private endeavor.

I direct your attention in this regard to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which he sponsored and translated into law, and which was a drastic innovation in the extension of the functions of government. He also attempted to maintain the price of wheat through immense governmental purchases, and for the purpose of maintaining the American flag on the high seas he stood strongly for the enactment of a postal ship subsidy. I do not cite these things in detraction, but only to point out how unexpected emergencies will compel the extension of the functions of government, no matter who may be in the President's chair. And so it has been all along the line.

Later, in 1933, when President Roosevelt assumed office, he was confronted with a virtual collapse of the economic and business processes of the country. A great emergency had arisen, and drastic methods, all contemplating an extension of the functions of government, had to be invoked for the purpose of maintaining public order and promoting public welfare.

Therefore, Mr. President, I strongly protest against the submission and confirmation here of any declaration or policy which unnecessarily would tie our hands for the future by limiting the power of the Government to meet national emergencies through the extension of its functions. Let us go along as our common sense commands; let us follow that course as America has followed it from the

beginning, let us meet the situation without tying ourselves to some reactionary philosophy that may ultimately arise to confound us.

Delegate McSorley, Lathers: Mr. Chairman, I desire to offer an amendment to the report of the committee. My amendment is that the entire subject matter and the observations be referred to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor for thorough consideration and analysis before this convention makes any declaration on the same.

The motion was seconded.

Chairman Woll: I rise, not to oppose the amendment offered by the delegates; I desire to speak on the report of the committee and on behalf of the committee. In presenting this report it is presented with a clear understanding on the part of all the members of the committee that it is not a criticism, that it is not a condemnation of what has passed and what has been done, but is an indication of dangers ahead, and seeks only to call attention to the minds of the delegates here, the officers of our national and international unions and to labor generally, to trends and tendencies in the making and which may find materialization, not in the present administration, but perhaps in future administrations to come.

This report does not intend to change the philosophy as it has been expressed, as it has been articulated, as it has been read into the record of the American Federation of Labor since its inception. There is in the making a new philosophy, a new relation of man to man, of industry to government, and it is well for all of us to give careful consideration to that philosophy that is in the making.

We know, of course, what is going on in the old world, the trends and tendencies in these nations. We note, too, that we are an inter-dependent nation, no longer completely isolated from the family of the nations, and more or less we will be affected by the developments taking place in all of these nations. We know, too, that elements representing the different forms of those different philosophies are at work in the old world, and some of them at work in organized labor, to change the policy upon which we have been operating and cooperating. It is to arouse thinking on these problems that these observations are presented to you. Merely the adoption by this convention would be of little purpose on these observations, because they

do not carry with them any directions, instructions, modifications or alterations of what has been done by this or previous conventions.

However, I must comment briefly on what this convention has done. Really, I think the best thing to do is to refer this subject to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor. No action we may take will demonstrate their truthfulness, their untruthfulness, their validity or their invalidity, but we comment upon what this convention has done, what has been the expression on the number of government boards and bureaus in this convention. Read over the resolutions presented. They speak more eloquently than I can, more truthfully than any word I might utter on this subject. Read the record of your proceedings, read the resolutions, read the discussions, read the addresses presented to you, and you will find full vindication of the observations made in this report.

It is not to ask you to change the philosophy of the American Federation of Labor, not to enter the political field, it is to call attention to things in the making, whether we like them or not, whether we agree with them or not, whether they conform to our own ideas of government or not.

I am happy that the committee did present these observations, because they will give food for thought, they will stimulate thinking and they will arouse thought. That is the great good to be gained from a meeting of this kind.

I rise, not to oppose the motion to submit to the Executive Council, because there is nothing definite herein expressed, except a statement of the philosophy we have followed. And, may I also supplement what our Secretary has said about the licensing of corporate enterprises by the government.

The Secretary has covered that subject quite fully. There is, of course, a debatable ground as to whether that is or is not a good policy. It points out that the very man who proposed that subject also proposed the appointment of the commission to make an entire study of the whole field. His study may indicate the wisdom or the unwisdom of the proposal he himself made and that we concurred in.

We do not ask that the convention change its point of view. I merely rise to make clear what was in the minds of the committee when this proposal was approved by them and when it was presented to the convention. It

does not ask that you accept a philosophy that you cannot accept and that you cannot understand. The report of the committee is well worth consideration.

Delegate Franklin, Boiler Makers' International Union: I am not particularly opposed to the motion before the house to refer the matter to the Executive Council, but it seems to me that in order to give all the delegates to this convention an opportunity to know and understand more fully the intention of the report of the committee, it ought to be printed and all the delegates given an opportunity to thoroughly study and understand just what they are acting on. Therefore, if it is in order, I would like to move to amend the motion to provide that action be deferred upon this portion of the committee's report until it is printed in the daily proceedings, and then to be considered and acted upon by this convention.

President Green: The Chair would be compelled to rule that a motion to refer could not be amended in that way. The facts are it will be printed in the proceedings of today's convention.

Delegate Franklin: May I then move that action be delayed until it is printed?

President Green: The motion to refer takes precedence and must be acted upon before any other motion can be considered. The question, therefore, recurs on the motion offered by Delegate McSorley, that the report of the committee may be referred to the Executive Council.

Delegate Franklin: May I ask if a motion to defer would be considered in order?

President Green: No, a motion of that kind would not be in order.

Delegate Franklin: Would a motion to table for a time be in order?

President Green: The Chair will rule that if the motion to refer to the Executive Council is carried and it is printed in today's proceedings, you can move tomorrow that the matter be taken up and presented to the convention for action.

Delegate Franklin: I do not expect to be here after about 10:00 o'clock tomorrow, and I can not judge what anybody else will do.

President Green: If anybody else wishes to offer a motion to take it up at that time, the Chair will entertain it.

Delegate Franklin: I do not understand that kind of parliamentary ruling.

President Green: A motion to defer is not in itself debatable. When the Chair gave opportunity to discuss it we violated parliamentary law in that respect. The vote now will be upon the motion to refer to the Executive Council.

The motion to refer to the Executive Council was carried.

Vice President Woll: This report is signed by the committee members:

MATTHEW WOLL, Chairman
JOHN P. FREY, Secretary
A. A. MYRUP
J. A. FRANKLIN
THOMAS L. HUGHES
JOHN POSSEHL
P. J. MORRIN
M. J. GILLOOLY
FRANK KASTEN
CLARENCE E. SWICK
R. G. SODERSTROM
JOHN J. STRETCH
JOHN J. MARA
FRED BAER
HENRY W. STRICKLAND
M. A. HUTCHESON
MICHAEL J. COLLERAN
DANIEL C. MURPHY
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT.

Chairman Woll: I move that the committee's report as a whole and as acted upon by this convention be approved.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Delegate Ornburn: Mr. Chairman, delegates to the convention—I make this statement in the absence of Delegate R. E. Van Horn, of the Cigar Makers International Union of America. Since the last convention of the American Federation of Labor held in the city of Denver, the Cigar Makers' Union has negotiated a union agreement with the cigar manufacturers in Tampa, Florida. All the manufacturers in Tampa are embraced in that agreement, with one exception, and that is the Hava-Tampa Company.

In order that the delegates may know something of the product manufactured in Tampa, the manufacturers have sent samples of their cigars here. There are union made cigars on sale at the stand in the rear of the hall.

I am asked further by Delegate Van Horn to extend his appreciation for the splendid cooperation the affiliated organizations have given to our international union for the past twelve months. When you ask for Tampa cigars, be sure to ask for the union label.

Special Order

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I rise to offer a motion, Mr. Chairman, that we have a special order of business tomorrow afternoon at 2:30 o'clock for the nomination and election of officers and the selection of a convention city.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Correction

Delegate Verhines, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union: A question of personal privilege, for the correction of yesterday's record, the proceedings in the forenoon, under the heading, "Union Label on Printed Matter," appearing on page 391 of the proceedings of Tuesday morning.

My good friend, Delegate DiPietro, of the International Typographical Union did a very good job in getting removed from the tables and the desks of the delegates printed matter that did not bear the union label. The record says: "We would request that the sergeants-at-arms be instructed to remove from the desks of the delegates printed material that has been distributed this morning which bears no printer's label."

I would like to correct that statement not only in behalf of the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, but of all the allied printing trades crafts and to say that the recognized label on printing matter is the allied printing trades label and not the printer's label or the pressmen's label.

I thank you.

President Green: The correction will be made.

Delegate DiPietro, Typographical Union: I rise to state that that was the true intent of my remarks.

President Green: Very well. It is corrected.

The Chair wishes to present for just a moment a visitor to our convention, who is a very dear friend. He comes from Flint, Michigan, and has been very closely associated with developments which have taken place in connection with the organization of automobile workers. He is the pastor of a church located in Flint, in no way a member of our union or connected with the organization, except that he has a deep and sympathetic interest in the economic welfare of the workers. He can therefore speak impartially.

I am going to have him speak to you for just a moment. I present to you Rev. Paul Coleman, of Flint, Michigan.

REV. PAUL COLEMAN

President Green, delegates to the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor—As President Green has already indicated, I have no credentials of my own. I am not a member of your Federation. I am not responsible for that. You are, because you have never yet seen fit to set up an organization for clergymen, the poorest paid profession anywhere in the United States of America, and you had better do it soon, because if you don't John L. Lewis will set up an organization of clergymen as an adjunct to the United Mine Workers of America.

I am very glad to be your guest. I do not come particularly with a plea.

One of my brethren of the cloth down here in the deep South a few years ago was on one of those charges where the pay is very small, and about every week the bishop would get a letter with a plea for financial assistance. Finally the bishop wrote a letter and said to this pastor, "If I get one more plea asking for financial assistance I will ask for the surrender of your credentials and that you leave the ministry." Thirty days of ominous silence went by, and the bishop got a letter which said, "This is not a plea, this is a report: I have no pants."

And so this is not a plea, this is a report. I am very deeply interested in the problem of the automobile workers. I come to you bringing greetings from 40,000 unorganized automobile workers in the city of Flint. Between two and six thousand of these automobile workers are affiliated with a movement known as the Committee for Industrial Organization. No man with ordinary intelligence would be so naive as to call that movement an organization. It is not organized. It does not have cohesion. It is composed of conflicting elements.

Back between the years of 1930 and 1933 your own American Federation of Labor spent approximately a quarter of a million dollars organizing the automobile workers of that area, and upon the heels of that organization, at the beginning of the present political administration, the administration of the present President of the United States, the men in Flint felt it was time for a strike. Negotiations were carried on in the city of Washington. The President of the United States entered into these negotiations. He said to your representatives of the American Federation of Labor, "This is not the time to strike, we don't want you to strike. I am just now getting the wheels of industry to turn, and if you strike now you will embarrass my administration."

And in good faith, as gentlemen, for the members of the Federation have always endeavored to act as gentlemen in good faith, an understanding was reached between your representatives and the President of the United States. He said, "When the time comes I will pass the word down the line to you, when the time comes to strike."

The results that followed were disheartening and disappointing for the American Federation of Labor. When the time came for the President to make good his promise to the American Federation of Labor, he went instead of that to the Committee for Industrial Organization and gave the "go" sign to them. The Federation very quietly stepped out of the picture. They said to the Committee for Industrial Organization, "If you think you can solve this problem, the door is open." And now for approximately two years the Federation has stayed out of the battle that has been waged in that territory.

Now the men are very craft conscious. The United Automobile Workers of America is disintegrating so rapidly that it is pitiful. The men are also organization conscious, and they come to me, not by scores but by the hundreds, and say, "We want some sort of an organization." Week before last, from one department of the Buick plant there came a petition with the signatures of 800 former members of the United Automobile Workers of America, asking for assistance in setting up an independent organization. I took time to point out to these men the failures of independent organizations, because they will not meet the problems or the demands of that area.

I come to you to plead with you as representatives of the American Federation of Labor to come into the Michigan area and say to these men, "We are here to give you the kind of organization you need, an American organization"—don't forget that, gentlemen, an American organization.

The men are conscious that they need that kind of an organization and I believe you can give it to them. You have a certain inescapable moral obligation to these unorganized men that you cannot evade. Don't try to evade it, gentlemen. I know there have been pleas made for peace, and no one loves peace any more than I, because I am a clergyman. I am a preacher, and I want peace, but I don't want peace that will mean suicide in the end.

I am pleading with your President to see that representatives of these various craft groups send organizers into the Michigan area and give us a real, bona fide, conservative American organization of American working men in the automobile field. I will give you all the help I possibly can in that direction.

I thank you.

President Green: You have heard the report made by Rev. Coleman and the remarks he has made. We value the information very highly.

The Chair now recognizes Vice-President Bates. Chairman of the Committee on Executive Council's report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S REPORT

Vice-President Bates: Your Committee on Executive Council's Report respectfully sub-

mits the following, which will be read by Secretary Schmal.

Delegate Schmal, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

ORGANIZATION OF SEAMEN

(Supplemental Report of the Executive Council, Page 362, Sixth Day's Proceedings)

The American Federation of Labor is deeply interested in the organization of seamen of the United States and Canada. We are certain that their economic, social and industrial interest will be best promoted through the establishment of a strong, democratic International Union of seamen.

At the present time those employed as sailors and seamen are organized into local, independent, separate units. There is a lack of cohesion, solidarity and unity among the local organizations set up in the Pacific, Atlantic, Great Lakes, Gulf and Canadian Ports. One organization for seamen would result in the mobilization of their economic strength on an international basis.

It is the opinion of the Executive Council that the rather chaotic and confused condition existing among the seamen should be cleared up. This is a primary necessity to the establishment of an International Union of seamen. In order to realize this objective and to accomplish this purpose, the Executive Council recommends the revocation of the charter of the International Seamen's Union. This recommendation is made because the International Seamen's Union which was chartered by the American Federation of Labor some years ago, is now functioning only in a very limited way. The revocation of this charter would enable the Executive Council to organize and establish an International Union of seamen upon a sound and solid American Federation of Labor basis.

In recommending this supplemental report of the Executive Council for favorable action your Committee desires to add the following:

Committees of the Pacific, of Federal Labor Union 21420, which now holds jurisdiction on the Atlantic and Gulf, of the three district unions of the Great Lakes, and of the affiliated fishermen's unions, have been meeting here in Houston for the purpose of blending together the membership of these several

organizations under one national charter, issued to the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

These Committees have arrived at an agreement which, among other things, provides that the nationally chartered organization shall, in turn, establish temporary districts on the Atlantic Coast and Gulf, and on the Great Lakes. It is further provided that within a year the said districts shall be granted local autonomy and proceed with nominations and elections of permanent officers.

We commend these committees for their serious and genuine efforts to bring about a unified national seafarers' union. It is our hope that their efforts will be rewarded by a large, strong, powerful, united organization which will promote the welfare of the seamen of North America.

The American Federation of Labor pledges aid and support so that this organization may be one which the seamen of North America will be proud of.

The Committee fully concurs in all of the proposals and recommendations contained in the supplemental report of the Executive Council.

The Committee recommends the revocation of the charter of the International Seamen's Union and the establishment of an International Union of seamen on the basis proposed by the Executive Council.

Committee moves concurrence in this part of its report.

HARRY C. BATES, Chairman
 GEORGE Q. LYNCH
 H. M. NELSON
 WM. J. KELLY
 J. J. HYNES
 F. A. FITZGERALD
 JOHN M. GILLESPIE
 JASPER N. DAVIS
 CHARLES SUMNER
 CHARLES M. RAU
 WILLIAM CAMPBELL
 FRANK COLEMAN
 GLENN L. MITCHELL
 IRVIN BARNEY
 ARTHUR HUGGINS
 HENRY OHL, JR.
 HOMER J. ODELL
 HARVEY BROWN
 JEROME DAVIS
 HENRY F. SCHMAL, Secretary.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate J. N. Davis, Boilermakers: I am going to have to do something on that committee. That is J. N. Davis on that committee.

Secretary Schmal: That is Jerome Davis.

Delegate Davis: I can't help it. J. N. Davis is on there, too. If he is on there, then there are two.

President Green: We will see that your name is on there.

Delegate Davis: I don't have any objections to Jerome Davis being on the committee, but I insist that I am not Jerome Davis.

Delegate Morris, Tacoma Central Labor Council: This convention can make no mistake in granting a national charter for seamen to the Sailors' Union of the Pacific. They are not an experiment, they are an old, established organization. They originally formed the National Seamen's Union and produced some of the finest men that you have had in the American Federation of Labor, notably the late Andrew Furuseth, who was a regular attendant at the conventions of the American Federation of Labor and was well known to all of you.

In granting this charter it is going to work in two ways. It is going to build up a national organization of seamen in America, which is badly needed. It is going to be a mighty strong weapon in breaking down the power of the CIO with the longshoremen.

On the West Coast the CIO has captured the longshoremen. There isn't any argument about that. I belong to the Tacoma I. L. A. Longshoremen. We have 600 members, we have had a closed shop for 22 years. We are the one local union on the Pacific Coast that has a straight union hall. All of the others are jointly controlled. With the granting of this charter to the seamen we will be able to make a fight in conjunction with the seamen on the CIO on the West Coast.

There is another element that comes into it that makes this a favorable opportunity to make that fight effective. That is the signing of the agreement for longshoremen on the West Coast by the CIO. I don't know how many of you delegates are familiar with that agreement, but it is the rottenest agreement ever entered into by a labor union in the United States of America.

Let me give you one or two things that that agreement contains. The water front employers can prefer charges against individual longshoremen. They have that right. The longshoremen's union will have to try the member, and if the punishment is not in accordance with the views of the employers, then the case is taken before a joint labor relations committee, three employers and three longshoremen. If they don't get satisfaction there, then it goes to the arbitrator. The punishments are meted out, a week off if a man is drunk, and for broaching cargo he is expelled from the waterfront for good. It is the only agreement which provides that the employer can determine who shall become members of the union.

Those are two things contained in the CIO Longshoremen's agreement on the West Coast.

As a member of the Longshoremen's Union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor I want to try to impress on this convention the necessity of striking at this time. Delegate O'Connell, of the San Francisco Central Labor Council, made a slight mistake yesterday. He said we were the only I. L. A. Local left on the Coast. That is not correct. We have a local union of longshoremen at Port Angeles, a local union in Anacortes, an organization of checkers in Portland, Oregon, and an organization of checkers in Seattle. Last week a vote was taken by the Seattle checkers as to whether or not they would affiliate with the CIO. One hundred and sixty votes were cast for the American Federation of Labor, and fifteen for the CIO. Our district secretary attended the meeting, and we had some men working with the group to offset the activities of the Communists and the CIO'ers, and we were very successful in the election.

In each and every Local Union on the Pacific Coast we have loyal members of the American Federation of Labor.

In San Francisco 300 of them have been driven off the water front and not allowed to work any more. I, as a member of the International Longshoremen's Union affiliated with the I. L. A. on the West Coast am appealing at this time to this convention to take immediate steps to make a real fight on the West Coast. There has been a lot of assistance given, but it has not brought much results so far. Now is the time, now is the real time to make an effort.

The granting of this charter and the rotten agreement signed by the CIO, those two things combined will certainly be in our favor, and this is the ideal time to make a fight on the West Coast. If that is done and a real, energetic battle put up, I feel confident that we can clean out the CIO on the water front on the Pacific Coast.

I thank you.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If not, we will vote upon the motion to concur in the recommendation of the committee. Inasmuch as this is a constitutional question it will require a two-thirds vote in order that it may be legally and officially adopted by this convention. The Chair is going to call for a rising vote upon the adoption of the committee's report. All who favor the recommendation of the committee will rise. Those opposed will rise.

The Chair rules that the report of the committee and the recommendations contained therein are unanimously adopted by this convention.

Secretary Schmal: In addition to designated sections of the Executive Council's report, there was referred to this committee for consideration Resolution No. 89, appearing on page 45, first day's proceedings. The resolution is as follows:

Application of Upholsterers' International Union for Extension of Jurisdiction to Include Workers Employed in Upholstered Furniture, Bedding, Mattress and Casket Factories

Resolution No. 89—By Delegates Sal B. Hoffmann, Alfred Rota, Upholsterers' International Union of North America.

WHEREAS, at the present time there exists a deplorably chaotic condition in the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding and Casket manufacturing industries because of the fact that various International Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are issuing Charters to the workers in these industries without regard to the jurisdictional limitations of these International Unions; and

WHEREAS, as a result of this situation there is widespread confusion, duplication of effort, and a constantly growing antagonistic feeling which is added to by the activities of the CIO. Tens of thousands of unorganized workers in these industries find themselves in a dilemma when appealed to, to unionize, as under the circumstances they are unable to determine which organization they should join, and

WHEREAS, it is desirable not only for the

interests of the workers involved, but for the American Federation of Labor as well that this situation be remedied so that the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding and Casket industries may be organized on a 100 per cent basis efficiently and quickly as is possible, and

WHEREAS, the Upholsterers' International Union legitimately engaged in the organizing of the workers in the industries referred to has unquestionably been the most conspicuously successful in so doing, and

WHEREAS, in the large factories and shops where Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress, Bedding and Caskets are manufactured there are also made other articles of furniture and merchandise, and

WHEREAS, it is impossible to organize the Upholsterers' Frame Workers, Bedding, Mattress and Casket workers in these factories and shops without also organizing the workers engaged in the production of other articles that are manufactured in these factories and shops, and

WHEREAS, the various classifications of workers in these plants are opposed to any attempt to divide them into several unions, but responded heartily when informed that they will be organized as one unit with all the fellow workers in their particular place of employment, irrespective of the work that they may be engaged in, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, that the organization of those Upholstered Furniture, Mattress, Bedding and Casket manufacturing shops and factories which, likewise, at the same time, employ other workers, and those Frame manufacturing factories which manufacture Frames which are used in the Upholstered Furniture, Bedding, and Casket industries throughout the United States and Canada, be recognized by the American Federation of Labor as belonging exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union and be it further

RESOLVED, that the American Federation of Labor extend to the Upholsterers' International Union full backing and every possible aid and assistance in the organizing campaign to unionize the Upholstered Furniture, Frame, Mattress Bedding and Casket industries, which it now wages,

This resolution proposes that workers engaged in the manufacture of frames which are used in the production of upholstered furniture, bedding and caskets throughout the United States and Canada be recognized by the American Federation of Labor as coming exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Upholsterers' International Union.

It further proposes that the American Federation of Labor extend to the Upholsterers' International Union full support and every possible aid and assistance in their organizing campaign to unionize these workers.

In this resolution is involved the question of extending the jurisdiction of the upholstery

workers International Union. A hearing was held at which the introducers of the resolution and others interested were permitted to present their cases.

It is the finding of your Committee that two resolutions similar in nature were introduced at the Convention of the American Federation of Labor held in Denver, Colorado, last year which resolutions while slightly different in construction carry the same intent and purpose.

We further find that the two resolutions introduced at the Denver Convention were referred by the Convention to the Executive Council for consideration and that those resolutions are still in the hands of the Executive Council. In view of this fact your Committee recommends that Resolution No. 89, presented to this Convention, be likewise referred to the Executive Council in the hope that this action will result in an agreement being reached on this proposal.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

TRADE UNION BENEFITS

Pages 93 to 102 Executive Council Report

Under this title the Executive Council calls attention to the fact that during the past year National and International organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor paid to their members in various forms of benefits the sum of \$27,111.-225.46. While this figure represents an appreciable amount expended for the relief of distressed members it does not as the Executive Council points out represent the grand total and there should rightfully be added to the records made available to the Executive Council, many millions of dollars paid to affiliated members by organizations failing to report to the American Federation of Labor the amount of benefits paid, and such benefits paid by Local Unions chartered by affiliated International Unions under various benefit arrangements maintained under the supervision of Local Unions.

This activity of organized labor is indeed an outstanding achievement and one which merits our highest commendations.

It is encouraging to note that more than one-half million members of this Federation through the efforts of their respective National and International Unions are being granted vacations with pay, and we urge all affiliated organizations to endeavor to secure the

same consideration for their members.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CHARTERS TO NATIONAL UNIONS Page 102, Executive Council Report

As reported by the Executive Council under this caption Charters were issued during the year to three newly formed International Unions, namely, the National Association of Railroad Mail Laborers, The National Association of Special Delivery Messengers and the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America.

This is but one development which indicates that the American Federation of Labor is moving onward and forward. It is likewise pleasing to note that these new affiliates of the American Federation of Labor are making definite and substantial progress within their respective fields of organization.

Your Committee concurs in this reported action of the Executive Council and urges the continued support and assistance of the American Federation of Labor to these newly chartered National and International Unions.

Deserving of special mention is the case of the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America. Due to the revocation of the charter of the United Mine Workers of America because of that organization's participation in the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organization, a dual labor movement, and its contribution of services and funds to that secession movement the coal miner was left without representation in the American Federation of Labor.

This condition led to the filing of an application for a Charter by the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America which application was approved.

You are all fully aware of the struggles which have been engaged in by the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America to extend its helpful influence to the men engaged in the coal mining industry and the trials which these workers have suffered in carrying on their organizing activities.

The problems of the coal miner today is not alone the concern of the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America but the concern of every organization affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and

your Committee therefore recommends that every encouragement be given by all affiliated organizations of the American Federation of Labor to the International Union Progressive Mine Workers of America in their struggle for independence and freedom of action and right to determine the conditions under which they shall render service to industry, and that the Executive Council continue in every way possible its assistance and support to this newly chartered organization of mine workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

REVOCATION OF CHARTERS

Pages 102 and 103 Executive Council Report

Under this caption the Executive Council advises of its action in revoking the Charters of nine International Unions which had become associated with the Committee of Industrial Organization, which action of the Executive Council was pursuant to the instructions of the 37th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor. In this the Executive Council had no other alternative in view of the continued rebellious attitude and activities of these organizations. Your Committee fully concurs in this reported action of the Executive Council.

We are also advised of instructions issued to all State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies to remove from membership therein all organizations affiliated with the Committee of Industrial Organization. The few instances in which these instructions were not promptly complied with because of CIO domination in State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies is an indication of the ineffectiveness and the weakness of CIO opposition to this cleansing of labor ranks. We commend the Executive Council for their action in revoking the charters of CIO dominated State Federations and City Central Bodies and the formation of new State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies in such localities.

It is pleasing indeed to note, as reported by the Executive Council that all State Federations and City Central Bodies have up to the present time disassociated from membership therein all CIO organizations. The opposition to the Committee of Industrial Organization as reflected in these expulsions must be continued in order to preserve unimpaired the authority and solidarity of the

American Federation of Labor. In the opinion of your Committee this policy should be continued and all Local Unions of affiliated National and International Unions should be instructed to support this policy in their respective State Federations of Labor and City Central Bodies.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

JURISDICTIONAL MATTERS

Pages 103 to 107 Executive Council Report Masters, Mates and Pilots—Longshoremen

Under this title the Executive Council reports its compliance with instructions received from the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor relative to the jurisdictional controversy existing between the National Organization Masters, Mates and Pilots of America and the International Longshoremen's Association in which connection the Executive Council reports conferences held between the Representatives of the two organizations involved.

As reported, some progress was made in the adjustment of this controversy although no definite or final agreement has as yet been reached. In view of the expressed belief that through a continuation of conferences the question in dispute will be settled, your Committee recommends that this matter be continued in the hands of the Executive Council with instructions to arrange for such conferences as might be helpful in bringing about a mutually satisfactory settlement of this controversy.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PRINTING TRADES—LITHOGRAPHERS

Pages 104 and 105 Executive Council Report

This part of the Executive Council report evidences the fact that the controversy relating to offset plate making and printing and the non-observance by the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association of an award rendered and decisions reached by the Executive Council has occupied the attention of the Federation for the past 25 years. This report likewise evidences the spirit of tolerance that has actuated the Printing Trades Unions who might properly and within their full right request the suspension if not the revocation of the charter of the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association because of its utter

disregard to observe the award and decision rendered in this case.

The report likewise sets out that the Executive Council did invoke a measure of discipline during the past year in that it declined further to recognize the label of the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association as a bona fide union label and advised organized labor as well as the public generally that such purported union label was not a valid union label and was undeserving of the support of organized labor and its friends. By this measure of discipline it is hoped to impress the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association of the error of its ways and to hasten a satisfactory adjustment of this controversy and effect an early observance of the will and judgment of previous Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

It is reasonable to surmise that the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association may attempt to evade or avoid this measure of discipline and by so doing aggravate instead of mitigate the cause that gave rise to friction and dissension and in that way compel the suspension or revocation of its charter.

It is to be seriously hoped that the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association will realize that it cannot hope indefinitely to proceed in its present policy and practice and that it is for the betterment for all to effect as speedily as possible a satisfactory compliance with the award and previous decisions reached on this subject by a number of Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee therefore is in full accord with the Executive Council in its report on this subject and recommends concurrence in the action taken by the Executive Council as noted in this part of its report and urges continuance of this policy supplemented by such further action as may be requested by the Printing Trades Unions involved, it to be understood that previous authority delegated to the Executive Council to suspend the charter of the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association or to take such other measures of discipline as it might deem advisable or desirable, shall in no way be curtailed, limited or restricted, it being the hope that an early observance by the Lithographers Protective and Beneficial Association of

the award and decisions reached in this case will obviate the necessity for such further and more drastic measures of discipline.

The attention of this Convention is again directed to the fact that the action of the Executive Council in declaring that the union label of the Allied Printing Trades Unions to be the only label to be recognized as a bona fide union label to be used in connection with all forms and character of plate making and printing in no manner is intended to affect the label of the International Plate Printers, Die Stammers and Engravers Union of North America which label is recognized as a registered bona fide label of the American Federation of Labor.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Kennedy: Mr. Chairman and delegates: I rise to speak for the Lithographers International Union. The subject reported by the committee is part of the jurisdictional dispute which they say has existed for a number of years.

Various conventions of the American Federation of Labor have considered this and we have stated our position, notably in the Tampa convention of 1936, and I believe the record will show a clear explanation or picture by both sides of the controversy. I do not believe there is any chance at this time to override the report of the committee, because it explains the action taken by the Executive Council, but I do say that while we are opposed to the committee's report we believe that some possibilities exist if further conferences are held in this matter.

The motion to adopt the report of the committee was carried.

Delegate Kennedy: The Lithographers International delegates are reported as voting "no."

President Green: The record will show your vote.

JOURNEYMEN TAILORS

Page 106 Executive Council Report

As indicated in this part of the Executive Council report the attention of the Executive Council was called to the delinquency of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America in the payment of per capita tax and the submission of reports required by the laws of the American Federation of Labor and that in

addition this organization had become affiliated with the CIO.

In view of these established facts your Committee is of the opinion that the Executive Council was fully justified in regarding the situation as the termination of the Journeymen Tailors' Union's affiliation with the American Federation of Labor and in granting that organization's former jurisdiction to the United Garment Workers of America.

Your Committee further recommends that this Convention approve of the action taken by the Executive Council as reported in this case and joins with the Executive Council in recommending that this convention officially revoke the Charter of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America.

President Green: This will require a record vote also because it involves the revocation of the Journeymen Tailors' charter. The chair will ask you to vote by show of hands.

After a vote was taken by show of hands President Green said: It is the opinion of the Chair that the report has been unanimously adopted, and it is so ordered.

EXTENSION OF JURISDICTION OVER GASOLINE SERVICE STATION EMPLOYEES

Page 112 Executive Council Report

The conditions prompting the action of the Executive Council in granting jurisdiction over Gasoline Service Station Employees to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America are quite fully described in this section of the Executive Council report and have been given careful consideration by your Committee.

Most essential are the facts that these workers themselves as represented by a substantial majority indicated a desire to become affiliated with the Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America and the conclusion reached by the Executive Council that the economic and industrial interest of Gasoline Service Station Employees could best be served through membership in the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Stablemen and Helpers of America.

As one organization working for the same objective in an arrangement which your Committee believes will best serve the interest of

both groups of workers involved in this transfer of jurisdiction and therefore recommends concurrence in the action as reported.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

UNEMPLOYMENT

Pages 107 and 108 Executive Council Report

Under this title the Executive Council presents in actual figures variations experienced in the number of workers unemployed during the year, concluding with the encouraging statement that further gains in employment is indicated for the near future.

While there is encouragement to be drawn from reported increases in employment statistics there is no comfort to be found in those records for the remaining millions of unemployed workers and until every man and woman willing and able to work has been placed in employment the problem of unemployment cannot be regarded as solved nor our obligations fulfilled.

Unemployment is not the problem of the unemployed worker alone, it is the problem of every man regardless of his station in life. Government spending and the payment of unemployment benefits from whatever source are but measures of temporary relief. The fact that members of trade unions were in a position of advantage as compared with employees in industry generally during the period of declining employment is no justification for us to pause even for a moment in driving forward our efforts for an effective and complete solution of this serious problem. There is but one solution for the abolition of unemployment and that is a more equal distribution of available employment through the reduction of the work week from the present prevailing standards to lower levels, thereby creating employment for the greater number.

It is not alone the purpose of organized labor in seeking a reduction in the number of working hours in order to secure more leisure hours for the employed workers but to provide in a measure working hours for the unemployed.

Confident that the lessening of hours for those employed will create employment for the millions of unemployed, organized labor must and will continue to strive for the establishment of the 30-hour 5-day week, the only solution to this great problem, and thereby

restore prosperity and contentment to all of the people of our nation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RESEARCH AND INFORMATION SERVICE

Pages 109 to 110 Executive Council Report

Under this main caption and sub-captions: Facts for Wage Negotiations—Information on Social Security—Labor Board Cases—Wage and Hour Standards and Other Service the Executive Council presents a very informative and constructive resume of the activities of the research service established by the American Federation of Labor for the benefit of affiliated unions, the activities of which are constantly being extended into new fields in order to meet service requirements imposed upon it.

That there is a need for such service is indicated by the number of requests for information received from affiliated organizations for use in wage negotiations which alone merits its continuation.

Enactment of the Social Security Act with its complexity of operation has made for further need of this research and informative service.

This is also true of the Wagner Labor Act under which the National and Regional Labor Boards operate and in which this service has been of immeasurable value to organizations having cases to present to these Boards.

Then too there is the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Walsh-Healey Act, all of which present many complex problems to the labor movement.

This and the constantly arising of new problems prompts your Committee in recommending a continuation of this service.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE LABOR PRESS

Page 112 Executive Council Report

Your Committee fully concurs in the opinions expressed by the Executive Council as to the value of the Labor Press to the American labor movement. It is this means through which the organized workers of America must seek authentic information and the truth regarding the ideals, the objectives, the activities and the achievements of organized labor.

The Labor Press as represented by all pub-

ications of the American Federation of Labor, official publications of National and International Unions as well as Local Labor papers and periodicals finding their circulation in the field of labor is fully deserving of organized labor's support.

Your Committee recommends that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor and all affiliated National and International Unions aid and assist the labor press in whatever manner possible and especially to support both financially and morally all bona fide labor publications which support the policy of the American Federation of Labor.

We further recommend that the Delegates at this Convention of the American Federation of Labor use their influence to the end that organized labor shall learn the truth about our movement, its aims and purposes through labor's own medium of expression.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION TRADES DEPARTMENT

Pages 112 and 113 Executive Council Report

Under this caption there is presented a summarized report of the activities of the Building and Construction Trades Department during the year from which your Committee was pleased to note increased organizing activities among the National and International Unions affiliated with this Department as evidenced by the number of Charters issued to local Building and Construction Trades Councils since July 1st, 1937, a total of 77 Charters being reported issued.

The report also contains reference to renewed activities of the CIO in its endeavor to enter the construction industry. In every instance your Committee is advised this Department was successful in defeating these attempted encroachments upon the jurisdiction of National and International Unions in affiliation with the Building and Construction Trades Department.

We are also advised that this Department is in a sound position financially.

Your Committee commends the officers of this Department and congratulates all of its affiliated organizations for the progress made during the past year.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

METAL TRADES DEPARTMENT

Page 113 Executive Council Report

The Executive Council presents to the Convention under this caption a report on development within international unions affiliated with the Metal Trades Department. Much of the work of this Department as reported is carried on through Local Metal Trades Councils including the negotiations of agreements with employers through the Representatives of the Local Metal Trades Council which agreements cover all of the members of Local Unions in affiliation with the Council.

This Department has also adopted a policy of federating Local Metal Trades Councils into district Councils in which larger areas more united efforts can be made in carrying on the necessary organizing work and in establishing agreements with the employers of tradesmen represented by this Department.

This Department through its very capable President John P. Frey who has so courageously exposed the fallacious, the deceptions and misrepresentations of the CIO has rendered a valuable service to the American Federation of Labor.

We commend this Department for its activity not alone within its own field but in the interest of the entire labor movement and urge that those activities be continued.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

RAILWAY EMPLOYEES' DEPARTMENT

Pages 114 to 124 Executive Council Report

In this section of their report the Executive Council presents a very detailed account of the activities of the railroad workers.

Under the sub-caption "Progress of Organization" attention is directed to the fact that intensive organizing campaigns were carried on in the railroad industry by the railroad unions during the year and the number of new agreements that were consummated which in many instances resulted in company unions being repudiated and as a consequence that form of organization has practically disappeared from the field of railroading.

The progress reported by the railroad workers is indeed commendable.

Under the sub-caption "Employment and Compensation" there is presented factual data on the earnings of railroad workers and va-

riations experienced in employment and other conditions affecting employment and compensation of the railroad workers.

While the railroad industry like other industries has in past months experienced retrenchment and partial stagnation it is encouraging to note from the report submitted that all indications point to improvement in employment for railroad workers.

Under the sub-title "Railroad Wages" we have presented to us a very enlightening report on the activities of the railroad workers in opposing a wage reduction proposed by the railroad managements to be made effective as of July 1st, 1938. Notice of this proposed wage reduction was filed by the railroad managements shortly after the consummation of an agreement which provided for an increase in wages for railroad workers of approximately 5c per hour.

How well the railroad workers have resisted this proposed wage reduction is fully related in the report and their determination to prevent this proposed reduction of their basic wage rates is creditably reflected throughout the entire report.

Your Committee fully agrees with the contention of the railroad employes that the problems of the railroads today is not one of high wages and that the proposed wage reduction indicates a lack of appreciation on the part of railroad managements for the cooperation extended by the railway labor organizations and a lack of recognition of the progress which had been made through this cooperation toward securing aid for the railroads through legislation. Your Committee also agrees with the railroad workers that there is no justification for any reduction in the wages of railroad employes, a group of workers at present underpaid.

We commend the railroad workers and their organizations for the splendid fight that has been waged against this proposal to reduce wages and recommend that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor lend every assistance possible to the railroad workers in this fight.

Under the sub-caption "Canadian Railroad Wages" by comparison with the attempt to reduce the wages of railroad workers in the United States it is gratifying to note that the railroad workers of Canada have experienced a full restoration of the 10 per cent reduction to which these workers had been

subjected for which restoration provisions were made in an agreement signed March, 1937, under which by progressive steps the full reductions were restored on April 1st, this year.

"Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act"

Due to differences in the provisions of unemployment insurance laws enacted by the various states under the Social Security Act it was found difficult to apply the provisions of those acts to railroad employes frequently required to cross state lines in the performance of their duties.

This condition was given careful study by the Standard Railroad Labor Organizations which attempted through negotiations to have prepared and submitted to Congress a federal law which would provide the same protection for railroad workers, however the railroads refused to lend their assistance to the workers in their efforts, making it necessary for the railroad labor organizations to proceed unassisted.

After a year of persistent and continuous effort the railroad labor organizations were successful in securing from Congress the enactment of a Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, the most advanced and comprehensive unemployment insurance protection ever enacted into law.

Your Committee congratulates the railroad labor organizations in obtaining this beneficial and protective legislation for the railroad worker and commends to the Delegates a careful study of the provisions of the railroad unemployment act as presented in that section of the Executive Council Report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

LEGAL COUNSEL ENGAGED

Page 113 Executive Council Report

Your Committee notes with much satisfaction the reported action of the Executive Council in arranging competent legal counsel for the American Federation of Labor through the appointment of Honorable Joseph A. Padway as Counsel for the American Federation of Labor.

All who know Judge Padway recognize his legal ability. He is a man who holds a high rank in his profession. Judge Padway has served organized labor on many occasions in the past. He has had vast experience in Labor

Legislation and is therefore well possessed of a wide knowledge of the problems, ambitions and desires of organized labor.

In view of the enactment of social justice legislation and the development of other conditions requiring legal advice the appointment of Judge Padway as Counsel for the American Federation of Labor in the opinion of your Committee is very timely.

We approve of this reported action of the Executive Council and commend them for the good judgment exercised in dealing with this matter.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CONCLUSION

In addition to those sections of the Executive Council Report, which were referred to this Committee for consideration, the Executive Council, as your Committee finds, has presented to this Convention a most complete and instructive report on every phase of our great labor movement and its activities in various fields during the year.

Viewing the Executive Council's report as a whole, we are moved to submit as the concluding section of our report, that while we must defend our movement against the menace of secession and an autocratic dualism, we must also carry forward with increasing vigor the constructive program of our movement.

We must organize the unorganized. We must perfect our discipline. We must continue our program of education for workers. We must guard our apprenticeship principles and rules. We must continue to press for solution of the tremendous problem of unemployment. We must support with all our energy a sound housing program. We must press for proper adjustments of wages and of hours of work. We must strive to improve the conditions of work and to raise the level of living standards. We must be alert in the states as well as in Washington to support sound labor legislation and be on guard against hostile legislation and especially against proposed legislation that would destroy work opportunities. We must bend new energy toward the development of true cooperation between labor and management, so that through a mutual understanding of America's economic and social needs, labor and industry may work out remedies based

upon sound principles rooted in industry itself.

To give effect to this program we charge the incoming Executive Council to call upon every affiliated body to put forth new efforts to reduce the work-week through collective bargaining. We charge it likewise to call upon all affiliates to seek every opportunity for proper adjustments of wage rates.

We charge the council to seize every opportunity to develop co-operation between management and labor.

We call upon our affiliates all along the line for a forward march with a constructive program.

The American Federation of Labor has a momentous duty to perform, burdening responsibilities rest upon its President and other executive officers. Many complex problems must be solved and discipline enforced. These and many other obligations have been accepted by the leadership of this Federation of Labor with a courageous determination and when necessary a militant attitude.

Your Committee is aware that at no previous time in our history have changes in our social, economic and political life taken place so rapidly and to so great a degree and that we must continue to remain alert and active in meeting these changes and developments so that the interest of labor will at all times be safeguarded and whenever possible advanced.

We have before us a record that cannot be dismissed, a record that inspires encouragement, a record that holds forth high hope and that begets great ambition for the future.

Our strength today, millions organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor. This gives us strength for the protection of workers and strength for the giving of service. In this we have a great duty to perform.

We commend the Executive Council and all affiliated National and International Unions for the services rendered.

Signed by the Committee:

HARRY C. BATES,
Chairman.

WM. J. KELLY,
J. J. HYNES,
CHARLES M. RAU,
ARTHUR HUGGINS,
GEORGE Q. LYNCH,
H. M. NELSON,

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

F. A. FITZGERALD,
JOHN M. GILLESPIE,
GLENN L. MITCHELL,
CHARLES SUMNER,
WILLIAM CAMPBELL,
FRANK COLEMAN,
IRVIN BARNEY,
HENRY OHL, JR.,
HOMER J. ODELL,
HARVEY BROWN,
HENRY F. SCHMAL,
Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Schmal: I move that the report as submitted be approved as a whole.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

President Green: We thank the committee for the fine service rendered.

No further business coming before the convention, at 12:30 o'clock an adjournment was taken to 9:30 o'clock a. m., Thursday, October 13th.

Ninth Day—Thursday Morning Session

Houston, Texas,

October 13, 1938.

The convention was called to order at 9:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutalik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabey, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Schneider, Sexton, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

INVOCATION

(Rev. Luther M. Schliesser, Pastor, Zion Lutheran Church)

Dear Heavenly Father, as we come for a moment into Thy presence with this our morning prayer, we come with grateful hearts—grateful for the many blessings we enjoy. The privilege of living in this marvelous country of ours, the right each of us has to work, the right to worship Thee according to the dictates of our own conscience. May it please Thee that these blessings be not taken from us.

For the people of the world, we pray that peace might come and be enjoyed by all.

May divine guidance come to all who are in authority.

We give thanks for the blessings of the past night and we pray for Thy guidance for each of us this day. May our thoughts, our decisions, our work be well pleasing in Thy sight.

Grant Thy rich blessing upon this great organization now in convention assembled here. We pray Thy blessing upon the leaders, officials and each individual member and upon each home represented.

In Jesus name.

Our Father, who are in heaven, Hallowed be Thy name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen!

President Green: Federal Administrator Andrews, Fair Labor Standards Act, will arrive in Houston this morning for the purpose of addressing the convention at 11:00 o'clock. I will appoint as a convention escort to meet Administrator Andrews, James Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers; James C. Quinn, Secretary, New York Central Trades and La-

bor Council, and Joseph P. McCurdy, United Garment Workers of America. I ask that this committee arrange to meet Administrator Andrews and convey him to the hall for the purpose of delivering his address at 11:00 o'clock.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate E. E. Milliman, Maintenance of Way Employes, Chairman of the Committee. Delegate Ralph Whitehead, representative of the Actors and Artistes of America, the Secretary, will read the report.

Secretary Whitehead read the following report:

President Green, Officers and Delegates of the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, we respectfully submit the report of Committee on Education.

The following subjects of the Executive Council's Report were submitted to the Committee on Education:

Education

Vocational Education

Youth

Federal Committee on Apprentice Training
Workers Education Bureau.

The Committee on Education considers the report of the Executive Council a most constructive discussion of the problems of American education. It reflects the progressive educational policy of the American Federation of Labor. The comments and suggestions of the Executive Council with regard to the President's Advisory Committee on Education, deserve our consideration, together with previous reports of the Executive Council and of the Committee on Education.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Education," (page 180) which reads as follows:

EDUCATION

"With the changes through which our Nation grew from world colonies to a world power together with unparalleled technical change revolutionizing our work customs and standards of living, have come need for adapting our practices in dealing with pub-

lie and social problems. A nation even with far-spread boundaries has been able to integrate its public life by rapid transportation and quick communications even with mass groups. A nation functioning as a unit naturally thinks of its educational problems as of national concern and is mindful of the necessity for maintaining equal educational opportunity for all the citizens of this democracy. Education lays the basis for overcoming economic and social handicaps in backward states. Only Federal grants can overcome existing obstacles in those areas where average incomes are lowest. With this fundamental thesis the American Federation of Labor is in full accord. We are equally convinced that Federal grants should in no way interfere with local determination of local educational policies. The Advisory Committee's recommendations rest upon this premise also, leaving to the states the determination of what is a public education institution as well as control over educational policies. Regular and prescribed accounting to the Office of Education together with conferences for discussion of experience are reasonable and practicable safeguards for such expenditures of Federal funds.

"A bill was drafted incorporating the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee. The American Federation of Labor approved the general purposes of the measure and drafted amendments to those sections of the bill dealing with vocational education which we hope to have incorporated. We believe further that control of the allocation of these Federal grants should follow the traditional democratic principles that are educational tradition inseparable from our public school system. Decisions on policies should be in the hands of representative agencies. Citizens should decide fundamental policies through their representatives."

Your committee notes with gratification the progress reported in the Executive Council's Report in planning for better and more adequate educational opportunities for all. We realize that the future welfare of our Nation depends upon our ability to plan and provide the kind of educational facilities that will enable each one of us to meet the problems of our daily obligations and to grow to the fullness of our stature. The proud claim of the labor movement is that we were instrumental in the establishment of our public school policy and that we have a con-

tinuing responsibility for the development and betterment of educational opportunities for all.

The creation of the President's Advisory Committee on Vocational Education, which was expanded into the Advisory Committee on Education grew out of organized labor's protests against misdirection and abuses in vocational education. As it was impossible to make recommendations for vocational education without at the same time considering what the national education plan should be, additional scope was given the President's Committee. The basic recommendation of this Committee as reported by our Executive Council is Federal grants-in-aid for education. With the wide variation in average incomes for the citizens of New York, Pennsylvania, and California from those prevailing in Alabama, Mississippi, and Arkansas, it is impossible to provide equal educational opportunities for all so long as these low income states must depend upon their own resources. Labor knows also that labor standards are depressed in these low income areas because many boys and girls are not given the education that would make them more resourceful and alert to opportunities for betterment. The key to raising all standards in these economically depressed areas is to provide them with the same educational opportunities existing in the wealthier communities. The result will be to raise economic as well as social standards.

We recommend reaffirmation by this convention of the principle of Federal grants-in-aid to public schools together with a national education plan which would put an end to those wide differences in educational opportunities for our people who live in the 48 states of the Union. Equal opportunities however are not identical opportunities, but each individual should be afforded opportunity to develop his talents and abilities to live and contribute to society. Such opportunities must be varied and liberal in content.

We recommend approval of the objectives listed in the program formulated by the National Advisory Committee.

Your Committee is informed that the substitute measure providing for federal grants-in-aid of upwards of two million dollars, was reported out by the Senate Committee on Labor and Education without a public hearing. In the judgment of your committee and irrespective of the merits of the measure we

regard this as a dangerous precedent which is not compatible with democratic procedure.

We commend therefore the principles as set forth in the substitute measure for the Harrison-Fletcher Bill, only on condition that the amendments recommended by the American Federation of Labor are embodied in the new measure. These amendments provide for the following:

1. An Advisory Citizen's Committee on Education to assist the Commissioner of Education in the formulation of policies and the allocation of funds to the various states;

2. A Federal Advisory Committee on Vocational Education with necessary sub-committees, to formulate standards to be maintained in vocational education in addition to safeguards of existing laws on vocational education. This committee which the Federation proposes should consist of representatives of Labor, vocational educators, and employers, nominated by the organization of the group represented;

3. Maintenance of the protective provisions of the Smith-Hughes and George Dean Acts together with the standards recommended by the Advisory Committee on Vocational Education and other minimum standards fixed by Federal agency as a condition for Federal grants for vocational education;

4. For the administration of vocational education, committees similar to the Federal Advisory Committee, and similarly constituted, shall function for states and localities

In the field of adult workers' education your Committee recommends grants-in-aid for such education, provided that the determination of policy and program be in the responsible and representative organizations of labor.

We realize, however, that this machinery as outlined will not produce the necessary results unless organized labor everywhere is alive to its responsibility and informed of its duties.

The report of the committee was voted on and unanimously adopted.

Delegate Ohl, Wisconsin State Federation of Labor: I tried to get your ear, Mr. President. I am sorry you did not see me arise, because I wanted to make an observation before the vote was taken.

President Green: I will set the vote aside and we will be glad to hear you.

Delegate Ohl: I merely wanted to make a few observations. I am sorry that the Executive Council takes as a basis for its report, in some respects, the so-called Citizens' Committee or Advisory Committee to the President, a committee which is, in fact, you might call it a successor to the former privately financed Wilbur Committee. Many of the members of that committee are on the present committee, and that committee has not been wholeheartedly favorable to vocational education.

The present draft of the Harrison-Fletcher Bill contains some very objectionable features, and I fear that the entire Smith-Hughes set-up will be emasculated if the Harrison-Fletcher Bill should be adopted in anything like its present form.

I am pleased with the committee's report urging the attention of representatives of labor to this branch of education. Tuesday night representatives of state federations had a meeting, and I was very much impressed. The Secretary of the Education Bureau was Chairman, and there was more interest expressed in this branch of education than ever before on the part of the state representatives.

I want to point out how necessary it will be for the state federations and central bodies to look upon the Education Bureau as a clearing house. While some state federations have given this matter close attention for some time, there are many others that are only starting out now. In the past two years, upon the urgency of the American Federation of Labor, a great deal of interest has developed. I hope that the state federations and central bodies will look upon the Education Bureau as a clearing house, so that we may develop vocational education and apprenticeship according to the program of the American Federation of Labor. In revising the draft, eventually, of the Harrison-Fletcher Bill, it will be necessary to bring into play some ideas that it seems have never been presented in that bill. I don't want to quote that bill at this time, but I want to point out the dangers in the present draft and the need of close observation of the bill when it is before Congress.

The report of the committee was again voted on and adopted.

Upon that portion of the report of the

Executive Council under the caption "Vocational Education," (Page 183,) which reads as follows:

Vocational Education

"After the President placed the Board of Vocational Education in the Office of Education, the principle of advisory committees was submerged. Failure to maintain the principle of advisory committees to guide and check on vocational educational work is one of the reasons why many bad practices developed. However, a graver responsibility rests upon those Federal administrators responsible for approving grants and keeping in touch with developments and policies. Without responsible administrators devoted to the cause of education and careful to avoid all exploitation of students, both as students and as workers, we cannot lift vocational education from the morass into which it has fallen.

"The Advisory Committee felt that vocational education in the past twenty years had outgrown our legal provisions. While Federal aid had raised standards in home economics, agriculture, trade and industry and training of teachers, the Committee recommended general grants instead of earmarked grants in order that the locality might be freer to plan its local program.

"The Committee thought that much of the difficulty was due to excessive Federal control of local vocational undertakings and recommended amendment of existing law setting up specific requirements and suggested that Federal grants be conditioned on the acceptance and maintenance of adequate protection against the exploitation of children and youth in vocational education courses. Special grants for vocational education had a tendency to foster dual administration whereas education of individuals requires unity in planning and in administration.

"The American Federation of Labor believes that in the field of vocational education where the relationship to industry is so close it is necessary to retain the standards written into existing law in order to provide adequate protection for trainees. Industries are organized nationally and Federal minimum labor and educational standards are necessary."

Labor differs with the President's Advisory Committee in holding that there must be Federal standards for vocational education which must be made the condition for Fed-

eral grants in this field. Industries are organized nationally and have exerted a powerful effort to make vocational education an agency to serve low production costs instead of an agency to give students opportunity to develop their capacities and to become familiar with all those experiences, whereby they may carry on useful occupations and to integrate this training, with the duties of citizenship and useful, satisfying living.

The funds available for vocational education have been greatly increased for the coming year and vocational projects are practically doubled. Funds are now available for the new field called Distributive industries, wholesale and retail selling. It is especially important that organized labor be alert to protect our interests and see that advisory committees are established and that they have opportunity to influence formulation of policies and plans. The support of the labor movement must be back of its representatives on these committees and qualified, competent persons must be designated as representatives.

In addition to having a voice in the formulation of policies and plans, representatives of Labor must keep in contact with vocational projects to see what is really being done in the way of training.

We recommend that the American Federation of Teachers endeavor to develop a plan of co-operation between its members in the vocational fields and the local committees on education. Teachers can materially assist in helping the workers' committees, upon which workers are competent to speak as experts, with technical aspects of education.

Vocational education largely determines the workers of the future and the prospective members of our unions. It is essential to organized labor that the highest and broadest objectives prevail in this field and we have a responsibility for accomplishing this end.

We recommend approval of the work President Green has done in urging the creation of committees on education by every central Labor Union and his efforts to have these committees organize a plan of work.

We further recommend that this convention reaffirm the following educational objectives for central labor unions and urge special concentration on their realization:

1. Adequate labor representation on local boards of education.

2. Labor representation on boards of directors for public libraries.
3. That central labor unions and state federations of labor insist upon the establishment of appropriate advisory committees for vocational education and designate their most competent representatives for duty on the committees.
4. That labor representatives on advisory committees shall perform their work with understanding of the importance of the undertaking and insistence upon the promotion of welfare of the students concerned, and that regular reports be made to the organization to which they are immediately responsible and to the American Federation of Labor, for the use of that office and national representation for vocational education.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Your committee wishes to call attention to the pamphlet published by the American Federation of Labor, entitled "Guide For Vocational Education."

For a number of years the conventions of the American Federation of Labor have pointed out some of the defects of the administration of vocational education in this country. The creation of the President's Advisory Committee on Education following the Atlantic City Convention in 1935; the survey and report of the Committee and the proposed legislation to give effect to this survey, have all been considered fully by your committee. But the problem of the administration of vocational education will remain, whatever the law on the statute books, and the responsibility on the part of Labor for taking its part in that administration is indispensable.

To guide Labor in the administration of vocational education, the American Federationist has published during the past year three articles—"The Future Labor Army"—"Keeping Skill in Line with Technical Change"—and "Keeping Exploratory Questions for the Local Committee on Education." These articles have now been published by the Federation in a pamphlet entitled "Guide for Vocational Education." These articles and this pamphlet have been most helpful and deserve the widest use.

Your committee desires to commend the Federation in the preparation of this pam-

phlet, and urges a widespread distribution of the pamphlet to the officers and members of state federations of labor, central bodies and local unions.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption "Youth," (page 185,) which reads as follows:

Youth

"The consequences of the recent depression and consequent and recurring unemployment, have fallen heavily upon young persons—depriving them of those growth opportunities which should be the right of every young person and a place in the work world in which to earn a living—a right necessary to self-dependence. It is a serious matter when boys and girls are made to feel there is no place for them in our social system. It was to meet this situation that the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps were created as emergency measures.

"The Civilian Conservation Corps is headed by a Director who has the co-operation of Federal and state agencies. The War Department is responsible for clothing, feeding, housing, transporting and demobilizing those enrolled for the camps; for health, welfare and educational services; for discipline within the camps, and their general administration. These are functions for which the War Department has most competent personnel. Work projects of the camps are supervised by the Forestry Service, the National Parks Service, and the Soil Conservation Service. These camps have demonstrated their value as training and adjustment agencies for young men.

"The National Youth Administration is under the Works Progress Administration. It was designed primarily to maintain morale for unemployed youth without incomes. For boys and girls in school it provides financial aid through jobs. For the unemployed out of school, youth rehabilitation and stimulation of educational interests are the main objectives of the work projects provided. Vocational guidance and registration in employment offices are major factors in the service.

"These emergency undertakings have shown up permanent needs and have developed constructive methods. It is our social duty to

provide more equal educational opportunities for all and to do this we must face the fact that the greatest cause of inequality in educational opportunity is economic. During past years efforts of radicals to direct and warp the minds of youth have been more serious and more determined than ever before. Propagandists seek control over the education of the next generation, as short cuts to establishing theories or to gaining control.

"The Advisory Committee recommended that these two agencies be merged under the title National Youth Service Administration and placed under the Office of Education. This proposal, in addition to making the services permanent, would provide for the integration of this work with that of governmental agencies normally concerned with the duties involved. Youth should have opportunities but it should also be made conscious of its obligations to home, community and heritage left by past generations."

Your convention has on more than one occasion endorsed the unique educational value of the Civilian Conservation Camps and recommended that they be made a part of the educational service of our nation to our youth. The President's Advisory Committee has proposed that both the National Youth Administration and the CCC Camps be merged under the National Youth Administration and placed in the U. S. Office of Education. This involves an important grouping of educational agencies; it implies giving permanent status to another so-called emergency agency. We are agreed that the government should have both an adequate program for youth and the machinery for carrying it out. We recommend that this convention endorse wholeheartedly the need for an adequate program for youth and we further recommend that the Executive Council explore the feasibility of the President's Committee proposals regarding the proposed merger of these agencies.

Your committee wishes to take this opportunity to express the principle that all educational opportunities provided by the government, whether a part of our permanent program or of a temporary nature, should be administered by the appropriate permanent governmental agency so that emergency or relief measures shall follow standards, duly determined and thus avoid interference with long time programs and objectives. Emergencies should not become excuses for lower educational standards.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Under that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Federal Committee on Apprentice Training," (page 186) which reads as follows:

Federal Committee on Apprentice Training

"This Committee develops the standards to be followed in all apprentice training. In addition to determining general standards it organizes committees representative equally of management and workers to develop the standards for jurisdictions which they represent—in conformity, of course, with the general standards.

"To bind apprenticeship standards permanently into state practice, we are urging the enactment of state apprentice laws. Massachusetts, Louisiana, and Virginia have laws providing for apprenticeship councils consisting of equal representation of workers and employers.

"The work of this Committee has to do only with standard-making for the education and the work-training of those who are to be our skilled workers. It is a task of fundamental importance in a machine civilization.

"During the past year the Committee with the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor increased its appropriation by \$73,000. This will make possible greater service in the educational field."

Your committee notes with satisfaction the substantial progress in the work of this committee and the increased appropriations for this important work.

The determination of the standards of training and the conditions of employment for apprentices, is properly a matter to be jointly determined by the representatives of the employers and labor for the apprentices concerned. They best know the work to be done, and the goods to be produced. They determine the frame-work of training for which educators themselves take responsibility. We believe that this procedure worked out for apprenticeship training, should become the model for all vocational education, with labor and technical work standards developed within the Department of Labor, thus freeing educators from a responsibility which does not properly fall within their field of competence.

We recommend that the convention reaffirm

firm its approval of the Committee on Apprenticeship Training and request Congress to provide adequate funds in view of the importance of this work.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Upon that portion of the report of the Executive Council under the caption, "Workers' Education Bureau" (page 186), which reads as follows:

Workers Education Bureau

"During the past twelve months the Workers Education Bureau has continued its activity in the field of workers' education and has made the following contributions:

"1. Institutes for Organizers—To meet the need for training in organizing, the Bureau set up, in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, a series of regional institutes in Atlanta, Georgia, Chicago, Illinois, and Washington, D. C., following the initial institute in Boston. In each of these regional institutes organizers were brought in for conferences of two or three days, during which an opportunity was given for a factual presentation of some of their local difficulties and future problems, together with guidance in meeting the manifold duties of the organizer. In these regional institutes—and in more localized meetings held at Columbia, South Carolina, Cincinnati, Ohio, Albany, New York, and Newark, New Jersey—all of the organizing staffs in the North, East, South, and Middle West were reached. In connection with these institutes a set of charts was prepared showing in graphic form the legislative and executive functions of the American Federation of Labor.

"The Bureau has been called upon and has conferred with the officers of a number of national and international unions about setting up similar training programs for their membership.

"2. Labor Institutes—For the eighth successive year the Rutgers Labor Institute, which has been one of the pioneer projects of its kind in this country, held a successful session on the campus of Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey. The topic this year was 'Labor and Public Policy' and distinguished authorities in the fields of labor and economics and international relations, as well as officials of the Department of Labor, the Federal Housing Authority, and the National

Labor Relations Board, participated in the discussions. An institute was held during the annual session of the Pacific Coast School for Workers, which is held each year at the University of California.

"An experiment was carried out by the Upholsterers' International Union in June of this year, which set up an institute for organizers with the cooperation of the Bureau. This institute demonstrated again the effectiveness of this technique as a typical approach to a current labor problem, provided the assistance of competent leaders can be assured. In the case of the Upholsterers' International Union the two topics for consideration which were of special importance to its membership were (1) the Wages and Hours Act and (2) the Social Security Program.

"The New Jersey and Ohio State Federations of Labor have carried out plans for labor institutes in connection with their annual conventions.

"3. State Federations and Workers' Education—The Portland Convention in 1923 recommended that 'each State Federation of Labor establish a permanent educational department and provide an educational director to cooperate actively with the Workers' Education Bureau in providing adequately for the educational needs of the organized workers in every state in the United States.' A number of these state federations of labor have followed the recommendation. During the past year four state federations in particular have given very generous support to the workers' education movement. California, with its Director of Workers' Education appointed in 1923, has continued its work and has been one of the sponsors of the Pacific Coast School for Workers, which concluded its sessions in August. The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, as a result of its program of cooperation over the years with the state university, has succeeded in securing a grant in aid of Workers' Education. The Ohio State Federation of Labor has employed the services of a Director of Workers' Education. The New Jersey State Federation of Labor has given active support to workers' education in the annual program of the Rutgers Labor Institute in June of each year.

"In Ohio an active and comprehensive program of labor institutes, meetings, exhibits, radio programs, and lecture series has been set up in connection with the central labor

bodies in the following cities: Canton, Cleveland, Chillicothe, Columbus, Dayton, East Liverpool, Elyria, Ironton, Lancaster, Marion, Newark, Portsmouth, Toledo, Youngstown, and Zanesville.

"4. Radio Programs—On the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Journeymen Barbers' International Union the Bureau cooperated in the preparation of a sketch of the history of that organization and collaborated in its presentation over a nationwide network.

"This year the Workers' Education Bureau cooperated in a project of the Columbia Broadcasting System, a new radio series entitled 'Americans at Work,' to be presented each week over a nation-wide network, which seeks to present in a vivid and arresting manner both the dignity of Labor and the importance of skill in carrying on the many and diverse duties of this Machine Age. The national and international unions very generously responded to requests for assistance.

"The list of programs already presented includes the following:

"Sandhog, Engineman, Telegrapher, Milk Driver, Longshoremen, Department Store Buyer, Steel Workers, Baker, Railway Expressman, Aviator, Cowboy, Postman, Submarine, Filling Station, Dynamiter, Beautician, Policeman, Newspapers.

"5. Affiliations and Support of the Bureau—During the year the Bureau registered the affiliation and cooperation of national and international unions, state federations of labor, central labor bodies, and federal and local unions. The present total affiliated membership of 631, while not as large as it is hoped it will become, does represent the active interests of a good percentage of the membership of the Federation.

"As the support of the Bureau today depends almost entirely upon the trade unions, it is encouraging to report progress in securing a wider basis for the financing of the Bureau, through the inclusion among its affiliated members of a larger number of federal and local unions."

The work for the past twelve months reported by the Workers' Education Bureau reflects a constructive, practical plan of service to the organized labor movement. Educational institutes for organizers and other special groups have a usefulness and service

that parallels the developing problems of the movement. As new legislation is enacted and new administrative problems develop in existing law, those active in the field feel the need of having some agency assemble the facts bearing on the problems and calling together, those concerned with the problems and those who have special information, for short, well-planned conferences. The result is exchange of experience and information that clarifies problems and discloses remedies and constructive policies.

The Bureau's service to the movement in setting up these institutes in different parts of the country and for different groups has been of unquestioned value, and merits the unqualified commendation of your committee and the convention.

But we realize that the ability of the Workers Education Bureau to render such services to special groups and in connection with regular labor meetings and conventions, is limited by its revenues.

Fourteen years ago in El Paso, Texas, at the last convention over which the late Samuel Gompers presided, the convention voted unanimously to provide for the support of this Bureau on the basis of a per capita tax. While this action was voluntary on all the affiliated unions there has been a heartening response by these unions in providing for the work of the Bureau. There is still a vast amount of educational work for labor to be done; there are real opportunities for unions that have not thus far undertaken active affiliation with the Bureau to do so and make possible the extension of this valuable and needed service to the movement.

We therefore recommend that this convention request the President of the American Federation of Labor to urge upon all nationals and internationals more generous appropriations to the Bureau and its work, and also that they call upon the Bureau for service in organizing institutes for organizers and special groups; and that the President of the American Federation of Labor urge upon all central labor unions and state federations of labor similar support and requests for service.

There was never a time when local labor members and officers needed so much information on law legislation and administration or when the problems were so intricate. For such educational help in organizing institutes and

study meetings, the Workers Education Bureau has a wide opportunity for service.

The distinguished leadership of the Bureau in inaugurating the services of radio educational programs enables Americans at work to portray the role of, skill of workers in carrying on our complex civilization deserves our highest commendation. The utilization of radio to portray both the dignity of labor and the worth of the laborer is a service of the greatest value. We urge its extension and the fullest measure of cooperation of the national and international unions with the Bureau in its planning of these programs.

We recommend continued support of the Workers Education Bureau and widest use of its facilities.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Urging Co-Operation of International Unions
With Federal Committee on Apprenticeship
in the Establishment of National
Trade Apprenticeship Standards**

Resolution No. 15—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has consistently fought for a system of education and training which will assist the workers in developing their skills and general knowledge under standards and safeguards which will prevent the overcrowding of the trades; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor, at its 56th and 57th Conventions, gave its unqualified support to the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, U. S. Department of Labor, because its program provides for equal representation by labor and management on all national state, and local apprenticeship committees; and because it has established standards and procedures to assure apprentices of adequate training, a progressive scale of wages and protection against trade overcrowding; and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has provided the Federal Committee with additional funds with which to expand its field activities; and

WHEREAS, Apprenticeship legislation has been enacted in Arkansas, Louisiana, Virginia, and Massachusetts providing for the development of apprenticeship labor standards by their Departments of Labor in co-operation with trade apprenticeship committees on which labor and management have equal representation; and

WHEREAS, The United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada and the national employers' association in steamfitting; the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Pa-

perhangers of America and the national employers' association in that trade, and the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steamfitters and the national employers' association in plumbing have jointly established national apprenticeship standards for apprentices in these three trades; and

WHEREAS, All these accomplishments are in accord with recommendations made by previous American Federation of Labor Conventions; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That State Federations of Labor are urged to press vigorously for State Apprenticeship Legislation within the State Departments of Labor, supported by an appropriation adequate to provide competent administrative personnel; and be it

RESOLVED, That all International Unions, where apprenticeship is applicable, be urged to cooperate with the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship in the establishment of national trade apprenticeship standards with the objective of providing all future skilled workers with proper training in all processes of their trades, supplemented by instruction in related technical and general subjects; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to each member of the United States Congress and Governors of all the States.

The development of apprenticeship standards for industry under the leadership of the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, set up by the United States Department of Labor as set forth in this resolution is a heartening record of the service of labor not only in setting up standards but in establishing the machinery for the enforcement of standards. At the insistence of labor equal representation of both labor and management was secured on all apprenticeship committees. It has proved as efficient in practice as it was sound in theory. Moreover it is a practice which should be applied widely by labor wherever matters affecting the relations of labor to apprenticeship training or vocational education are concerned.

Your committee would commend the leadership taken by the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters and the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers in establishing national apprenticeship standards.

Your committee concurs in the resolution that State Federations of Labor press vigorously for state apprenticeship legislation within the State Departments of Labor.

Your Committee further concurs in the proposal that all international unions where apprenticeship is applicable be urged to cooperate with the Federal Committee on Ap-

prenticeship in the development of national standards as herein referred to.

Your Committee furthermore concurs in the proposal that these resolutions and accompanying report be sent to the Congress of the United States and the Governors of all the states.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Federal Aid for Schools

Resolution No. 63—By Delegates Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor in its 1936 and 1937 conventions approved the general principle of federal aid for schools; and

WHEREAS, At the last Annual Convention the American Federation of Labor expressed its approval of equalization of educational opportunity for all by means of federal grants, but considered it necessary to await the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education before determining the precise way in which grants shall be made; and

WHEREAS, The President's Advisory Committee on Education has recommended a specific program for federal aid to schools the principles of which are incorporated in the Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher substitute bill; such principles including:

Part 1. General federal aid: For the purpose of lessening inequalities of educational opportunity, \$40,000,000 in 1939-40, increasing to \$140,000,000 in 1944-45, apportioned to the states on the basis of financial need as measured by the number of children five to nineteen years old and financial ability to support schools.

Part 2. Aid for improving the facilities for teacher training: \$2,000,000 for 1939-40, increasing to \$6,000,000 in 1941-42 and thereafter through 1945, apportioned to the states on the same basis as general aid.

Part 3. Aid for the construction of school buildings, especially those in connection with desirable reorganization of local school districts: \$20,000,000 in 1939-40, \$30,000,000 in 1940-41, and thereafter through 1945, apportioned to the states on the same basis as general aid.

Part 4. Aid for improvement in the facilities of state departments of education: \$1,000,000 in 1939-40, \$1,500,000 in 1940-41, and \$2,000,000 each year thereafter through 1945, apportioned on the basis of \$5,000 to each state and the remainder on the same basis as general aid.

Title II. Grants to the states for adult education: For the purpose of stimulating and enabling the states to make adequate provision for civic, part-time, vocational, and general adult educational services, grants are authorized to the states on the basis of adult population twenty years of age and over in

the amount of \$5,000,000 in 1939-40, \$10,000,000 in 1940-41, and \$15,000,000 each year thereafter through 1945.

Title III. Grants to the states for rural library service: For the purpose of stimulating and enabling the states to provide adequate library services for rural inhabitants of the states, grants are authorized to the states on the basis of rural population in the amount of \$2,000,000 in 1939-40, \$4,000,000 in 1940-41, and \$6,000,000 for each year thereafter through 1945.

Title IV. Grants for cooperative research, planning, and demonstrations: For the purpose of making necessary surveys and plans in connection with the best utilization of grants to states and for other cooperative educational research, planning, and demonstration projects, grants are authorized in the amounts of \$1,250,000 in 1938-39, \$2,000,000 in 1939-40, and \$3,000,000 for each year thereafter through 1945. Of these amounts, 40 percent will be available to the United States Office of Education and 60 percent will be allotted to the states and bona fide research agencies.

Title V. Education of children of federal wards, employees residing on federal reservations and at foreign stations: The funds for this purpose are for purely federal responsibilities and definite amounts are not fixed. The best estimations available indicate \$3,000,000 annually; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Houston, Texas, October, 1938, reaffirm its approval of federal aid for schools with special emphasis on sound vocational training; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor approve and support the substitute Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher bill subject to such revision as may be deemed necessary by the Executive Council and by the Permanent Committee on Education of the American Federation of Labor.

RESOLUTION NO. 63 Federal Aid for Schools

The American Federation of Labor has a long and continuous record of support of public education in our land. It has repeatedly asserted its belief in equalizing educational opportunity for all the children of the Nation. It has recorded its support of federal grants-in-aid for education. The Federation was largely responsible for the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Law which provides Federal Aid for training in vocational subjects. For twenty years it was represented on the Vocational Education Board. When in 1935 it had unquestioned proof of abuses in its administration it protested to the President of the United States. As a result of the protest President Roosevelt appointed an Advisory Committee in Education to investigate

the status of vocational education in America. This Committee, finding it impossible to conduct a research in vocational education, apart from education in general, was authorized by the President to extend their survey and include the whole educational program in America. That survey has not been completed and published. A bill has been prepared to carry out the purposes of this report. A substitute has been likewise prepared known as the substitute Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher bill. The Executive Council has given its approval to the general purposes of this measure but has drafted important amendments which it hopes to have incorporated.

Your Committee concurs in that part of this resolution which recommends that this convention reaffirm its approval of the principles of Federal Grants-in-Aid for Vocational Education.

Your Committee, however, is of the opinion that this convention should make even more emphatic the position of the Federation in connection with this substitute Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill. The inclusion of the amendments as proposed by the Federation must be one of the conditions of any affirmative support by the Federation.

Furthermore, in the present substitute bill, funds are provided for public school buildings without providing any adequate standards as to wages and working conditions. It is a serious defect in the law. The bill in its present form also would appear to complicate rather than simplify the question of state administration. There are other features in the bill which require unhurried consideration.

Your Committee, therefore recommends that this resolution together with the comments and criticisms of the substitute Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher bill be referred to the Executive Council and the permanent Committee on Education of the Federation for the addition of such standards and safeguards to this substitute bill as will conform to the declared policy of the Federation and the spirit of the Advisory Committee's Report.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Jerome Davis, American Federation of Teachers: I rise to support the resolution and also the committee's report.

The American Federation of Teachers wishes to express its appreciation not only

to the committee for the fine work they have done, but to the President of the American Federation of Labor for his support for all sound educational measures.

I could wish that every delegate here might read that section of the Executive Council's report dealing with education.

In the larger sense we all know the debt that free public schools have to the labor movement. The labor movement was the first to demand free public schools, and when the reactionary business interests were opposing free public schools it was organized labor that demanded these schools and insisted that we have them until we secured them.

Now we move on to a new situation in American life. No longer do we have equal opportunity for education, as your committee has pointed out. There are the most appalling differences in educational opportunities. Some 2,745,000 children between the ages of seven and sixteen have no schooling at all. In addition, 2,500,000 handicapped children have inadequate schools. Others have to walk from nine to twelve miles in order to get to school. We have today slum educational areas where the schools are defective or absent. Attending schools in temporary shacks are some 2,740,000 children.

If you live in the State of New York, over six times as much is spent for education as in the State of Mississippi. This is not equal education opportunity. In the single state of Iowa one district has 275 times the wealth per child of the poorest district. In states where there are separate negro schools, even the schools for white children are on the whole below the national average, but the negro schools are only half as good as these white schools. Besides the slum educational areas we have mental starvation in rural areas. The schools in rural areas are open only for a part of the year. Some children actually only get five months of schooling. That is mental starvation.

These differences affect all the States, the wealthy as well as the poor, because nearly one-fourth of the American people do not live in the State in which they were born. Therefore, poor schools in any one State affect the others as well. These differences threaten the very existence of democracy. The schools which were created to perpetuate democracy may now be perpetuating inequalities which they were designed to prevent. A citizen is

no less a citizen because he is the son of a poor worker, and the son of a poor worker is entitled to just as good education as the wealthiest citizen in the United States.

In some States fifteen per cent of the children are illiterate, and in others less than one per cent. Why should children of poor workers be penalized through no fault of their own? The States themselves cannot affect or correct this situation, because one state is poor and another rich. One State has an income only one-seventh per child as much as another State, and the poorest states have the most children. For instance, South Carolina has a ratio over twice as high as California.

This means federal aid to education is indispensable if democracy is to endure. As the Executive Council says, Federal grants should in no way interfere with local determination of local educational policies, and these safeguards should be written into the bill.

As you know, the proposed Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill provides for a grant of \$40,000,000.00 in the first year in lessening inequalities in education, rising after that to \$140,000,000.00. It also provides for money for teacher training, school buildings, state departments of education, and adult education and library service.

There is still another reason why I think we should support the proposal of the committee. Federal aid to education is a non-partisan measure. It has the support of Republicans and Democrats. It has the support of the Federal Department of Education. Most of us know that the President of the United States, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, has come out for federal aid to education and is now doing everything in his power to see that this measure is enacted into law.

Here is an opportunity for us to come out on public record in favor of a great, constructive measure supported by your Executive Council and the President of the United States, and I think this convention should show its appreciation to the President, who I believe has done more for organized labor since he has been in office than perhaps any other President since the foundation of this Republic.

In closing may I remind you that the American Federation of Labor conventions in 1936 and 1937 went on record endorsing the principle of federal aid, so that when

you hear anything about federal aid to education, remember this is for you, it is for organized labor, it is for your children, it is labor's measure. It has the endorsement of your Executive Council. See to it that every Senator and Congressman in your district not only approves federal aid but actually votes for it.

Delegate Reid, Michigan Federation of Labor: The Michigan Federation of Labor is definitely opposed to the present Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill. We are not opposed to grants in aid for general education, but the bill as at present drafted would do away with all the present restrictions that we have on vocational education, apprentice training and adult education. Under the Smith-Hughes and the George Dean Act we work under the standards set up by the Federal Apprentice Committee on which labor has adequate representation. If this bill goes through we will practically make a dictator of our superintendent of education, who is not in favor of vocational education and apprentice training as we understand it.

In this resolution, in the third whereas under Part 2, we have "Aid for Teacher Training." Now in our state we have many men from the labor movement who are coordinators of apprentice training and who are teaching apprentices. Under this law none of the money appropriated by the Federal Government could be applied to teacher training for these men, as the law specifies an educational grade of junior college, and most of our people are not afflicted with a junior college grade of education. In the "Aid for School Buildings," as has been remarked by your committee, there are no provisions and it would probably be another addition to the WPA.

We all know the headaches we have had with the WPA in the construction industry, and if we get the academic school people spending money in the construction industry also, I think we shall have additional headaches. There should be some provisions for prevailing wages and conditions attached to the appropriations for school buildings.

In adult education there are no provisions. At the present time it would be impossible to take a teacher, for instance, and give him adult education and try to make a plumber out of him. Under this law it might be possible to do so, and I believe they might even go further than that and try to make a

steam fitter out of him, which would not be quite so easy. Under the present Smith-Hughes provisions a man must be working at some vocation before he can take adult education in the line of related instruction, and if he wants to take education in related instruction to plumbing he must be working at the plumbing industry. Under this Harrison-Thomas-Fletcher Bill you could take anyone from any craft and try to make a plumber or a steam fitter or an electrician out of him.

Now if it is impossible to get any of these amendments added to the bill, then I would suggest that the permanent Committee on Education and the Executive Council insist that all references to vocational education, apprentice training and adult education be taken from the bill and the appropriations confined to general education.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Public School Educational Policies

Resolution No. 64—By Delegates Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Teachers, an international union of the American Federation of Labor, has set up through its Committee on National Policies, a program of determining in a practical way "How the schools may better serve America"; and

WHEREAS, The approach to this important problem is not to be sought through ivory-tower philosophy of theorists but through discussion groups of parents of children and other persons interested in education, so that parents in the home and teachers in the class-room may more effectively cooperate in determining practical school procedures in developing the whole life of the child; and

WHEREAS, The lack of interest, on the part of labor, in the structure and operation of local school systems has resulted, in many instances, in exploitation of children in the name of education and has made possible the use of school funds for political purposes; and

WHEREAS, The Policies Committee of the American Federation of Teachers has declared:

"All over the country a strong attack is developing on the American system of free public education. This attack is not based as was the similar onslaught in 1931 purely on the specious cry of economy. It is rather based on the conviction that a democratic system of education is developing a democratic people, able to think, to vote, to act in its own interests. Such an educated, alert, populace might be disastrous to certain vested interests in the Nation. There is a strong movement, therefore, on foot to limit, narrow, and redirect American education. The attack is taking and will take different forms at different

levels of the educational system. In the elementary schools there is the cry for fewer frills, reduce education to the three R's. In the high schools, under the specious cry that education does not fit people for a job, there is a movement to replace general education with a narrow kind of vocational training. The American Federation of Teachers is, of course, strongly in favor of a real vocational education but feels that it should not be substituted for but should be in addition to that kind of education which helps the student to understand himself and his world. In the universities an attempt is made to revive an outworn intellectualistic approach to toy again with outworn metaphysical concepts and to insist that the proper place of the professor is in the ivory tower.

"In face of such a threat the school system is very vulnerable. In too many places it fails to respond to present social needs. It is too often a nexus of outworn subjects, methods and points of view, a gigantic cultural lag.

"There can be only one answer in such a crisis. The cure for the ills of democracy is more democracy. The cure for the ills of our educational system is more democracy in education. We must make education more and more responsive to the needs of the people. We must implicate the people and excite their interest in the problems of democratic education. In accordance with the resolution passed by the 21st Convention of the American Federation of Teachers the Executive Council at its December meeting set up a national educational policy committee: (1) To clarify the principles upon which trade union members of the teaching profession should have a program of education. (2) To prepare specific principles of curriculum building and a general outline for curricular revision with a view to making our schools meet more realistically the needs and problems of a democracy. (3) To lead and to guide locals in a nation-wide campaign to protect and expand democratic education.

"The National Educational Policy Committee of the American Federation of Teachers therefore sends out a call to all locals urging them to launch in their community a great popular campaign to extend and enrich democratic education and to widen educational opportunity. Your committee feels that educational and curricular policy should not be regarded as the private preserve of a few experts; that educational change should be the concern of the whole people"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge all affiliated bodies to cooperate with officers or committees of local teachers' unions in their program of determining how the schools may be of greater service to the nation and how to provide for more adequate training for citizenship in a democracy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That all local labor bodies through their committees on education assist locals of the American Federation of Teachers in promoting a school system which is representative of the needs of the American people, effective in preserving true democratic government, and free from political control and exploitation.

The Committee approves the general purpose of this resolution and commends the union teachers of the nation for attempting to determine in a practical and democratic manner how the public schools and universities may be of greater service in providing for the educational needs of the Nation. The American Federation of Labor in its last annual convention at Denver, Colorado, declared: "that the point of view of the lay citizenship is quite as important in determining the quality and character of education as is the educator. This relationship between the statutory body and the voluntary agency so necessary to preserve our system of democracy, is equally indispensable in relating the educational profession with the community."

The program set up by the Policies Committee of the American Federation of Teachers appears to have as its fundamental objective the point of view as expressed in the above declaration. The Teachers are to be commended for their willingness not only to recognize their responsibility to the public in the actual work of instructing children but also to recognize that the community itself has an inherent right to determine policies and procedures in terms of local needs.

Organized Labor played a leading part in the establishment of our free public school system in America. It has played a distinguished role in championing every important step in the development of that system down to our own times. Labor recognizes that the changes in our contemporary society have made new demands on the schools. The simple one-room school is no longer adequate. Today education is one of the major functions of the state. The more complex our democratic society becomes the greater the need for education as a protection for democratic government. The spread of totalitarianism is accompanied by a suppression of knowledge, the complete subservience of the individual to the state; democracy demands the diffusion of knowledge and the training of the citizen for a full and free participation in the affairs of society. Labor is alert and is thus vitally concerned to see that funds allocated for school purposes are efficiently and properly expended, and that the school program reflects the genuine needs of the community.

Your committee recognizes the important service which organized teachers, in coopera-

tion with labor, can play in protecting the schools from political control and in providing proper standards of education. We are of one mind in our belief that school boards should represent all the people and that labor is entitled to adequate representation. No group, class, or organization moreover should dominate the schools—not even the organized educators themselves. The schools belong to all people of the Nation and are a responsibility of all the people who constitute our Democracy.

Your Committee therefore approves the general principle of this resolution set forth by the American Federation of Teachers, through its Policies Committee, and urges all affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with local teachers' unions in arranging discussion groups and forum meetings for the purpose of determining the needs of Labor in the educational program, and to assist in adjusting the curriculum to meet those needs.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the committee's report.

Delegate Fewkes, American Federation of Teachers: President Green and Fellow Delegates—I have been very reluctant to take the floor and the time of this convention, but I feel impelled to do so. I have felt upon meeting the delegates here in the American Federation of Labor, that they, upon learning that I was a delegate from the American Federation of Teachers, immediately developed a coolness. There must be something wrong, and I have more or less established in my own mind what that is. I am going to attempt to correct to some extent a pre-conceived impression that may be in the minds of some of the delegates to the American Federation of Labor concerning the American Federation of Teachers.

If I may be permitted to do so I would like to do that by telling you something about our experiences in the Chicago Teachers' Union, Local 1, of the American Federation of Teachers. Four small unions in the city of Chicago amalgamated on October 28th a year ago, and started on a campaign for membership and evolving plans and a program for correcting evils in our politically controlled Board of Education in the school system. In less than one year's time we had raised our membership to 8,500 teachers, and two out of every three teachers in the city of Chicago now belong to the

Chicago Teachers' Union, the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor. We have been able to effect some very important changes in the policies of the Board of Education, changes that benefited the children of our city as well as the teachers of our city. How did we do it? We did it through the very effective advice and help of the Chicago Federation of Labor and the Illinois State Federation of Labor.

The Chicago Teachers' Union is a part of the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Illinois State Federation of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. We are loyal to the fundamental principles that underlie the program of all three of these labor organizations. We are emphatic and wholehearted in our support of these three organizations. We have no personal ambitions. We are not interested in promoting the welfare of any political party.

We cannot thank too much the delegates who are in this assembly at the present time, the President of our State Federation of Labor, Mr. Rube Soderstrom, who has given us invaluable help; Mr. Joseph Keenan, Secretary of our Chicago Federation of Labor, who has been invaluable to us in his services rendered to the Chicago Teachers' Union; Mr. Christian Madsen, Treasurer of the Chicago Federation of Labor, who has spoken for education and the teachers of Chicago at every opportunity and has given us invaluable aid in correcting some of the evils within the system; that grand old man of labor, John Fitzpatrick, who has stood out and helped us when we needed help worst; and that keen-minded, intelligent man who has served labor so long and so effectively, Victor Olander, who has been with us and helped us repeatedly.

I don't think that I speak only for the Chicago Teachers' Union when I say that there are a large percentage, an overwhelming percentage of the teachers within the American Federation of Teachers who endorse wholeheartedly the program and the underlying principles of the American Federation of Labor. We are behind you, we are a part of you, and we ask your wholehearted help.

In regard to the policies referred to in this resolution, we hope that you go back to your local labor bodies and see that they aid and cooperate with the local of the Federation of Teachers in evolving a policy that will put into our school system what the common peo-

ple of the United States of America feel should be in our public schools.

We teachers are anxious to teach the children of America the things that the people of America want them taught. We ask your help and we ask your trust of the teachers in the American Federation of Teachers, and we intend to be worthy of that trust.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

Vocational Education

Resolution No. 65—By Delegates Jerome Davis, Irvin R. Kuenzli, American Federation of Teachers.

WHEREAS, Since considerable agitation exists throughout the country for more vocational education based upon: (a) A belief that the supply of skilled workers has been reduced through

- (1) Changes in the numbers recruited through immigration and
- (2) The reduced number of apprentices during the depression years; and
- (b) a popular belief that unemployment can be solved by producing skilled workers; and

WHEREAS, Since this agitation is finding expression in some localities in ill-advised plans for vocational education; and

WHEREAS, In some localities plans are not only ill-advised but apparently are being formulated behind the scenes by large industrial interests whose concern it is to have upon the labor market a large supply of skilled workers, perhaps docile; and

WHEREAS, A school system to be truly democratic should include vocational education for all types of young people whether they plan to go into the professions or into the skilled trades; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge its affiliated bodies to study their local programs of vocational education and to attempt to mold the local program in keeping with the best scientific practice and the ideals of education, including:

- (1) A scientific survey of occupations should precede the selection of the vocational subjects to be taught and should be carried on continuously to prevent the training of persons in obsolete jobs.

(2) The vocational training program should be built up slowly through experimentation and scientific study, with employers, workers, teachers, and others in the community cooperating. It should always be flexible and subject to change.

- (3) The vocational training should be placed close to the terminal point of the young person's general education, should not be a substitute for it, nor should it be longer than is necessary to gain the desired skills. This warning is necessary because young persons are not acceptable to industry and business in many instances until 17 or 18 years

of age and because it is recalled that the bulk of the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs require but a few weeks' or a few months' training.

(4) Guidance (vocational as well as educational, including classes in occupations) based upon the best known practice should precede the transfer to vocational courses and should continue through to placement.

(5) The vocational courses must be accredited so far as their academic subjects are concerned in order that the students may transfer back to the general and technical courses which permit of entrance to college, without loss of academic credits.

(6) Teachers of academic subjects included in the vocational courses should meet the requirements established for teachers in the general academic courses. For those teaching the vocational subjects, rules and regulations should be established on a regular, civil service promotional basis, although it is recognized that it is necessary that different training and experience requirements be established.

(7) Vocational education must include not only vocational subjects and their related materials such as science and mathematics, but also further and adequate studies in the English language, social science, and other cultural subjects.

(8) The Expansion of vocational education must be guarded by clear thinking and honest and open discussion by all involved.

A labor movement, one of the basic principles of which is craftsmanship, must always concern itself with the perpetuation of basic skills. The trade union is the depository of skill; it must remain so. For that basic reason the American Federation of Labor has been deeply concerned with the principles of vocational education. It has shown its steadfast devotion to vocational education down through the years. It has always favored adequate vocational and technical training for employment in the various trades; it has opposed with equal vigor any attempt to make of vocational education a system of class education whereby those students who elect to enter the trades are denied the opportunity for a well rounded general education.

The limitation of vocational training to a specialized skill by denying a general education is contrary to the principle of equality of opportunity as guaranteed by the democratic structure of the government of the United States. Education for citizenship in a Democracy means more than mere training for a single skill. It involves the education of the whole man.

Your committee is in accord with the principle stated in the resolution that voca-

tional training should be placed on a sound basis of scientific investigation to determine the real needs for employment in the various trades and occupations, and that students be given careful and reliable guidance both before and after entering training for such trades and occupations.

It deprecates the practice of directing large numbers of students into vocational classes without regard for the needs of the community or for the welfare of the individual. When such a practice is followed to secure Federal funds or provide political appointments, it is both unsound in education and contrary to the spirit of our American democracy and works to the injury of wage earners instead of assisting them and should meet the unalterable opposition of every affiliated body of the American Federation of Labor.

Your committee, therefore, concurs in the general principles of this resolution but insists that labor's welfare requires in connection with every school or vocational classroom, an advisory committee consisting of equal representation of labor and management. Your committee would further call especial attention of the delegates to this convention, to the recent communication from President Green that all affiliated bodies maintain active Committees on Education to protect the interests of Labor in education with special emphasis on the structure and administration of vocational education programs in local communities of the United States.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

President Green: Now we will interrupt the regular proceedings for the purpose of hearing from our distinguished guest. I reported to you that I had extended an invitation to Commissioner Andrews, of the Fair Labor Standards Act, to be our guest and visit with us, and to address the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention. He very wholeheartedly accepted our invitation and came all the way from Washington for the special purpose of meeting with us this morning and submitting a message to you.

In connection with his visit permit me to say that in my judgment the President made an excellent appointment when he selected Mr. Andrews to serve as the new administrator of the Minimum Wage Law—a trained public official, one who had worked for

years in the state of New York as a labor commissioner, dealing daily and directly with economic problems involving the same principles as we find in the administration of the minimum wage law. Our organized labor movement in the State of New York has worked very closely and in perfect harmony with Commissioner Andrews. He is big, broad and sympathetic. He is exploring new fields, administering new principles of economics in the industrial world. There was no rule to go by. No path had been laid. He simply had to find his way. He is doing an excellent job.

We are glad to have him here this morning, and it is a pleasure for me to present him to you. I present to you Commissioner Elmer Andrews, the man selected by the President of the United States to administer the Minimum Wage Law.

MR. ELMER FRANK ANDREWS

(Administrator, Wages and Hours Authority)

I want the delegates to know I consider it a very signal honor to be invited here and I accept it with a great deal of pleasure.

When the American Federation of Labor was founded in 1881 the American work day extended in some employments to 18 hours. Today the A. F. of L., conscious of modern conditions and the nation's requirements, seeks a work-day of six hours.

The measure of that difference is the yardstick of our progress toward justice for the working man, toward decent living conditions for all people and toward a safer and happier America.

There are gentlemen—economists and others—who insist that shorter hours and higher wages are not feasible; that the way to prosperity is through 12-hour days and no more wage than "the labor supply" demands. Let them try their theories in other lands. The American standard of living calls for a work-day in which a man may enjoy the fruits of our culture and a wage which will assure him and his family of security and happiness. It also calls for a job, for without employment a worker cannot share in the benefits of that standard.

Wages, as we know them, originated during the Industrial Revolution when penniless persons sold all that they had—their labor. What they received depended upon how badly the owners of tools and property wanted the services of an extra pair of hands. The general practice was for the employer to pay only what was necessary to keep his employees alive and fit to work—fit to work by the standards of that day and those standards with regard to health and efficiency were not very high. There are still in the United States many who would follow that practice—pay a bare living, no more.

But to a large extent the practice of paying only subsistence wages has disappeared from

America, disappeared because working men with courage and foresight banded together in unions and wrested from their employers not only a living wage but a wage which enabled them to participate in building the highest standard of living the world knows. The A. F. of L. is still helping to build that standard.

The practice of requiring by law the payment of certain wages is not new. It is one of the earliest American practices of which we have any record.

When the colonists came to this new world there was much work to be done. Earning a livelihood required the effort of every person in the community—men, women and children. As the colonies grew, a division of labor developed. Certain men with special skills or training became identified in their communities as experts. Instead of doing their own work, they found it profitable to work for others and charge what the traffic would bear.

However, the employers began to complain, saying prices and wages were too high. They demanded that something be done about it. And what was done? They passed wage laws!

Ten years after the Mayflower touched at Plymouth Rock, or was it Providenttown, the colonists of Massachusetts enacted a law requiring that "carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers and thatchers shall not take above two shillings a day." The wages of master mechanics and laborers were also regulated, and if "they have meate and drinke" the pay was to be proportionately less. Other colonies did likewise. Thus was established early in our history the principle that a man's wage is of interest to his community.

The fact that our first wage laws were intended to place a ceiling over wages and our present ones would place a floor under them leaves the principle undamaged. Americans, even in the heyday of their rugged individualism, used their legislative power to regulate wages. And I doubt if they would have paid much attention, back in those early days, to the high priests of the cult of "supply and demand" whose panacea for all our economic ills is the incantation of such homilies as, "the laborer is worthy of his hire."

A shortage of labor relative to the demand for it continued in this country for approximately the first century of our history. As the older communities became settled and their labor supply relative to the work to be done began to increase there was a continuous drain toward the frontiers. Building a continent kept all hands busy.

However, the frontier finally disappeared. Our rapidly increasing population and the growth of our industrial areas, were accompanied by a shift in the status of the laborer. Labor found it had lost its buyers' market, and the supply of hands relative to the demand was so great that instead of employers bidding for employees, the reverse had become true. In the Eighties and Nineties, workers began to compete for jobs, and wages went lower and lower.

It was during this period that the earlier

efforts of workers to organize successfully culminated in the establishment of the American Federation of Labor. Under the leadership of Samuel Gompers—who, incidentally, died down here in Texas, in San Antonio—and since then, under the leadership of William Green, the Federation has fought successfully for recognition, for shorter hours, for higher and higher wages, and for living standards which today are the envy of working men throughout the world. It was a hard fight. Its leaders suffered danger and privation; they were mocked and denounced and beaten. But today, many of those same leaders sit here prepared to carry on even further in the ceaseless fight for improvements in working conditions, for greater happiness among the people of our country, and for greater safety for our American institutions.

But the gains won by the federation were not enough by themselves. Those who benefited directly were largely the highly skilled, who could be organized and held in organizations. Other workers still received only subsistence wages, and their hours of employment were inhumanly long. Especially was this true of women and children workers, whose conditions of employment became so bad that Americans, reverting to colonial methods, again sought a solution through legislative action. The States began to enact minimum wage and shorter work-week laws.

Massachusetts, acting in 1912, was the first to adopt a minimum wage law for women and children. A year later eight States—California, Colorado, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin, followed suit. Then came Arkansas and Kansas and Arizona, and in 1918 Congress passed a minimum wage law for the District of Columbia. The Oregon law was taken to the United States Supreme Court, but the justices split evenly on the question. The doubt as to the legality of such laws seriously handicapped further advances, and in 1923 the Supreme Court invalidated the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia by its decision in the famous case of *Adkins vs. Children's Hospital*.

The Supreme Court's ruling practically suspended legislation of that kind until last year when the court upheld Washington State's minimum wage law, and reversed its decision on the District of Columbia measure.

Promptly new minimum wage laws sprouted up throughout the country, and now such legislation exists in 25 states. In addition, the scope of many of these laws has been enlarged, and the benefits have been extended to thousands who had been denied protection under the earlier laws.

But despite State minimum wage laws for women and children and the gains made by labor organizations, there remained a further problem, a condition which imperilled all that had been won. Neither State laws nor labor gains were safe so long as gypsy employers,

with no thought but cheap production, could move from State to State, always seeking one with no protective laws and a working population new to industrial methods and untrained in organization for their own protection and improvement. Like bad money driving out good, sweatshops in one region, could, and did, drive out of business competitors in other localities who did maintain proper working standards. The poison of exploitation under substandard labor conditions spread like a plague across State lines. I speak here not only of wages and hours but of safety codes, workmen's compensation and the right to organize and bargain collectively.

This was especially true as women in larger and larger numbers left their homes to work in laundries, restaurants, and canning plants and to do work for wages which they had formerly done only for their own families. The extent of this feminine move into industry and trade has been revealed recently by Mr. John Biggers, who upon resigning as director of the unemployment census, reported to President Roosevelt that 2,700,000 more women entered the "labor market" during 1937 than had been estimated on the basis of population trends. Mr. Biggers added that the influx of women workers is probably a permanent phenomenon.

Many of these new employments were totally lacking in standards to protect the welfare of the women who entered them, and long hours and low pay were—and unfortunately still are—the rule. Much of this work into which women entered was, and is, wholly the concern of the States; probably most of it is a part of intrastate commerce. But the products of some of this labor are shipped from State to State, and the result has been that progressive States have been seriously handicapped in their efforts to improve working conditions within their borders. This is not only true in new industries and services employing both men and women, but also in many of our older employments.

Several years ago, it became apparent that there had to be some Federal action—some nation-wide law which would give industry in every State certain common standards below which no one would be permitted to go if he wanted to ship his products across State lines. The NRA attempted to establish this basic level and succeeded for a while to a surprising extent.

For nearly two years, from 1933 to 1935, and for the first time in our history, a major portion of our industries experienced the order, the stabilization, and the improved morale which resulted from nation-wide labor standards. Approximately 25 million American workers enjoyed at least some of the benefits of the NRA codes. Employee's share of the national income, it has been estimated, rose from 64 per cent in 1932 to 66.8 per cent in 1934 and 67.8 per cent in 1935 when the Supreme Court found the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional.

Further, as Pres. Green has pointed out,

the A. F. of L., through its support and assistance in establishing the codes and making them work, saw the establishment of the basic 40-hour week for most industries, some of which were accustomed to working their employees 70 and 80 hours a week.

"The story of industry since invalidation of the National Industrial Recovery Act," Mr. Green told a joint congressional committee last year, "is one of departure from the labor standards therein provided, in the direction of lengthened hours of employment."

"A nation-wide survey of such departures from June, 1935, through March, 1936, in 583 industries, reveals that 4,073,901 employees were affected by lengthened hours to the extent of 35,247,473 added man-hours beyond those specified in the codes" . . . "Such added hours, if spread among the unemployed," Mr. Green pointed out, "would have permitted the re-employment by those industries alone, for that period, of 839,123 employees. It is probable that the departures from the National Industrial Recovery Act coded hours of employment alone have accounted for upward of 2½ million unemployed since its invalidation."

And, Pres. Green said further:

"Add to this situation the consideration that at the same time technological improvements and expansion in the volume of output resulted in a 40 per cent increased productivity per worker per hour from 1929 to 1935, and you can readily see why employment has lagged behind production more and more and why industrial recovery alone cannot absorb the unemployed."

I should like to emphasize that simple fact; that even during the "prosperous twenties" the wage earners' share of the national income dropped from 40 per cent in 1920 to 37.4 in 1928. Not only that—the proportion of "value added by manufacture" paid out in wages, or the workers' share in the value of their production, has steadily decreased. The proportion fell from 51.1 per cent in 1849 to 46.2 per cent in 1909 and to 36 per cent in 1929. Since then, because of the increased productivity of labor, and the drop in wage earners' income during the depression, the proportion has fallen even lower.

It is this steady decrease in the proportion of national income received by workers which has been at the bottom of so much of the New Deal program. Behind most of President Roosevelt's proposals has been the realization that only by restoration and then maintenance of consumer purchasing power can this country's economic system continue operations.

The so-called "Pump-priming" measures, the expenditures through WPA and FWA, the agricultural program, and the Social Security disbursements, are all designed to place purchasing power in the hands of those who would promptly use it to buy groceries, furniture, clothing and all the other things which farms and factories produce, and every family requires.

But despite the flow of financial nourishment into all parts of our country, something had to be done to help business back to sound

health, a state of mind and body which would enable it to function in orderly fashion.

Obviously, none of the relief measures would be effective if working conditions were to be such that persons employed full-time did not earn enough to support themselves and their families. Obviously, these measures were mere "stop gaps" unless industry could be protected sufficiently from sweatshop competition to permit it to establish and maintain adequate working conditions.

It was evident, too, that something had to be done to safeguard and supplement the gains won through union contracts and state minimum wage laws. In response to that need President Roosevelt asked for Federal legislation to establish minimum wage and maximum work-week standards for employees engaged in interstate commerce.

"Our Nation, so richly endowed with natural resources and with a capable and industrious population," the President said, "should be able to devise ways and means of insuring to all our able-bodied working men and women a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. A self-supporting and self-respecting democracy can find no justification for the existence of child labor, no economic reason for chiseling workers' wages or stretching workers' hours."

With the strong support of organized labor and despite sincere differences as to the method to be pursued, Congress enacted the Fair Labor Standards Act, and the President signed the measure last June.

As President Green has said, "The law contains every major feature and principle originally sponsored by the American Federation of Labor . . ."

And, if Mr. Green will permit me, I should like to use his description of what the law contains and his explanation of labor's role under that measure. I know of no better summary of the provisions of the act than that included in his foreword to the A. F. of L.'s pamphlet entitled "The Wage and Hour Law." Mr. Green said in that pamphlet:

"The law as enacted, establishes a rock-bottom universal minimum wage of 25 cents an hour for the first year. This minimum is to be raised to 30 cents an hour in the second year, and to 40 cents an hour at the end of six years (after October 24, 1945, that is). In industries engaged in interstate commerce, the law will not permit wages to drop below these rates. In addition, the law provides a method whereby in separate industries minimum wages higher than the statutory minimum can be established. These industry minimum rates will be put into effect by wage orders issued by the Administrator when recommended to him by industry committees on which organized labor will be represented.

"The rates established under this law merely provide the absolute minimum below which the wages cannot be reduced. The law does not regulate wages above the minimum. The determination and maintenance of wages above the minimum is left to collective bargaining between unions and employers.

"The law also establishes a universal ceiling for hours of work. It provides a top 44-hour work-week for the first year, a 42-hour work-week for the second year, and a 40-hour work-week thereafter. Payment of time-and-a-half for overtime is required for work in excess of these weekly hours. Here again, it is the duty and responsibility of organized labor, through collective bargaining with employers, to secure further shortening of hours and to safeguard the workers' income by making sure the shortening of hours of work will not reduce the earnings. Thus the wage and hour law establishes a bottom limit for wages, provides a top limit for weekly hours, and eliminates child labor by Federal regulation . . ."

"The enactment of the law," Mr. Green continued, "places upon organized labor a three-fold responsibility. (1) It is vitally important to Labor that minimum wages, to be determined by Industry Committees and embodied in the wage orders of the Administrator, are set at rates as high as all available facts can justify. (2) It is equally important to Labor to make certain that all minimum standards prescribed under this act are being observed. Not only can employers, violating the act, be prosecuted in the courts, heavily fined and imprisoned, but workers who are paid less than the minimum wage or whose overtime rates are not paid by employers, can collect (through court action) twice the amount withheld from them. The act specifically provides that court action, to recover such wage loss, may be brought by designated representatives of workers concerned. (3) Most important of all is the duty of Labor to secure, through organization and collective bargaining, labor standards higher than the minimum standards."

I agree with Mr. Green, especially when he suggests that you help make certain that the Act's provisions are observed. For only through uniform compliance can the measure be made an effective aid to our economic and social system. It will be obviously impossible for the Wage and Hour Division (which I head) to check up on all the details of the law's operations. We are working night and day to get organized, and we expect to continue at top speed for months to come. But our limited appropriations, and the necessity of collecting a trained personnel, will make it impossible for us to administer the law in the first few months wholly as I would like to see it done.

We shall have to confine our industry committee activities to those groups which are already prepared for fair industry-wide action. We shall have to establish our first regional and State offices on the basis of immediate need.

Incidentally, we have decided to establish twelve regions. The First, with a central office in Boston, includes all New England. The Second includes New York State with the main office in New York City. The Third covers Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware with the principal office in Philadelphia. The Fourth includes Maryland, The District of Columbia, West Virginia, Virginia, North and South Carolina. The Regional office is in

Richmond. The Fifth, whose principal office is in Cleveland, includes Ohio and Kentucky. The Sixth covers Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan, with the main office in Chicago. The Seventh includes Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama and Mississippi, with regional offices probably in Birmingham and Atlanta. The Eighth region includes Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota and Nebraska. The principal office is to be in Minneapolis. The Ninth covers Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and Oklahoma, with offices in Kansas City. The Tenth includes Louisiana and Texas. The main offices are to be here in Houston. Region Eleven covers Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and New Mexico, with principal offices in Denver. Region Twelve includes Washington, Oregon, Nevada, Arizona and California, and the principal office is in San Francisco.

This is the tentative regional set up. We expect to supplement it by establishing offices in principal industrial areas throughout the country. We hope to arrange it so that anyone who wants information or who wants to discuss with us his problems under the Act may do so with reasonable convenience.

However, because of our limited appropriations and our incomplete staff, we expect to have at first only four general field offices to take care of the Northeast, the Southeast, the Middle West and the Far West.

Almost our first major task is to work out interpretations of the law which employers must have at once so that they may understand what is expected of them after October 24. Most of these will be ready very soon.

But, we have a staff of less than a hundred persons and a total appropriation of roughly \$300,000 which was intended to last until the end of the fiscal year on June 30, 1939; so I welcome your cooperation and your patience in this great enterprise in which we all are so vitally involved.

I know I shall have your cooperation because I have worked with many of you. In New York State, as well as in Washington, it has been my privilege to receive your advice and your support. For example, President George Meany of the New York State Federation of Labor has helped immensely the cause of progressive labor legislation and its practical enforcement. With the increasing growth of labor legislation in this country and the growing demand for able leaders to see that it is effectively applied, his is the type of leadership which we all want and upon which the welfare of this country depends. I am especially proud of the fact that under his guidance, the New York State Federation was decisive in pushing through the recent State constitutional convention a proposed constitutional amendment to permit the adoption in New York of a State minimum wage for men as well as for women and children.

Incidentally, like millions of other Americans, I hope the present differences in organized labor can be settled soon. I have

good friends on both sides of these arguments, and I want to be able to ask the advice of both of them without each fellow thinking I'm going to get the wrong idea. I am fully aware that men of principle, even when they are friends, often find it hard to reconcile their differences. But just look at the gains organized labor has made in this country in the last few years and think what it could do for itself and the nation if it were again one great united force!

As President Green has said, the Fair Labor Standards Act is not perfect. It is a beginning, a compromise, a foundation upon which we must build, an instrument we must learn to use with skill and helpfulness. You and I will probably have our friendly differences. But, I believe, those differences will be on relatively minor points. You and I agree on the purposes of this law and on the need for it. You and I know that the only way to get started with something like this is to set it up according to the best of our ability and see how it runs. You and I know that if it doesn't run right we can change it so that it will.

In this connection, I should like to say a word about fears that the Administrator of the Fair Labor Standards Act has been given "dictatorial powers" in the determination of wage rates. In a country as vast as ours, with its variety of industries and its complexity of operation, it would be manifestly impossible for Congress to set detailed wage rates. A wage rate established by Congress might be so high in some industries where unskilled labor is employed as to cause unemployment and so low relative to existing standards in other industries as to have no value as a minimum. Even if it were possible, we wouldn't want Congress to attempt any such job. The American Federation of Labor doesn't need to have the wages of its members established by law; its record throughout the years has shown that it can win and maintain wage rates for its members at a level higher than any provided by the Fair Labor Standards Act.

Organized labor has been on the whole popular in the United States because it has increased earnings of labor and thereby improved the standard of living for labor. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that it is equally popular today to lay special stress on raising the earnings and thereby the standards of those workers who are at the bottom of the ladder of pay and standards. If, therefore, organized labor lays particular emphasis on the low pay and long hours of the worst paid workers, it will gain additional hearty support from public opinion.

We need—and the A. F. of L. has battled for and helped win—a law to prevent the exploitation of workers who are unorganized and whose low working standards are an ever-present peril to decent wages and healthful standards of living for their neighbors. The 25 cents an hour and 44 hours a week provided for in the Fair Labor Standards

Act are no doors to Utopia. It was a realization of this fact which caused Congress to provide for the issuance of wage orders upon the recommendation of industry committees.

Members of industry committees are chosen by the Administrator, but he must select an equal number of representatives of employees, of employers and of the public. These representatives of three groups will receive all available information on wages and economic conditions within the industry being considered, will conduct investigations, may hold hearings and will file with the Administrator a report recommending to him the highest minimum wage it has found justifiable. The administrator then will notify all interested parties and give them an opportunity to be heard.

If, after all this, the Administrator approves the committee recommendations, he embodies them in a wage order setting the minimum recommended. If he does not agree with the committee's recommendations, he may ask the committee to make a further study or he may appoint a new committee. He is not required to accept the committee's recommendations, nor is he permitted to issue wage orders on his initiative.

Throughout this whole procedure labor may, and it is fully expected that it shall, interpose any objections it may have. It should present not only its objections but its own recommendations.

As a final safeguard against injustice, Congress has provided that any person aggrieved by a wage order may petition a U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals to review the order, to modify it, or to set it aside in whole or in part. I trust that members of the federation will never believe it necessary to appeal from a wage order, but if such an appeal appears to you to be the course of wisdom, it will be your duty to make it.

Mr. John Frey, who has done much for the cause of labor, and whose sincere interest in the welfare of his country cannot be questioned, has been quoted as saying in connection with the Administrator's power to appoint a new industry committee if his differences with the first one become irreconcilable:

"As I see it, that is similar to a judge telling a jury that its function is to pass on the facts, but if the verdict is not satisfactory to him, he may send the case back or impanel a new jury."

The essential difference is that when a judge sends a case back or impanels a new jury, the defendant remains in jail or the plaintiff must wait for his money, but when the Administrator differs with an industry committee and appoints a new one, there is no wage order. The Administrator cannot issue a wage order except as the result of a committee recommendation. He cannot change a committee recommendation. Neither the Administrator nor the committee can act without the consent of the other, just as neither

house of Congress can enact a law by itself.

This authority to accept or reject recommendations of industry committees or boards has been given to all State administrators of minimum wage legislation and throughout the years there has never been a single charge that this power has been abused. State Administrators have sent orders back to committees for reconsideration but there has been no case where a new committee was appointed. I had an experience bearing on that with a laundry committee in New York. It developed at open hearings that certain recommendations of a wage board would be harmful to workers and employers in that industry. The wage board was reconvened; it was acquainted with these additional facts, and on that basis a new recommendation was made and a wage order issued.

In England, where they have had a lot more experience with this type of legislation than we have had, they have the same procedure. There the Minister of Labor has on several occasions referred rate recommendations back to industry or trade boards, either because of legal complications in the wording of a proposal or because he doubted the wisdom of the recommendation.

As I have said frequently when the question came up, we have no intention of breaking up industries into a variety of wage classifications based on special demands of certain groups. We do intend to seek classifications which will permit the establishment and the maintenance of the highest rate justified for each general type of work under the law. No classification can permit a wage less than the statutory minimum for that year or more than 40 cents an hour.

"This," in the words of the A. F. of L. pamphlet on the law from which I have already quoted, "limits the minimum wage regulation to workers whose wages are less than 40 cents an hour, leaving the wage determination for workers who receive more than 40 cents to collective bargaining."

As to apprentices, the Wage and Hour Division expects to adopt substantially the definition of the Federal Committee on apprenticeship, of which Mr. Frey is a member.

Another apprehension which has been expressed concerning minimum wage laws—I don't think you in the A. F. of L. have been bothered by it—arises from the unsupported allegation of minimum wage opponents that the minimum will become the maximum.

Let's look at the record, as a famous New Yorker used to say. In November, 1935, two years after the minimum wage order for laundries was issued in New York State, 42 per cent of the employees affected by the order were being paid wages above the prescribed minimum.

In an attempt to discover whether the wage rates of women who had been receiving more than the minimum were reduced after the wage order became effective in order to compensate for increased earnings among the lower-paid groups, a detailed study was

made by the Division of Women in Industry and Minimum Wage of New York of the effect of the order on the earnings of 952 women for whom wage data were available both before and after the order was issued.

It was found that 81 per cent of these women had higher hourly earnings in November, 1933, one month after the order, than, in May, 1933; 13 per cent were earning the same amounts; and only 5 per cent were earning less. The increases ranged as high as 22 cents per hour. In May only 89 of the 952 women had received wages which were higher than the minimum rates later established under the wage order, but of these 89 women, only 5 had had their rates reduced to the established minimum in November; 52 had higher hourly earnings in November than in May.

In Ohio, in October, 1935, after the wage order for the cleaning and dyeing industry had been in effect a year, 63.2 per cent of 114 establishments, for which wage data were available both before and after the order, were paying one-half or more of their women employees more than the minimum rate of 35 cents an hour; and 78.1 per cent of the women employed in the 114 establishments were receiving more than the minimum.

In Massachusetts, the proportion of women engaged in druggists' preparations who received \$18.00 or more increased from 14.5 per cent in 1924 to 26.7 per cent in 1929. The minimum, which had been set by law in 1924, was \$13.20. In laundries during approximately the same period the proportion receiving \$18.00 or more increased from 9.8 per cent to 17.1 per cent. The legal minimum for that employment was \$13.20. The same trend was found in retail stores and in office cleaning.

Studies in California, Illinois, New Hampshire, and North Dakota showed similar results. They revealed that not only does the minimum not become the maximum, but that the establishment of a floor for wages tends to raise the entire wage structure. It stands to reason that if the prevailing wage rate in an industry is 10 cents an hour the more skilled workers in that industry will find it harder to win a union contract calling for 60 cents an hour than if the prevailing rate was 30 or 40 cents.

Finally, I should like to say a word or two about the argument of certain economists who warn us that if hours are shortened and wages are raised our living standard must be lowered. This warning, they present in the face of the fact that millions are unemployed; that our supply of workers is greater than ever before, and that the productivity of those workers has increased tremendously. Their argument is based on the theory that if hours are shortened and wages are raised the labor-costs of what we all must buy will be so high as to be out of the reach of most consumers. They also contend that our capacity to produce is not so great as to give each of us a decent living.

One might think that in demanding higher wages and shorter hours, labor was asking

for more than its fair share in the goods it produces. As a matter of fact, labor asks nothing more, and the Government of the United States asks for labor nothing more, than a just proportion of the wealth which it has helped create. Throughout recent years, labor has been denied this share.

For example, in New York State, labor's share in value added by manufacture after increasing from 37.1 per cent in 1919 to 39.7 per cent in 1921, showed an uninterrupted decline during the following years, dropping to 31.4 per cent in 1933. The net decline from 1921 to 1933 in the proportion of value added by manufacture which went to labor amounted to 21 per cent. There is the story of the depression—in a capsule.

The amount of value added by manufacture per wage earner in New York State factories showed a steady increase from \$3,199 in 1919 to \$4,497 in 1929, a gain of 40.6 per cent. The annual money wage per wage earner also showed a gain for 1919 to 1929 but the increase, amounting to 25.6 per cent, was not as great as in value added by manufacture. Moreover, the decline in average wages since 1929 has been greater than the decline in value added per wage earner.

The decline in value added by manufacture during the depression years has been to a large extent the result of decreases in the prices of the manufactured products. When economists warn of the peril of higher wages, arguing that higher wages inevitably mean higher costs of the goods produced, they ignore the fact that the labor cost in any article is a combination of two factors. It includes not only the money wages paid the worker, but it also must take into consideration—and this is most important—that worker's productivity.

With the tremendous increase in the productivity of the American worker during recent years, labor has a right to demand an increase in its real wages; that is, in its purchasing power.

That increase in productivity, together with the influx of women workers and other factors which have increased our labor supply in proportion to demand, is the reason why the standard work-week in this country must be shortened. No matter what economic theory may evolve, the fact remains that we have already shortened our work-week in many industries, while at the same time increasing the production of those industries. Higher wages and shorter hours, it is becoming increasingly evident, pay for themselves in greater efficiency, better health and improved morale. Such benefits for all wage earners is the goal of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

Commissioner Andrews: President Green, I cannot tell you how delighted I was to be invited, and I thank the delegates for their attention.

President Green: Commissioner Andrews, on behalf of this delegation, we appreciate your visit this morning and we are grateful to you for the factual, instructive and in-

formative address you delivered. Please be assured that we are deeply interested in the administration of the Minimum Wage Law, the Fair Labor Standards Act.

I wonder sometimes if we all appreciate the significance and importance of this great measure. Perhaps I can bring it forcibly to your attention when I say that by one sweep, one act, the wage level of the United States, applicable to those engaged and employed in industries that ship their products in interstate commerce, is lifted to a level below which no employer in the nation can go. We do it step by step, not in a revolutionary manner, but in an evolutionary way. First of all, we establish a foundation for wages of not less than 25 cents an hour. That is the basis, the bottom, and we build from that. Well, do you know what that will mean? It will mean the lifting of the wages for thousands of workers in America who are employed in sweated and submerged industries. It will apply to those workers who are so helpless, those who are apparently the forgotten men and women. And isn't that a wonderful service?

Some of us wonder if there are many people employed at less than 25 cents an hour. A survey of the economic and industrial situation shows that thousands of workers are paid less than 25 cents per hour, but under this law their wage level will be lifted and there firmly established under this Act. And it is a universal Act. It is not a minimum law for one section of the country that differs with the minimum wage law in another section. The lumber worker in the South, the laundry worker in the South and those employed in the needle trades in the South will be lifted to the same level as those employed in the same industries in the East. To me that is a very fundamental principle.

Now, under the administration of our distinguished guest, with the foundation fixed for wages and the ceiling fixed for hours he will, under the authority conferred on him, build a wage structure that must be helpful to all the workers of our country. I attach very great importance and significance to the operation of this law. It will be the purpose of the American Federation of Labor to cooperate with state federations of labor in the enactment of state minimum wage laws which will apply the same principle embodied in the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act to

the workers in the states who are employed in intrastate business. We want to extend that throughout the country, we want to lift the wages of those employed in interstate business up to a level where we can establish wage and living standards which approximate peace and comfort. I maintain that no industry should exist in America, there is no justification for its existence, if it pays a wage rate below 25 cents an hour.

I am inspired, Mr. Commissioner, to make these remarks in your presence this morning because of the deep interest I hold in the principles of law and the administrative work of your Department. We thank you for coming here, we thank you for your address. It will be embodied in the proceedings of today's convention and will be read and studied further by the members of the American Federation of Labor. Please stay with us as long as you can and be the guest of the American Federation of Labor.

Now we will resume the regular order of business. I present to you Secretary Whitehead, of the Committee on Education.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION (Continued)

Secretary Whitehead continued the report, as follows:

Proposing Government Appropriation for Support of Food Educational Schools

Resolution No. 66—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, Man's health depends mainly on his food. The modern profit system is the main cause for the adulteration and devitimization of many kinds of foods and food products. Thus, society is employing a larger number than ever known in history, who make a livelihood combating the many diseases, most of which have been caused by adulterated and devitimized foods; and

WHEREAS, In spite of all efforts of modern doctorism, stomach ailments are on an ever increase, and disease is eating at the heart of a once healthy nation; and, unless something is done about the cause instead of the effect of this social error, disease will forever be on the increase; and

WHEREAS, Wrong cooking, wrong eating, adulteration and devitimization of foods are the main causes of setting the wrong table

for the people of this nation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Twenty-ninth Convention, here assembled, go on record as endorsing the following resolution: That the delegates to the American Federation of Labor be, and are hereby requested, to request the Congress of the United States of America to appropriate ten million (\$10,000,000) dollars, or more, to be used by the Public School Boards of our cities and towns, for the purpose of conducting Professional Food Trade Schools and Classes in conjunction with existing cooks' organizations, with the aim and object: "For the better production and cooking of foods for the people of this nation, as a means of destroying disease germs at their source, and thus promote the wealth and happiness of our people by means of perfect health."

This resolution adopted by the 29th Convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and concerning the adulteration and devitimization of foods and its resulting effect on the health of the nation deserves our most careful consideration. It is true to say as the Resolution states that "Man's health depends mainly on his food." The proposal suggested, however, is one which we feel deserves expert consideration.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that the Executive Council be directed to investigate this proposal by consultation with U. S. Health Service as well as the U. S. Office of Education and take such action as may be appropriate.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Labor Movement, Historical Motion Picture

Resolution No. 67—By Delegate William P. Frost, Michigan State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor believes that public education in regard to the history, nature and development of the Labor Movement in America, its aims and ideals and the part it has played in raising the American standard of living, is indispensable to its program for continued contribution and achievement; and

WHEREAS, The moving picture, being easily understood, possessing a demonstrated appeal to the public in general and such vast possibilities of dramatization and accurate portrayal, is ideally fitted to serve as a medium for such public education; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation, in Convention assembled, instruct its national governing body to undertake immediately to promote for release to the gen-

eral public a moving picture which will accurately and dramatically depict the history and development of the Labor Movement in the United States, its aims and ideals, the part it has played in raising the American standard of living, its present problems and its program for continued contribution toward a more abundant life for the American workingman.

The use of the motion picture to chronicle the history of men and movements has an undoubted educational value. To the written and spoken word it adds virtually another dimension in interpretation of events and historical incidents.

The proposal as set forth in this resolution has received consideration by the Federation and its Executive Council on a number of occasions. It presents a question of both expense and proper distribution.

Your committee regards the recommendation as one worthy to be referred again to the Executive Council with the recommendation that the matter be investigated and such action taken as may be justified.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

**Requesting International Unions to Assist
Radio Station WCFL Chicago, Ill., to
Secure Advertiser:**

Resolution No. 133.—By Delegates Alfred C. Woyner, Chicago Federation of Labor; Joseph J. Kehoe, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America; Geo. W. Jones, United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers' Association; Chas. F. Wills, Office Employees Union No. 20732; R. G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor; Christian M. Madsen, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America; Leo E. George, National Federation of Post Office Clerks.

WHEREAS, Radio Station WCFL the "Voice of Labor," owned and operated by the Chicago Federation of Labor, has recently entered into closer relations with the American Federation of Labor, wherein a representative of the American Federation of Labor is now a member of the Board of Trustees and the Board of Directors of WCFL and has a voice in the management and the shaping of the policy of the radio station, and

WHEREAS, Radio Station WCFL is the only known and recognized labor radio station throughout the United States and has operated as such continuously and uninterruptedly for over twelve years, weathering some of the darkest periods in the economic history of

our country, namely, the years of the depression followed by the recession, and

WHEREAS, The Chicago Federation of Labor has donated the services of WCFL whenever and wherever needed, in the interest of organized labor, to the extent of approximately One Hundred Thousand Dollars a year, this expense being borne entirely by the Chicago Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations, and

WHEREAS, Radio Station WCFL, desiring to increase its coverage so as to take in all of North America and thus be of still greater service and benefit to the labor movement, hopes and intends to increase its power to 50,000 watts, which will require an expenditure of approximately Two Hundred Thousand Dollars, and

WHEREAS, The various national and international unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor are in a position to call to the attention of radio advertisers the fact that WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," is the only recognized labor station in the United States, and by interesting large radio advertisers, can help to bring about a speedier realization of the plans of WCFL to increase its power to 50,000 watts; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor will do all in its power through its various national and international unions and other organizations to attract advertisers to Radio Station WCFL in Chicago.

More than a dozen years ago the Chicago Federation of Labor under the energetic leadership of the late Edward Nockels inaugurated a new and significant adventure with the establishment of Radio Station WCFL. For years this station has become in fact what it sought to become, namely, the Voice of Labor, especially in the Middle West. It has offered its facilities without limit to organized labor in all of its struggles; it has utilized its facilities for the purposes of the education of labor generously.

Your committee commends those concerned in bringing the American Federation of Labor into closer relationship with the ownership and direction of this station.

With this accession of a representative of the Federation to the Board of Trustees and the Board of Directors it is now intended to increase the power of this station and make it in fact a national station to serve the needs of labor throughout our land.

Your committee therefore recommends that we commend Station WCFL and the Federation for bringing about a closer bond of cooperation and further concurs in this resolution and we urge the Executive Council to use its good offices to carry out the intent of this resolution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Woyner, Chicago Federation of Labor: I just want to make a few remarks and observations on this resolution. Mr. President and delegates, this resolution pertains to Station WCFL, the "Voice of Labor," which I should say at this time should be known as Station WCFL, "The Nation's Voice of Labor." I want to acquaint the delegates, some of them who might not be aware of the fact, that this station is now represented by the American Federation of Labor, the Illinois State Federation of Labor, the Teamsters Joint Council and the Chicago Federation of Labor. Vice President Woll is representing the American Federation of Labor. Brother Rube Soderstrom, the President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor; Victor Olander, the Secretary of the State Federation; and Leslie Goudie, of the Joint Council of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, also President Fitzpatrick, of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and Brother Joseph Keenan, Secretary of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

This station in the last twelve years, as the delegates from the Chicago district know very well, has been of great assistance to the efforts of organized labor. The station has always been open to any program of organized labor. In fact, it has allotted more free time on the air than any other station in the United States. The delegates outside of Chicago probably are not aware of these facts. As it becomes a national institution of labor we ask in this resolution the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor and others in the international unions and through their local organizations for undivided support.

President Green: Are there any further remarks? If not, the Chair wishes to make just a few brief remarks. All of us know something about Station WCFL in Chicago. Some know more about it than others. The officers of the American Federation of Labor know so much about it that we all appreciate its value and its service to the cause of labor. It is located in Chicago and is owned outright by the Chicago Federation of Labor, the central body located in a great city chartered by the American Federation of Labor. If there has been one central body loyal to the American Federation of Labor in excess of the loyalty displayed by others during the fight that has been made upon the American Fed-

eration of Labor during the last two or three years, it has been our great Chicago Federation of Labor. That splendid organization deserves the full, wholehearted support of the American Federation of Labor and all of its subordinate units. We ought to give to this splendid station a full and complete measure of support, and my appeal in these few brief remarks is to every organization, national and international, state federation of labor, city central body, federal labor union, and local unit, to give to this station, "The Voice of Labor," a full and complete measure of support. At this great convention of the American Federation of Labor I want to pledge in your presence to the officers of the Chicago Federation of Labor and to Station WCFL the full and complete support of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

The Address of Director Miller

For seventeen consecutive years Spencer Miller, Jr., Director of the Workers' Education Bureau of America, has addressed the annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor. He has made a most notable record. No single speaker who is not an official of the trade union movement has ever been invited or spoken before as many conventions.

In the language of President Green, "Director Miller established at the outset a high standard," which he has followed to a most notable degree during all these years. Each year his address stands out as one of the high points in our conventions. To few men has been given the ability to express the inner purpose and enduring spiritual principles upon which our movement rests. By his profound devotion to the cause of education for all who toil, he has won our admiration and loyalty.

He is not only the Director of the Workers' Education Bureau but the personification of the educational aim of Labor. His labor has not ceased in his annual address before our convention. He has appeared before many International and National Unions, State Federations of Labor, Central Bodies and Local Unions in his efforts to interpret our aims and illuminate our problems.

Your committee again recommends to this convention that it record its appreciation and thanks to him for his great service which grows more valuable each year and that his brilliant address and most valuable research

comment on Democracy and Civil Liberties be published in pamphlet form and distributed to our affiliated membership.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EDUCATION AT WORLD'S FAIR

In conclusion your committee wishes to call to your attention the following matter:

The history of vocational or technical education discloses that on the occasion of every World's Fair at which there has been adequate exhibit of the state of the technical arts, there has been a stimulation of technical education to many of the countries participating in such exhibits. Two World's Fairs are to be held in the United States in 1939, one at New York and another at San Francisco. In view of the crisis in vocational education in our land, your committee is of the opinion that it would be appropriate to utilize these two World Fairs to examine the policies and programs of technical education in some of the leading nations who participate in these Fairs. Such an appraisal might be helpful in helping us to make needed changes in our own system of vocational education.

Your Committee, therefore, recommends that this Convention urge the U. S. Office of Education to use its good offices in arranging an international conference on technical education at the time of these World's Fairs. Your Committee further recommends that a representative National Committee be appointed to sponsor such a conference upon which the American Federation of Labor should be properly represented.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Whitehead: This, President Green, and delegates, completes the report of the Committee on Education, which is signed by the full committee:

ELMER E. MILLIMAN,
Chairman.

RALPH WHITEHEAD,
Secretary:

L. P. LINDELOF,
THOMAS E. BURKE,
MAX ZARITSKY,
L. E. SWARTZ,
WM. I. HORNER,
KENNETH I. TAYLOR,
VINCENT CASTRONOVO.

JOHN J. SHERRY,
F. H. GARRETSON,
JOHN J. DEMPSEY,
WM. L. McFETRIDGE,
LEON DE VESE,
CECIL E. CUSTER,
C. E. PEARCY,
IRVIN KUENZLI,
WM. J. McCAIN,
H. R. LYONS,
NICHOLAS DI PIETRO,
Committee on Education.

Delegate Whitehead moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Education as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: I thank the committee for the services rendered the officers and delegates in attendance at the convention.

The Chair now recognizes the Secretary of the Committee on International Labor Relations.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

Delegate Burke, Chairman of the Committee: The Committee on International Labor Relations is now ready to make its report on the subjects assigned to them for consideration. The Secretary will submit the report.

Vice President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following report:

The committee reports jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 76 and 77, which are as follows:

World Peace

Resolution No. 76—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt on October 5, 1937, clearly enunciated a policy of quarantining all aggressor nations, a policy of collective peace action; and

WHEREAS, The civilized world has witnessed a repetition of aggressive action on the part of the Fascist Nations of the world, namely Germany, Japan and Italy, which seek to impose their Fascist policies upon democratic countries; and

WHEREAS, Such acts of aggression have led to wars against smaller nations, subjecting the peoples of such nations to inhuman and brutal treatment, witness Ethiopia, Spain and Austria; and

WHEREAS, The menace to our peace and security and prosperity cannot be avoided by the policy which does not distinguished between right and wrong, a policy which is contrary to the spirit of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact for the renouncement of war and a policy which encourages the aggressor; and

WHEREAS, The world's peace machinery established for the maintenance of peace is being viewed by treaty-breakers with increasing contempt; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this 29th General Convention goes on record favoring the peace policy as enunciated by President Roosevelt and collective action of all democratic and peace-loving nations of the world and quarantining the aggressor to prevent further bloodshed and war and urges the State Department to begin to apply this policy; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That we appeal to the entire labor movement of this country to support this policy and instruct our delegates to the convention of the American Federation of Labor to present a resolution there containing the same principles.

O'Connell Peace Bill HR 527

Resolution No. 77—By Delegates Edward Flore, Robert B. Hesketh, Chris Lane, Nat Messing, Emanuel Koveleski, Louis Koenig, Helen Caren, Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America.

WHEREAS, World peace is a national interest of the United States; and

WHEREAS, The Foundation for a world peace policy was formulated under the leadership of the United States in the Kellogg Peace Pact, to which all governments of the world pledged themselves to abstain from war as an instrument of national policy; and

WHEREAS, This pledge to maintain world peace has been ruthlessly violated by the Fascist States of the world—Germany, Italy, Japan—bringing in the wake of their war aggressions the menace of world war, with its threatened destruction of civilization itself; and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt, in his Chicago address, October 5th, 1937, clearly formulated in his slogan, "Quarantine the war-makers," the method whereby the principles embodied in the Kellogg Peace Pact could be rendered effective; and

WHEREAS, There is before Congress a legislative proposal, embodying the principle of "Quarantining the war-makers," in the O'Connell Peace Act (H.R. 527), which would establish the identity of those who violate the Kellogg Peace Pact, would cut off from these violators of the world peace access to the American economy, and would offer moral and economic cooperation to all governments who maintain their pledged word, particularly the victims of war aggression; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 29th Convention of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders League of America, in biennial session assembled, August 15-20, 1938, fully endorses and supports the peace policy of President Roosevelt as enunciated in his Chicago address; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention favors the enactment into law of the O'Connell Peace Act (H.R. 527) and calls upon Congress in its next session to so enact into law this Act; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention calls upon President Roosevelt and the Congress of the United States to embark upon those representations to other world democracies necessary to bring about concerted and collective action to make effective the policy of "Quarantining the war-makers" as the cornerstone of maintaining world peace.

These resolutions are in the form adopted by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Alliance and are not in proper form for action by this convention.

However, we shall consider these two resolutions. The first calls for support of the President's peace policy. This policy is represented as one calling for united action of the democracies and for quarantining aggressor nations. We are unaware of any policy adopted or urged by the President for united action by the democracies, or for quarantining aggressor nations. United action, to have real meaning, would seem to imply military action, as well as political and economic action. It is the opinion of your committee that we cannot form a judgment that would apply to all cases. In the recent crisis in Europe united action went almost to the point of war and would have gone to actual war, had not a last minute compromise averted the onrush of armies. Would the United States have joined other democracies in such a war? Your committee cannot feel sure; and if we cannot feel sure about a past incident, how much more doubtful must we be about a future incident, the facts of which are as yet unformed? Therefore, we recommend non-concurrence. We make the same recommendation as to resolution No. 77, which would place this convention on record as favoring the so-called O'Connell peace bill. We do this for the reasons that apply to the previous resolution and for the further reason that we regard it as unsound and unworkable. There may be cases in which it would be likewise undesirable. These ways are not, we feel, the ways to peace.

In considering the subject of world peace we must also consider the conditions that con-

front us and out of which may grow a world war; conditions which, even without war, are causing the most acute suffering. One phase of the great picture of injustice is that dealing with what the dictators of Europe call racial purity. Under the guise of promoting race purity, although no major race is pure and none has been pure for centuries, the totalitarian states are expelling thousands of peaceful, helpless Jewish people. Great numbers of Gentiles also have been compelled to flee for their lives, but the plight of the Jewish refugees is worst of all. Their numbers are greater and the places to which they may go to reconstruct their lives are fewer. We extend to them our full sympathy. We denounce the brutality that has forced them into exile and we believe our hatred of that brutality should be expressed at every opportunity and in the most forceful manner.

We commend the President of the American Federation of Labor for the energetic action he has taken in response of declarations and decisions related to this subject. We refer particularly to the boycotting of German goods and in other forms manifesting our disapproval and condemnation of the practices being pursued by Nazi Germany. We recommend not only the continuance of the activities and policies heretofore pursued by the A. F. of L., but urge intensification of our efforts in behalf of the persecuted and oppressed minorities in Germany.

We further commend the President of the American Federation of Labor for the timely and fitting cablegram, sent while we have been in session in Houston, addressed to Sir Walter Citrine of the British Trade Union Congress, protesting against narrowing the opportunities for Jewish refugees to find a haven of refuge in Palestine. We call upon the British Trade Union Congress, as a faithful and consistent defender of the institutions of democracy, to intercede with the British government, in accord with the spirit of the cablegram dispatched to Sir Walter Citrine, which we herewith quote:

"Convention American Federation of Labor now in session gravely concerned over reports British Government may announce new policy which in effect would greatly limit Jewish migration to Palestine. We believe complete open door for Jewish migration to Palestine should be maintained. Persecuted millions of Jewish people in Central and Eastern Europe must find new homes. In light of these facts it is inconceivable that British Government

would restrict Jewish immigration to the country which now offers them place of refuge. Will appreciate all assistance you and your associates can give in response to this appeal.

WILLIAM GREEN."

Your committee is advised that President Green has likewise requested the State Department of our Government to intercede in this matter and we recommend concurrence in this request and appeal.

Finally, we believe the labor movements of the democracies should work in harmony for the protection of and the relief of the helpless refugees from the barbarism of the race-hating policies of the dictator states of Europe. We can offer no semblance of friendship to nations that defy all the laws of decency; we can have no tolerance of intolerance. We commend the officers for their work in the past year in helping to ease the burden of the refugee multitudes and for their part in helping to arouse the conscience of civilization against this most revolting expression of dictatorial barbarism.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Zaritsky, United Hatters, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union: Mr. President and delegates, I rise to support the report and recommendation of the committee. I know the hour is late and that the delegates are impatient, but I ask your indulgence to permit me to make a few observations on the committee's report.

As we are in session today there are black clouds gathering all over Europe and darkening the horizon of the world. A deadening silence has fallen upon the peoples of many nations. The horrible specter of Nazism and its twin brother, Fascism, is stalking the highways of the civilized world. The free democratic nations of Europe are trembling before the arrogant dictatorship, yielding under threats of warfare and surrendering to the autocracies on every turn. Right before our eyes, in the presence of God and man, the self-appointed autocrats are turning the hands of time back, back into the darkest ages in human history.

What is taking place today in Europe calls to the mind of everyone the words of the prophet, "For Ye shall hear of wars and rumors of wars, for nation shall rise against nation and kingdom against kingdom, and

then shall many stumble and shall deliver up one another and shall hate one another."

Organized labor in many erstwhile democratic European nations has been silenced by the ruthless murderous hand of the autocrats, and the masses of the people in these totalitarian states have been rendered inarticulate. The great German nation, the nation of culture, the nation that has given the world a Heine, a Mendelssohn, a Thomas Mann, an Einstein and such, has been forced to swallow the Kultur of Hitler. It is not the culture of Heine and Goethe, but the Kultur of Goebbels and Goering. It is not the culture of Mendelssohn, but the Kultur of Rosenberg. The teachings of Christ have been substituted by the Kultur of Nietzsche. It is not any more the teachings of humility, of love and of charity, but the glorification of the superman and the destruction, the weeding out of the weak. It is not the culture of Einstein, of Thomas Mann, but the Kultur of Hans Blüher. It is not the love of God that permeates today the minds of the German people but the deification of Der Fuehrer.

The best sons of Germany have either been driven into exile or placed in concentration camps. Nazism, born in hatred, steeped in poison, the creature of the mind of a maniac, feeds on hatred and poison. For a dictatorship, an autocracy, to get into power it is necessary for it to destroy those elements and groups in its midst who would fight for their freedom and human rights. It is easier indeed to destroy minority groups than to make the fight on the entire front, and of all minority groups the Jews constitute the smallest, the weakest and the most defenseless.

The Jewish people in Germany were chosen as the first target. To distract the attention of the blind masses of the German people and to silence the rumblings of discontent, the 600,000 Jews of Germany comprising but one per cent of the entire population were made the scapegoat.

Throughout the history of dictatorships and autocracies we find the persecution of the Jews, who constitute the minorities wherever they live, has always been the first step toward despotism and oppression and suppression of organizations of labor. Behold the history of medieval Spain. Look back to the history of Czarist Russia, the history of contemporary Rumania, Hungary, Germany, Italy, and so on. It is perhaps that the Jews always have been deprived of human rights and hu-

man freedom in the autocratic countries of Europe, it is perhaps as a result of that that they have always craved freedom, always championed its cause to a greater degree than any other group of the population.

In the words of a contemporary European statesman, I quote: "Show me a country where Jews are persecuted and I will show you a country that is oppressed and in slavery."

Thus, anti-Semitism, the persecution of Jews as a minority is essentially political. It is not inherent in the masses of the people.

Permit me to quote a current critic of the Nazi regime:

"Political anti-Semitism is a corollary of the insistence of shutting the walls of Jericho against the clarions of free thought."

The suppression of free thought is the goal behind the suppression of minorities, beginning with the Jewish minority in autocratic states.

The tragedy, the terrible plight of the Jewish people in the central European countries today defies all description. Eight hundred thousand Jews in Greater Germany, 200,000 Jews in Czechoslovakia, 1,000,000 Jews in Roumania, three and a half million Jews in Poland, 100,000 Jews in Italy are denied the elementary opportunities to live as human beings. And talking about Italy—the sabre-rattling Mussolini, in his envy of the Fuehrer's successes, has adopted Hitler's pagan philosophy. Jews there, too, must be made the scapegoat for the failures of his totalitarian regime.

And so the Jews who have lived in Italy for centuries, who have contributed to its spiritual, economic and cultural development are now threatened with exile. The Jews, who gave Italy an Ascoli, a Luzzati, are now declared to be aliens.

Whither shall all these persecuted, driven eternal wanderers turn to find a place of refuge? The gates of free, democratic countries are all but closed to them. These countries will not absorb them!

There is but one little country far in the East, in Asia, a little country known as Palestine, where the Jews have been promised a haven for themselves, where the Jewish people have been building a homeland under the pledged protectorate of Great Britain. In the past few generations the Jews in Pal-
 estine

tine have brought light and civilization into the devastated, desolated Holy Land, and there in small numbers today, but ever growing, they are building a civilization based on social justice and on conception of human rights. And Jewish labor is building it. They have built up in Palestine a labor movement that is a model for all labor movements. Twenty-five per cent of the entire Jewish population of Palestine are members of the Palestine Labor Federation, which is affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Our own great American Federation of Labor has been encouraging the great work done by the Jewish people and particularly by the Jewish Labor Federation of Palestine. Our own President, William Green, has done everything in his power to give aid and encouragement to those who are doing the work for the rehabilitation of the Jewish people and their settlement in Palestine.

But now there is great danger threatening that Jewish settlement. There is danger of immigration to Palestine being stopped. And now the persecuted millions of Jewish people in Europe again turn to those elements in human society who understand the plight of the Jewish people, who condemn and hate all forms of autocracy, oppression and persecution, to the men and women of the organized labor movement.

I am happy that your committee has brought in such a fine report, a report that expresses the sentiments and the feelings of the organized labor movement of America, a report that represents the true emotions of the people of America, and particularly of the millions of organized workers under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

It is to the everlasting credit of this great American Federation of Labor that it was among the first to let its voice be heard in protest against the despotism of the master maniac of Europe, Adolph Hitler. Back in 1933 President William Green proclaimed to the whole nation, in the name of the American organized labor movement, that Nazi Germany would not be permitted to dump its products in this country. He was among the first of the great leaders of this nation of ours to launch a boycott against Nazi products, and I take this occasion to express the deep appreciation of myself and I know of the millions of Jewish people in this nation, and of the hundreds of thousands of Jewish workers under the banner of the American Labor

movement for his aggressive fight in behalf of the oppressed Jews of Germany, and for raising his clarion voice against the oppressors and the despots of Nazidom.

The Jewish people have endured a thousand tyrannies and have survived them. They have withstood all the onslaughts of their oppressors and their persecutors, and it is the hope of every freedom-loving person that long after Hitler and Mussolini will have goose-stepped their march into oblivion the Jewish people will continue to contribute their all to those democratic countries which will offer them a haven where they will find human freedom under a system of social justice and equality. We look to labor, and primarily to organized labor of America. We look to the American Federation of Labor as the spokesman for labor in this country, for help and succor. The labor movement is heir to a glorious human tradition, the keeper of a nation's conscience, the champion and guardian of human freedom, tolerance and understanding. The labor movement is the only bulwark against totalitarianism and for the preservation of democratic processes of government.

I wish to conclude by expressing again my deep appreciation of the fine spirit in which the committee has brought in its report, and I want to say that every Jewish worker and every Jew of America has that feeling of gratitude for the great work in behalf of humanitarianism that has been performed by the American Federation of Labor, and by its great humanitarian president, William Green.

Delegate Federman, Fur Workers: Mr. President and fellow delegates, it is too bad that the hour for the adjournment of this session is at hand, but it is important to mention this to the committee. I quite agree with the previous speaker 100 per cent. We know there are over 16,000,000 Jewish people the world over who will appreciate the declaration which will be given on behalf of organized labor to the world.

I would also say, if the committee will agree with me, that this convention should go on record to endorse the conference which is called by President Roosevelt, the Aryan conference, so that not only the doors in Palestine shall open, but also in other countries that will be able to take in a certain number of Jewish people. If the committee

will agree to that, I will appreciate it very much.

President Green: The report of the committee is before the convention. I am sure that speaking for our own country we quite agree that immigrants shall be admitted here in conformity with the quota provision of our immigration laws, and I can't help but believe that other countries will do likewise.

Delegate Federman: Thank you very much.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The convention will stand recessed until 2:30 o'clock this afternoon, at which time the special order of business will be taken up.

The convention recessed at 1:05 p. m.

Ninth Day—Thursday Afternoon Session

The convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by President Green.

Absentees

Bower, Dix, Dixon, Draper, Edwards, Finnegan, Tom; Fox, Frost, Gresty, Hesketh, Howard, Hunt, Koutnik, Lucas, McDevitt, Mabey, Metzger, Miller, O'Flinn, O'Hoppe, O'Toole, Perry, Posey, Schneider, Sexton, Taylor, Arthur J.; Taylor, James A.; Van Patten, Webb.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT—COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS

Secretary Iler submitted the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials has examined the following credential and recommends that the delegate be seated:

Knoxville, Tenn., Central Labor Union—Lucille Thornburgh, 1 vote.

LEO C. GEORGE,

Chairman:

W. J. MORAN,

HENRY C. ILER,

Secretary.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Davis, Boiler Makers: At the request of President Franklin, I ask that the names of George Nolan and John Carney be substituted for the names of J. M. Franklin and William Walter for the remainder of the convention.

The request of Delegate Davis was complied with.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

President Green: We will now proceed with the regular order of business, the election of officers of the American Federation of Labor and the selection of the convention city for 1939. The convention ordered that the election of officers and the selection of a convention city be made a special order of business for 2:30 this afternoon. The President will call Daniel W. Tracy, President of the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, to come to the rostrum and preside at this time. The Chair presents President Daniel W. Tracy as the presiding officer for the time being.

Delegate Tracy in the Chair.

Chairman Tracy: Under the special order of business I now declare nominations for President of the American Federation of Labor in order.

Vice President Duffy: It is with pleasure, and a great deal of pleasure at that, I rise at this time to nominate a man for the position of President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term.

I had that honor thirty-four years ago, when I nominated Sam Gompers for President of the American Federation of Labor at the San Francisco Convention in 1904.

At that time many delegates were in doubt as to whom I would nominate on account of the numerous annoying jurisdictional disputes in which the Carpenters were involved. My friend Sam was on one side of the fence; your humble servant on the other. We disagreed on many points, on many matters, on many questions, but that made no difference in our friendship. He loved the American Federation of Labor and I upheld him in that position. He said he would not measure swords with me in a fight in which the Carpenters were concerned and I referred to him as my "fighting friend."

At this time I do not, and will not refer to the man I have in mind for President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term as my "fighting friend." He is a fighter. There is no question about that. He is my friend, my chum, my pal for many, many years and I hope that relationship will exist and continue until we pass to the Great Beyond. We have been co-workers and co-officers in the American Federation of Labor for twenty-five years.

In 1913 at the Seattle Convention of the American Federation of Labor I was elected a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and have served in that capacity ever since. At that time the man I have in mind to nominate also became a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor and we have worked together, side by side, ever since. We are now closing a quarter of a century as officers of the American Federation of Labor.

I think I know my man. I do know him. I know his qualifications and his abilities. He is the "right man in the right place."

"He is the man for you and me." A gen-

tleman at all times, kind, courteous, friendly and obliging, but with all that a fighter for the right—fair, square, open and above board. He is our friend, and will be our friend, our spokesman, our representative, our counsellor, our adviser, and above and beyond all else our Leader.

It therefore affords me great pleasure to nominate my friend, my pal, my chum, my co-worker, William Green, for President of the American Federation of Labor for the coming term.

I want to see him elected by acclamation and let that be the answer of this convention to John L. Lewis, who proposes to resign if William Green will resign from the Presidency of the American Federation of Labor. What has John Lewis to resign from—a self-appointed position, as Chairman of the CIO—while the position of the President of the American Federation of Labor is an elective one by the delegates in attendance at the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor. I love Bill Green and in making that declaration publicly today to you I am reminded that—

'Tis a fragrant retrospection
For the loving thoughts that start
Into being, are like perfume
From the blossoms of the heart,
And to dream the old dreams over
Is a luxury divine
When my truant fancies wander
To that dear old pal of mine.

Is it any wonder now to you that it is a pleasure to me to nominate William Green for President of the American Federation of Labor?

(The entire audience arose and for several minutes applauded the nomination of President Green.)

Chairman Tracy: William Green has been nominated for President.

Delegate Soderstrom, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor: Relative to the nomination of President Green, which has just been made, I, too, have a very pleasant duty to perform. The American Federation of Labor stands today where it has always stood. It is the instrumentality through which the wage earners of the United States express themselves upon industrial, social, economic and political problems. It has ever worked to solidify wage earners into one great, cohesive, economic organization. It stands for democracy and is against autocracy. It believes in majority rule and will not yield to minority

domination. Its development has paralleled the growth of America. It is today a part of the institutional life of America. This has been accomplished by good leadership.

We have a great leader of labor in America, a man whose voice rings loudest and clearest in this great labor movement, whose words peal and thunder through the minds and hearts of the people, whose tremendous broadsides of facts of logic and fiery rhetoric have brought nearly every toiler hurrying to his standards from far and near, and has put into patriotic motion America's mighty columns of unionism, a man who throws into the struggle not only the best and deepest longings of his heart and pleads for uplifting and rejuvenating of the masses and the millennium of labor like a patriot pleads for his country and a Christian for the salvation of God. A man whose able reports, instructive addresses, thrilling and eloquent speeches have been the material and inspiration for almost every sovereign state, and a man who, as I believe, has been animated, not by consideration of sordid gain nor self-aggrandizement, but by the loftier purpose of serving his race and honoring God by uplifting and blessing the toiling millions of His children, and that man is Honorable William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor.

The American Federation of Labor has been blessed with great leadership. The American Federation of Labor is a great organization. It represents the crystallized thought and hope and aspirations of mankind for a better day. It bears the marks and scars of battles. I glory in its fighting qualities. I glory in the successful resistance it has given the Committee for Industrial Organization and all other subversive forces. I glory in the patriotic service it has rendered to America, in exposing these vicious elements, in actually stopping these vicious elements from destroying our Government, stopping them from tearing down the starry banner of the nation and substituting in its place the Communistic revolutionary flag of red. Liberty is still liberty here, equality is still equality, freedom is still freedom, because the American Federation of Labor has been resolving, functioning and fighting to keep it that way.

America is great because of the patriotic activities and services of the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation

of Labor is great because of the patriotic services of William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor. We honor ourselves when we honor William Green for the presidency of the American Federation of Labor.

And now it is my magnificent privilege to second the nomination of William Green, the greatest labor leader in all the world, for the high office of President of the American Federation of Labor.

Chairman Tracy: Are there any further nominations?

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for William Green for President for the ensuing term.

The Motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Chairman Tracy: It is moved and seconded that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for President Green for the ensuing term. All in favor say "Aye," all opposed, "No."

The motion is carried.

Chairman Tracy: You have nominated William Green your President for the ensuing term.

(The audience again arose and applauded at great length.)

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for William Green as President of the American Federation for the ensuing term.

Chairman Tracy: And I now declare William Green elected President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term—President Green.

President Green

Mr. Chairman, my Fellow Workers and Fellow Delegates: In making a response to this magnificent demonstration which you have just made, I am deeply conscious of my responsibility. I never responded to an election as President of the American Federation of Labor in all my life before when I felt weighed down so heavily with a deep sense of responsibility. The nominating address of my old pal, the First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, the beautiful words of President Soderstrom

when he seconded my nomination touched me very deeply. And then the magnificent response which you made to it all causes me to realize as never before my obligation to you.

As I speak to you just now my mind goes back to the year 1924 when my distinguished predecessor passed into the great beyond. I recall as clearly and as vividly as if it was yesterday, when the Executive Council met in the city of New York, where the funeral services for our great leader were held. We there sat in the shadows and realized his spirit had flown and he was sleeping his last eternal sleep. It was then we assembled, with bowed heads and heavy hearts, followed him to his last sleeping place in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery, and then returned to New York for the purpose of facing the future following the loss of a great leader.

The question then was, "Who shall now lead? Who shall take his place?" I confess to you a secret, that I never dreamed that I would be chosen as his successor. There are members of the Council here in this convention today who met on that solemn occasion and who decided for themselves as to who should now lead. I recall that my colleagues, Vice President Tobin, Vice President Rickert, Vice President Duffy, Vice President Woll, were all members of the Executive Council with myself on that occasion. It was a momentous decision they made. But after canvassing the situation, in their wisdom and judgment they called me to service. I was not a candidate for office, but I was drafted by the members of the Executive Council to serve. No one named me as President except the Executive Council, and in the stillness and quietness of the meeting chamber, counseling only with their conscience and their judgment the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor called me to service. I responded. I was drafted then, as I have been drafted at every convention of the American Federation of Labor, for I know you will agree with me that I have never in all my life been a candidate for the office in the commonly accepted sense of that term.

I have given fourteen years of service, and I cannot begin to tell you how much of my life and strength I have put into that fourteen years of service; but it matters not if it is all, and if the last ounce of drafting was made which calls for life itself I would give it all to the American Federation of Labor.

Now you have called me to service again. If I sought the easiest way I would decline, for surely there is no one acquainted with the situation in which we are now placed and in the work that lies ahead, but that must understand that the coming year will be more exacting than any of the fourteen that have gone.

But, my friends, it is in response to a keen sense of duty that I accept the honor you have conferred upon me this afternoon, and in accepting it I pledge to give to you my strength, my energy and my service. You were brought here this year, stronger, more harmonious and better established than ever before in the history of our great American Federation of Labor. In spite of our difficulties we made more progress in the last year than we have ever made heretofore. We maintained the strength of the Federation intact, we added to it, we have won the support of public opinion and we have sold the American Federation of Labor to the people of the nation.

On this occasion I want to sound a high note of peace, peace in the labor movement, peace in the family of labor, and peace between the nations throughout the world. I promise to you that I shall make every contribution that lies within my power toward the promotion of peace in the labor movement: I shall do what I can to heal the wounds and close the breach and unite the forces of labor.

My appeal in your behalf is to those who left us, "Come back home, come into the house of labor; your quarters are there just as they were when you left them; the room is furnished, the door is open, the key has been thrown away and we are singing that happy refrain, 'Bill Bailey, won't you come back home?'"

We ask the Ladies Garment Workers to come, we ask the United Textile Workers, all our children, chartered by us, to come; we ask the Oil Workers and the Automobile Workers to come back home. Peace will then be restored. The solution of it all remains with you. There are no barriers in the way, there are no hurdles to cross. The door is open, a hearty welcome will be extended you and you will find your place within the family of labor.

I would feel deeply dejected if I felt I was in the least responsible for the division. We stand now where we always stood. We do not wander from the house of labor but we still live there. When an erring child leaves his

home, isn't it expected that if it wishes to take its place in the family that it should come back again? To these prodigals on the hillside, we ask you to come home to the house of your father and to the family of labor.

I proclaim now to the nation today that I will do all I can to serve in every way to establish here in America a solid, invincible labor movement, unassailable and unafraid. I will do it with honor to the American Federation of Labor, and in doing it I will maintain the dignity and self respect of the American Federation of Labor.

Now I make this announcement because so much has been said and is being said about the attitude of the American Federation of Labor toward the division and discord which was created within the ranks of labor. And now in a spirit of humility and with a deep sense of responsibility I face the future with you, courageous and unafraid.

I have faith in the philosophy, the soundness and the security of the American Federation of Labor. I am devoted to it because it is first in my heart and my affections. I owe it more than I can ever repay, but in the year to come I shall strive as never before with all the strength and power at my command to give to the American Federation of Labor the best I have to give. Thank you.

President Green in the Chair.

President Green: Now the Chair calls for nominations for First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Kelly, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America: In rising to place in nomination a man for the position of First Vice President my mind goes back to the convention in New Orleans in 1902, where I stood in my first American Federation of Labor convention and he was also a delegate there. No amount of eulogy that I could express would cover the man that I am about to nominate. It seems as though we are having a silver jubilee in the nomination of our officers, or at least some of them today. The man I desire to nominate has served as Secretary of his own International Union from that time up until the present time, and surely that amount of service speaks for itself and creates a eulogy that no man could express. Without any further eulogy I desire to place in nomination for the office of First Vice President our silver-tongued secretary of the

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Frank Duffy.

Delegate Hutcheson, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America: I wish to second the nomination of Frank Duffy for First Vice President. I move that the nominations be closed and the secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Duffy.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Frank Duffy as First Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision I hereby declare Frank Duffy elected First Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Second Vice-President. The Chair recognizes Delegate Maloney, of the Glass Bottle Blowers' Association.

Delegate Maloney, Glass Bottle Blowers: Mr. Chairman, after listening to the beautiful tribute paid to President Green by Frank Duffy and noting his closing remarks when he quoted a stanza from that wonderful poem, "That Old Sweetheart of Mine," written by the Hoosier poet, James Whitcomb Riley, and after listening to the forceful and splendid seconding speech made by Delegate Soderstrom of Illinois, I find it rather difficult to find words to pay a just tribute in brief form to the Second Vice-President.

It has always seemed to me that the election of officers of the Federation is the most solemn duty of the delegates in attendance at conventions. We may pass liberal legislation here which we feel will redound to the welfare and success of the Federation and to the workers of America in general, but unless we select officers, men of courage and outstanding ability to carry on during the ensuing year, then we have failed indeed.

However, it is my judgment, and I am happy to say that the Federation in all of its glorious history has been very fortunate in having leaders of honesty, ability, courage and great patience. The officer I am about to place in nomination has served his own International Union as chief executive for over thirty long years. He has also served

this Federation faithfully and forcefully and intelligently for over twenty years.

I have had an opportunity, in serving on the Adjustment Committee under his excellent chairmanship, to note at close range the splendid intellect that this officer has been blessed with, and above all, the great patience which he possesses. In addition to that, he is a diplomat.

And so, Mr. Chairman, it affords me great pleasure indeed to place before you for the office of Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor the name of the distinguished President of the United Garment Workers of America, my good friend and a real trade unionist, Mr. Thomas A. Rickert.

Delegate McCurdy, United Garment Workers: Mr. President, I rise to second the nomination of Mr. T. A. Rickert, and I move that the Secretary of the convention be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for him.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for T. A. Rickert as Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I hereby declare Thomas A. Rickert duly elected Second Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: The Chair now calls for nominations for the office of Third Vice-President.

Delegate Frey, Metal Trades Department: Mr. Chairman, it is a personal as well as a trade union privilege to place in nomination the one I will name. One of the special interests I have in him is that he learned his first lessons in trade unionism at the knee of a father, who was a lifetime, aggressive and loyal member of the International Molders Union of North America. He had an excellent teacher. Soon after he had become a member of his own trade he showed those qualities of leadership which led to his being made International President, and soon our trade union movement learned that we had in our ranks a young man of outstanding capacity. The confidence which we had in

him, the ability and the loyalty which he indicated led to his being elected as a member of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor.

I will not attempt to relate the long list of services he has rendered this American Federation of Labor. He has been outstanding in many of our various activities. He was one of the first to recognize the need for better adult education among wage earners. He was one of the younger men who studied the question of the labor injunction as it handicapped our movement. He was one of the committee of three appointed by the American Federation of Labor who, for over three years, worked with the Senate Committee of the Judiciary in the preparation of that guaranty of freedom which was worded in the Norris-LaGuardia Anti-Injunction Bill. He has shown an understanding of finance and has ably and most successfully directed a large financial enterprise, an insurance company in which many of our international Unions are vitally interested.

It is needless for me to call attention to his brilliant mind, to his studious analytical mind, to the moral courage which he has always shown, to his willingness to differ with his associates when he thinks he is right and they may be mistaken at the moment. He is a man of deep convictions. He is one who thoroughly understands the basic problems upon which our American Federation of Labor has been built up. He is an orator of exceptional quality. He is a lucid and a vigorous writer on trade union subjects. He has added prestige to the reputation of our American Federation of Labor, and so it gives me the greatest of pleasure to nominate for Third Vice-President Matthew Woll.

Delegate Schmal, Photo - Engravers: Mr. Chairman, I rise to second the nomination of Matthew Woll for the office of Third Vice-President and I move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Matthew Woll as Third Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your

decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I declare Brother Matthew Woll elected Third Vice-President for the ensuing term.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fourth Vice-President.

Delegate Burke, Plumbers and Steam Fitters: Without engaging in any romance or poetry, and to save the time of this convention, it gives me great pleasure to place in nomination for Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor the incumbent in office, "the honest plumber," John Coefield, President of the United Association of Journeymen Plumbers and Steam Fitters of the United States and Canada.

Delegate Gillooly, Flint Glass Workers: Like the previous speaker, I rise to second the nomination and move the nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Coefield for Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The motion was seconded and carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for John Coefield as Fourth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In accordance with your decision and the announcement of Secretary Morrison I hereby officially declare Brother John Coefield unanimously elected Fourth Vice-President.

The Chair now calls for nominations for Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: Mr. President and fellow delegates—It is my happy privilege to place in nomination the name of the incumbent Fifth Vice-President. Up to the moment our candidate has not arrived in the convention city, and for the reason that he is participating in the presentation of the railroad labor wage case at hearings conducted by the Emergency Board appointed by the President of the United States to investigate the intentions and claims of the parties involved.

This brother's training has been in a broad field of experience. He is looked upon as one of the outstanding leaders and executives of the American trade union movement. In addition to his work as an executive in the labor movement, his worth and ability has been recognized on several occasions by Presidents of the United States. He has been ap-

pointed to governmental boards, and in each instance he has discharged his duties and responsibilities with credit to himself and honor to the American trade movement. He is a man of vision. He has an analytical mind. He is courageous, and when called upon for counsel or to render a decision he is at all times actuated by the facts and the circumstances rather than because of friendship of the party involved.

I believe our candidate is well known, especially by the active membership of all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Therefore, without any further effort on my part to extol his talents and qualifications, I now present with considerable pride, yes, it is an honor to present the name of the chief executive of the International Association of Machinists for the office of Fifth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor—Brother Arthur O. Wharton.

President Green: Brother Wharton has been nominated for the office of Fifth Vice-President.

Delegate Alifas, Machinists: Mr. President, I rise to second the nomination of Brother Arthur O. Wharton for Fifth Vice-President and to move that the Secretary of this convention be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot for him.

The motion was seconded and adopted by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Arthur O. Wharton for Fifth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with the announcement of the Secretary I officially declare Brother Arthur O. Wharton duly elected Fifth Vice President for the ensuing term.

Nominations will now be received for Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Weaver, American Federation of Musicians: Mr. Chairman and delegates, for the tenth consecutive time it has been the high privilege of the American Federation of Musicians to nominate a candidate for the office of Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

We are happy in the vindication which the wisdom of that selection has thus far re-

ceived. To the position he has brought character and strength. Time does not wither or custom stale the infinite variety of his mental resources—a lifelong student of economic problems, fearless in the discharge of every duty, blessed with a far-sightedness which is a vital essential of leadership, we again nominate and commend to your favorable consideration the name of Joseph N. Weber as Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Bagley, Musicians: Mr. Chairman, I move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for Joseph N. Weber, Sixth Vice President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Joseph N. Weber, Sixth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with the decision just announced I officially declare Brother Joseph N. Weber elected Sixth Vice President for the ensuing term.

Now we will proceed to the election of the Seventh Vice President.

Delegate Tracy, Electrical Workers: Mr. President, my candidate needs no introduction to the delegates to this convention. He has served the American Federation of Labor long and well, and it is my honor again to present to you the Secretary of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, G. M. Bugniazet for Seventh Vice President.

Delegate Marcante, New Jersey State Federation of Labor: I rise to second the nomination of G. M. Bugniazet for Seventh Vice President and move that the nominations be closed and the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous ballot of the convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for G. M. Bugniazet as Seventh Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Brother G. M. Bugniazet elected Seventh Vice President for the ensuing term.

Nominations are now in order for the office of Eighth Vice President.

Delegate Farnan, Maintenance of Way Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, there has been confided to me this afternoon a very pleasant duty, one which I regard as a decidedly great privilege and a distinguished honor, that of placing in nomination a friend, a brother whose absence from this convention today is occasioned by his high regard and his nice sense of duty and responsibility. While we are here in convention assembled legislating together and showing our intelligence to ourselves and to the world, he is at the nation's capital marching out on a great mission, representing a cause and speaking for thousands of railroad workers who cannot speak for themselves.

The achievements and the accomplishments of this very talented brother and this great humanitarian in the struggle for a better, a higher and a happier life in the work of our land is most familiar to all and affords little opportunity for originality or elaboration by me.

I might mention just a few of his achievements—the Railroad Labor Act, the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, and many less obvious things too numerous to mention. He has the praiseworthy habit of marching through to success in all his undertakings, in that calm, cheerful, unpretentious manner. This brother continued to walk like a man and smile for three long years in the effort to bring about the enactment of the unemployment insurance act, even in the face of opposition, but he went on with courage and determination and incomparable hope until he saw his efforts rewarded. The bill became a law, and his pure devotion to ideals splendidly rewarded.

Many speakers in this convention have spoken of things in the past and indulged in retrospect, and I, too, might be forgiven if I just glance down the leafy aisle of the past and call to your attention one or two great labor leaders and humanitarians who were given to the labor movement. I might mention the founder of the Locomotive Engineers, D. M. Arthur, and Frank Sargent, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, a great man who, while not identified with the American Federation of Labor, saw the necessity of close cooperation.

This friend and brother whom we present to you today I regard and consider the peer of them all, George M. Harrison, a great

executive, a great American, a great Christian, a great patriot, and I present him to you for Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Duffy, Potters: President Green, I rise to second the nomination of Brother Harrison. I move his election by acclamation, and also that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Brother George M. Harrison as Eighth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision I officially declare Brother George M. Harrison elected Eighth Vice-President.

I now call for nominations for Ninth Vice-President.

Delegate Hughes, Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs: Mr. Chairman, I am about to nominate a man of action, a man who does things, a man who is responsible for the building up of a shattered, strife-torn organization of 27,000 men a few years ago to the organization now of the Teamsters Union, which he represents, the largest organization in this Federation, covering a membership of over 350,000 men—action, I say, and that is what he does. I am therefore offering the name of Daniel J. Tobin for the office of Ninth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I rise to second the nomination of Brother Daniel J. Tobin and move the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin, Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision, I officially declare Brother Daniel J. Tobin elected Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now we will receive nominations for the Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of this convention, it shall not be my purpose to enter into any eulogies upon the person I am about to nominate for this high position in your Councils. To me personally he has been known for many years. He is the leader of our organization, he is its President and has been such for a number of years. I want to place in nomination the name of Harry C. Bates, the President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, for the position of Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Posschl, Engineers: May I, in behalf of the Engineers, second the nomination of Harry C. Bates for Tenth Vice-President, and move that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for his election.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision I hereby officially declare Brother Harry C. Bates elected as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Nominations are now in order for the office of Eleventh Vice-President.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, a short while ago mention was made of a silver anniversary motif to this afternoon's affair. I want to clinch that and then double it and call attention to a golden anniversary. But first, this is the silver anniversary. The candidate I am about to name is himself silver topped. He has served the National Association of Letter Carriers as its President for almost 25 years. The 25 years is nearing its close, 25 years of the greatest success of our organization. I am not going to weary you by a recapitulation of those successes.

As to the golden jubilee, this is no infant organization. We are rapidly approaching fifty years of service to the Letter Carriers of the nation, an organization founded in Milwaukee almost 50 years ago. Next September we hold our golden jubilee convention in

Milwaukee, in commemoration of those fifty years of service. That will be the greatest labor convention ever held in the world in point of numbers, and if any of you doubt that, come and see. You will be welcome and you will help swell the numbers. That golden jubilee convention will be presided over in inimitable fashion by the man I am about to name. He has served with distinction, representing the American Federation of Labor abroad at the British Trades Union Congress. Wherever he appears he sheds luster, and distinction on the American Federation of Labor. With his keen mind and his ever-forward-looking idealism for whatever developments may come, his feet are forever planted on the rock of realism, and he gets results.

I take pleasure in nominating for the office of Eleventh Vice-President the President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Edward J. Gainor.

Delegate Stengle, American Federation of Government Employees: After an intimate acquaintanceship with the nominee who has just been named, covering a period of 27 years, I feel highly honored to be given the privilege of seconding the nomination for the office of Eleventh Vice-President.

I move that the Secretary of the convention cast the unanimous vote of this body in behalf of Edward J. Gainor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Edward J. Gainor as Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision, I officially declare Edward J. Gainor elected Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The Chair calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice-President.

Delegate McMorro, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I wish I was able to pay the tribute that is deserved by the man I am about to nominate. He is not in this convention, but his heart and soul and spirit are here. He is recuperating his health, and it is the hope of the members of his organization that he will be spared to that organization and to the Amer-

ican labor movement for many years to come.

I have been associated with the man I am about to nominate for some forty years. He has been a father to me and to thousands of others.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman and delegates, it gives me great pleasure to place in nomination my old friend and father, W. D. Mahon.

Delegate Coefield, Plumbers: I desire to second the nomination of my old pal, Bill Mahon, and I move that the ballot be closed and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for W. D. Mahon.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for W. D. Mahon as Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare W. D. Mahon elected Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

President Green: We will now hear nominations for Thirteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Barney, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I wish at this time to nominate Brother Felix H. Knight, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. Brother Knight is at present in the city of Washington, along with the other railroad representatives, meeting with them and the railroad chiefs who are trying to jam down the throats of all the railroad workers a reduction of 15 per cent.

Delegate Holmgren, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: Mr. President, I also wish to emphasize something that my compatriot failed to say, that we are celebrating in the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen the fiftieth anniversary of its organization; and in seconding the nomination of Brother F. H. Knight for re-election as Thirteenth Vice President, we are doing it with the thought of commemorating also that grand and illustrious representative, Martin Francis Ryan, who passed on his way two years ago. I trust that most of you who knew Brother Ryan will carry on the same purpose he expressed as a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Felix H. Knight for Thirteenth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Felix H. Knight as Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, for the ensuing year.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Felix H. Knight elected Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Nominations will be received for a Fourteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Nick, Theatrical Stage Employees: It gives me great pleasure to present the name of George E. Browne for Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Green, Theatrical Stage Employees: I would like to have the honor of seconding the nomination of George E. Browne for Fourteenth Vice-President, and at this time I move that nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George E. Browne for Fourteenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George E. Browne as Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare George E. Browne elected Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Now, nominations are in order for Fifteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President, without any eulogy on my part, I want to place in nomination our International President, the present incumbent Fifteenth Vice-President, Edward Flore.

Delegate Nickola, California State Federa-

tion of Labor: I wish to second the nomination, and I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother Edward Flore as Fifteenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward Flore as Fifteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Edward Flore elected Fifteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

We will hear nominations now for Secretary.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I rise to nominate a man who is probably the best known man in the United States in the labor movement. The man I am going to nominate is known to practically every one in the American Federation of Labor, and nearly every one has gone to him at some time for guidance and for assistance, and has never found him wanting. Forty-two years ago you elected him Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. He has served ably, honestly and capably. I deem it a personal honor to have the privilege of placing in nomination the name of Frank Morrison for re-election.

(The delegates all arose and applauded the nomination of Secretary Morrison.)

Delegate Harris, Typographical Union: Gentlemen of the convention—I believe it only fitting, in view of the most profound indulgence the convention extended to the delegation of the International Typographical Union earlier in the sessions of the convention, and it becomes the duty of a member of Mr. Morrison's union, to assume the duty of seconding his nomination. I therefore move that nominations close and that the President cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for the election of Frank Morrison for the ensuing year.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

(Again the delegates all arose and applauded Secretary Morrison.)

President Green: In accordance with your

instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for the election of Frank Morrison as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year, and in accordance with your decision the Chair officially declares Brother Frank Morrison elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President and delegates—I feel grateful indeed to the delegates of this convention for electing me by unanimous vote for the ensuing term. We are going through troublesome times, but the American Federation of Labor today is standing in a splendid position to carry on. We have increased our membership rapidly. We have 102 national and international unions; we have 800 central bodies standing by to assist in the work of organization and enforcing the constitution and decisions of the convention. I see a bright future.

It will not be long before, like other organizations that have attempted to break away from the natural growth of unions, that the CIO will become a memory and a dream. And I am glad that I am here, that I have been elected for another year to render every assistance to President Green, to the members of the Executive Council and to build up and increase this splendid organization, the American Federation of Labor. I thank you indeed for this unanimous election.

President Green: Now the Chair calls for nominations for Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. There will be two nominated and two elected. There is no distinction as to the standing of these delegates, however, simply one delegate is elected first and the other is elected second.

Delegate Burke, Plumbers and Steamfitters: Mr. President and brother delegates—I consider it a very distinctive honor, and at the same time a most delightful pleasure, to place in nomination, a man for that high and ministerial position of Fraternal Delegate and ambassador to the British Trades Union Congress. We have one that is thoroughly and splendidly equipped and fitted for that high position, one who has been a trade unionist all his lifetime. He is blessed with great experience, executive ability, courage and statesmanship, and is well fitted and qualified to carry that high mission to our brothers across the sea.

My candidate has held the highest offices

Nominations are now in order for the office of Eighth Vice President.

Delegate Farnan, Maintenance of Way Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, there has been confided to me this afternoon a very pleasant duty, one which I regard as a decidedly great privilege and a distinguished honor, that of placing in nomination a friend, a brother whose absence from this convention today is occasioned by his high regard and his nice sense of duty and responsibility. While we are here in convention assembled legislating together and showing our intelligence to ourselves and to the world, he is at the nation's capital marching out on a great mission, representing a cause and speaking for thousands of railroad workers who cannot speak for themselves.

The achievements and the accomplishments of this very talented brother and this great humanitarian in the struggle for a better, a higher and a happier life in the work of our land is most familiar to all and affords little opportunity for originality or elaboration by me.

I might mention just a few of his achievements—the Railroad Labor Act, the Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, and many less obvious things too numerous to mention. He has the praiseworthy habit of marching through to success in all his undertakings, in that calm, cheerful, unpretentious manner. This brother continued to walk like a man and smile for three long years in the effort to bring about the enactment of the unemployment insurance act, even in the face of opposition, but he went on with courage and determination and incomparable hope until he saw his efforts rewarded. The bill became a law, and his pure devotion to ideals splendidly rewarded.

Many speakers in this convention have spoken of things in the past and indulged in retrospect, and I, too, might be forgiven if I just glance down the leafy aisle of the past and call to your attention one or two great labor leaders and humanitarians who were given to the labor movement. I might mention the founder of the Locomotive Engineers, D. M. Arthur, and Frank Sargent, of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen, a great man who, while not identified with the American Federation of Labor, saw the necessity of close cooperation.

This friend and brother whom we present to you today I regard and consider the peer of them all, George M. Harrison, a great

executive, a great American, a great Christian, a great patriot, and I present him to you for Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Duffy, Potters: President Green, I rise to second the nomination of Brother Harrison. I move his election by acclamation, and also that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Brother George M. Harrison as Eighth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George M. Harrison as Eighth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

President Green: And in accordance with your decision I officially declare Brother George M. Harrison elected Eighth Vice-President.

I now call for nominations for Ninth Vice-President.

Delegate Hughes, Brotherhood of Teamsters and Chauffeurs: Mr. Chairman, I am about to nominate a man of action, a man who does things, a man who is responsible for the building up of a shattered, strife-torn organization of 27,000 men a few years ago to the organization now of the Teamsters Union, which he represents, the largest organization in this Federation, covering a membership of over 350,000 men—action, I say, and that is what he does. I am therefore offering the name of Daniel J. Tobin for the office of Ninth Vice-President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Brown, Machinists: I rise to second the nomination of Brother Daniel J. Tobin and move the Secretary cast the unanimous vote of this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Daniel J. Tobin, Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision, I officially declare Brother Daniel J. Tobin elected Ninth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Now we will receive nominations for the Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Moran, Bricklayers: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of this convention, it shall not be my purpose to enter into any eulogies upon the person I am about to nominate for this high position in your Councils. To me personally he has been known for many years. He is the leader of our organization, he is its President and has been such for a number of years. I want to place in nomination the name of Harry C. Bates, the President of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union, for the position of Tenth Vice-President.

Delegate Posschl, Engineers: May I, in behalf of the Engineers, second the nomination of Harry C. Bates for Tenth Vice-President, and move that the nominations be closed and that the Secretary cast the unanimous ballot of this convention for his election.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with the instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Harry C. Bates as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision I hereby officially declare Brother Harry C. Bates elected as Tenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

Nominations are now in order for the office of Eleventh Vice-President.

Delegate Swartz, Letter Carriers: Mr. Chairman, a short while ago mention was made of a silver anniversary motif to this afternoon's affair. I want to clinch that and then double it and call attention to a golden anniversary. But first, this is the silver anniversary. The candidate I am about to name is himself silver topped. He has served the National Association of Letter Carriers as its President for almost 25 years. The 25 years is nearing its close, 25 years of the greatest success of our organization. I am not going to weary you by a recapitulation of those successes.

As to the golden jubilee, this is no infant organization. We are rapidly approaching fifty years of service to the Letter Carriers of the nation, an organization founded in Milwaukee almost 60 years ago. Next September we hold our golden jubilee convention in

Milwaukee, in commemoration of those fifty years of service. That will be the greatest labor convention ever held in the world in point of numbers, and if any of you doubt that, come and see. You will be welcome and you will help swell the numbers. That golden jubilee convention will be presided over in inimitable fashion by the man I am about to name. He has served with distinction, representing the American Federation of Labor abroad at the British Trades Union Congress. Wherever he appears he sheds luster, and distinction on the American Federation of Labor. With his keen mind and his ever-forward-looking idealism for whatever developments may come, his feet are forever planted on the rock of realism, and he gets results.

I take pleasure in nominating for the office of Eleventh Vice-President the President of the National Association of Letter Carriers, Edward J. Gainor.

Delegate Stengle, American Federation of Government Employees: After an intimate acquaintanceship with the nominee who has just been named, covering a period of 27 years, I feel highly honored to be given the privilege of seconding the nomination for the office of Eleventh Vice-President.

I move that the Secretary of the convention cast the unanimous vote of this body in behalf of Edward J. Gainor.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Edward J. Gainor as Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your decision, I officially declare Edward J. Gainor elected Eleventh Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

The Chair calls for nominations for Twelfth Vice-President.

Delegate McMorrow, Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees: Mr. Chairman and delegates, I wish I was able to pay the tribute that is deserved by the man I am about to nominate. He is not in this convention, but his heart and soul and spirit are here. He is recuperating his health, and it is the hope of the members of his organization that he will be spared to that organization and to the Amer-

ican labor movement for many years to come.

I have been associated with the man I am about to nominate for some forty years. He has been a father to me and to thousands of others.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman and delegates, it gives me great pleasure to place in nomination my old friend and father, W. D. Mahon.

Delegate Coefield, Plumbers: I desire to second the nomination of my old pal, Bill Mahon, and I move that the ballot be closed and the Secretary instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for W. D. Mahon.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for W. D. Mahon as Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: In conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare W. D. Mahon elected Twelfth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

President Green: We will now hear nominations for Thirteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Barney, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I wish at this time to nominate Brother Felix H. Knight, General President of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. Brother Knight is at present in the city of Washington, along with the other railroad representatives, meeting with them and the railroad chiefs who are trying to jam down the throats of all the railroad workers a reduction of 15 per cent.

Delegate Holmgren, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: Mr. President, I also wish to emphasize something that my compatriot failed to say, that we are celebrating in the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen the fiftieth anniversary of its organization; and in seconding the nomination of Brother F. H. Knight for re-election as Thirteenth Vice President, we are doing it with the thought of commemorating also that grand and illustrious representative, Martin Francis Ryan, who passed on his way two years ago. I trust that most of you who knew Brother Ryan will carry on the same purpose he expressed as a Vice President of the American Federation of Labor.

I move that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Felix H. Knight for Thirteenth Vice-President for the ensuing year.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Felix H. Knight as Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, for the ensuing year.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Felix H. Knight elected Thirteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Nominations will be received for a Fourteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Nick, Theatrical Stage Employees: It gives me great pleasure to present the name of George E. Browne for Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate Green, Theatrical Stage Employees: I would like to have the honor of seconding the nomination of George E. Browne for Fourteenth Vice-President, and at this time I move that nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George E. Browne for Fourteenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for George E. Browne as Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare George E. Browne elected Fourteenth Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Now, nominations are in order for Fifteenth Vice-President.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: Mr. President, without any eulogy on my part, I want to place in nomination our International President, the present incumbent Fifteenth Vice-President, Edward Flore.

Delegate Nickola, California State Federa-

tion of Labor: I wish to second the nomination, and I move that nominations be closed and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother Edward Flore as Fifteenth Vice-President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Edward Flore as Fifteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing term.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Edward Flore elected Fifteenth Vice President of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

We will hear nominations now for Secretary.

Delegate George, Post Office Clerks: Mr. Chairman and delegates—I rise to nominate a man who is probably the best known man in the United States in the labor movement. The man I am going to nominate is known to practically every one in the American Federation of Labor, and nearly every one has gone to him at some time for guidance and for assistance, and has never found him wanting. Forty-two years ago you elected him Secretary of the American Federation of Labor. He has served ably, honestly and capably. I deem it a personal honor to have the privilege of placing in nomination the name of Frank Morrison for re-election.

(The delegates all arose and applauded the nomination of Secretary Morrison.)

Delegate Harris, Typographical Union: Gentlemen of the convention—I believe it only fitting, in view of the most profound indulgence the convention extended to the delegation of the International Typographical Union earlier in the sessions of the convention, and it becomes the duty of a member of Mr. Morrison's union, to assume the duty of seconding his nomination. I therefore move that nominations close and that the President cast the unanimous ballot of the convention for the election of Frank Morrison for the ensuing year.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

(Again the delegates all arose and applauded Secretary Morrison.)

President Green: In accordance with your

instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for the election of Frank Morrison as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year, and in accordance with your decision the Chair officially declares Brother Frank Morrison elected as Secretary-Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor for the ensuing year.

Secretary Morrison: Mr. President and delegates—I feel grateful indeed to the delegates of this convention for electing me by unanimous vote for the ensuing term. We are going through troublesome times, but the American Federation of Labor today is standing in a splendid position to carry on. We have increased our membership rapidly. We have 102 national and international unions; we have 800 central bodies standing by to assist in the work of organization and enforcing the constitution and decisions of the convention. I see a bright future.

It will not be long before, like other organizations that have attempted to break away from the natural growth of unions, that the CIO will become a memory and a dream. And I am glad that I am here, that I have been elected for another year to render every assistance to President Green, to the members of the Executive Council and to build up and increase this splendid organization, the American Federation of Labor. I thank you indeed for this unanimous election.

President Green: Now the Chair calls for nominations for Fraternal Delegates to the British Trades Union Congress. There will be two nominated and two elected. There is no distinction as to the standing of these delegates, however, simply one delegate is elected first and the other is elected second.

Delegate Burke, Plumbers and Steamfitters: Mr. President and brother delegates—I consider it a very distinctive honor, and at the same time a most delightful pleasure, to place in nomination, a man for that high and ministerial position of Fraternal Delegate and ambassador to the British Trades Union Congress. We have one that is thoroughly and splendidly equipped and fitted for that high position, one who has been a trade unionist all his lifetime. He is blessed with great experience, executive ability, courage and statesmanship, and is well fitted and qualified to carry that high mission to our brothers across the sea.

My candidate has held the highest offices

within the gift of his colleagues in all organizations he has been associated with, as his fellows recognize his great ability and his courage and experience. He has held the high office of a member of the Executive Council for over ten years, and for 20 years he has held the general presidency of our own international union. He is thoroughly equipped, none better equipped than he is, to perform that great mission, and again it gives me great pleasure and it is a distinctive honor to place in nomination John Coefield, General President of the United Association of Plumbers and Steamfitters of the United States and Canada, who is guiding the destinies of the most loyal, glorious and finest bunch of skilled mechanics in all the world.

Delegate Reid, Michigan State Federation of Labor: I would like to second the nomination of our General President as delegate to the Trades and Labor Congress of Great Britain. It should be the duty of an honest plumber to go over there and meet with the honest Steamfitters' Union in their home land, and I hope that this convention will vote to send an honest plumber to meet the honest steamfitters of Scotland, England, Ireland and Wales.

Nominations were closed, and the Secretary was instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for John Coefield as delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for John Coefield as Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: And in conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare John Coefield elected a delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Holmgren, Brotherhood of Railway Carmen: I wish to place in nomination as a co-delegate to the British Trades and Labor Congress the name of a man who has been outstanding in labor circles on the railroad for many years. He is in Washington at this time to protest the threatened cut in the wages of the railroad workers. Felix H. Knight, the Thirteenth Vice-President, is hereby placed in nomination as a co-delegate of Delegate Coefield, to the British Trades Union Congress.

Delegate Trumblay, Brotherhood of Railway

Carmen: It is a great pleasure at this moment to second the nomination of our General President, Brother Felix H. Knight, and I move that the Secretary-Treasurer be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of the convention for Brother Knight.

President Green: I think the delegates would wish that you would make some more speeches to this convention.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Felix H. Knight for delegate to the British Trades Union Congress.

President Green: In conformity with your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare Felix H. Knight elected Fraternal Delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the British Trades Union Congress.

The next order of business will be the election of a delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

Delegate Duffy, Potters: I rise at this time to place in nomination for the delegateship to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress a young man who has been making great strides in the field of labor, and I wish at this time to nominate Brother E. L. Wheatley, Vice-President of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters.

Delegate Gillooly, Flint Glass Workers: I rise to second the nomination of Brother Wheatley. It is not my purpose to deliver an oration regarding the qualifications of Brother Wheatley, but this young man has been active, not only in the interests of the pottery industry, but has given his service to other crafts throughout the nation.

I move that nominations close and that the Secretary be instructed to cast the unanimous vote of this convention for Brother Wheatley for delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Secretary Morrison: In accordance with instructions, I hereby cast the unanimous vote of this convention for E. L. Wheatley as delegate to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

President Green: And in conformity with

your action and the announcement of the Secretary, I officially declare E. L. Wheatley elected a delegate from the American Federation of Labor to the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress.

SELECTION OF CONVENTION CITY

President Green: Nominations are now in order for the selection of a city in which to hold the 1939 convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Delegate O'Connell: San Francisco Labor Council: Mr. Chairman and Delegates to This Convention—I rise this afternoon to place the name of a city in nomination for the 1939 convention of the American Federation of Labor, a city that is as cosmopolitan in character as this convention is, a city that has taken care of the physical welfare of everybody who has visited it, and I call upon the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor as Exhibit A as to their physical well being, on account of the many trips they have made to the metropolis of California. All you delegates look them over, and all you fellows from the middle west who are suffering from hay fever, come out there and we guarantee to cure it within 24 hours.

It does not seem necessary for me to extol the advantages of that great city as a convention city, inasmuch as everything that has transpired up to this time has received the unanimous support of this convention, and I am inclined to believe that some good friend of mine that is a delegate in this convention will move that you come to San Francisco, California, in 1939.

I didn't bring any pecan candy with me, or any pretty girls, but I could have brought them both, because we have them both in San Francisco. I simply brought myself and my good wife. We usually bring the ball and chain with us to see that we behave ourselves. When I am a hundred yards away from her I have some authority, but when I open the front door I lose that authority.

Until last evening I was wondering where this convention would go. I am not wondering any more, because after all these fellows and girls said last night they were for me, and they had my absolution, even though they committed some small faults. I have a brother delegate sitting here who worked all his life on the sand heap until you made a sort of

migratory bird of him. He took a round-about way to get to our locality, but he got there, and after he got there he stopped stooping and walked upright. I refer to my friend, John Frey. He is going to second the nomination of San Francisco.

I want you all to come out there. I want you to bring your good women with you, God bless them. As a fellow once said, "We can't get along with them, and we can't get along without them." I have taken upon myself the pleasant duty of promising to kiss every woman who comes with the convention to San Francisco.

Come out to the city by the Golden Gate, the city of St. Francis. We have a \$40,000,000 exposition there. Performances speak louder than promises. Those of you who were there before will get the same treatment accorded to you that you had at that time. I am great on performance, and I know that the delegates who come to that city will leave with a good taste in their mouth. I will now relinquish the floor to my good friend Frey from the East.

Delegate John P. Frey, President, Metal Trades Department: So that there may be no misunderstanding in my seconding the nomination for San Francisco, I desire to inform you that before the privilege was accorded me it was insisted upon that I would not tell all I know about San Francisco as a convention city, but I cannot refrain from calling your attention to some characteristics to be found in no other city in the world.

I visited that beautiful city with its hospitable spirit last May. I needed a little exercise the first morning. I started down the left hand side of Market Street. The wind was blowing so strong I had to lean against it to make progress. I crossed the street and thought it might help blow me back towards the hotel. When I crossed the street I found it blowing so strong that it blew me away from the hotel. I don't think there is any other city in the country where the wind blows two ways at the same time. I think that you will agree, if you go there, that there is no place in the land like the city by the Golden Gate.

We have been in San Francisco before. When we were there the last time two of the greatest engineering works the world has ever seen were in progress. San Francisco not only possesses the largest bridge in the world, it possesses the two largest bridges

in the world. There is but one handicap to seeing those bridges. San Franciscans insist upon taking you over the bridges, and the next ones insist upon taking you over, until you are able to count every bolt and nut in the bridges.

San Francisco is entitled to your consideration. It has produced results in our movement. You re-elected a man as a member of the Executive Council, and elected him to represent us at the British Trades Union Congress next year, who is a product of the San Francisco trade union movement.

There may be good eating places in other cities, but there are none we know of with the variety and number that San Francisco has. In no place can we go and find a heartier spirit of good fellowship than in San Francisco, and so it gives me great pleasure to second the nomination, with the hope that we all meet in San Francisco next year.

Delegate Buzzell, Los Angeles: I rise for the purpose of adding to the nomination of San Francisco for the next convention city of the American Federation of Labor. And while adding my voice to that of my good friends who have spoken, I would like to suggest to the delegates that when you go to San Francisco you stop in at the city of which San Francisco is a suburb, where they do things better than they do in San Francisco, Los Angeles.

Delegate Woyner, Chicago Federation of Labor: The city of Chicago withdraws as a candidate for the 1939 convention, but I want to inform the delegates that when we get back to Chicago we will start a campaign to bring the convention there in 1940.

Delegate Burns, New Orleans: Up to a few minutes ago I had serious doubts as to where you would assemble next year, but after listening to the delegate from San Francisco and hearing the contract he has undertaken, I will say I have the same contract to kiss all the pretty women who come there, and I leave it to you who is the better looking.

There comes a time in the lives of all institutions when custom and precedent have to be disregarded. It has been the custom and tradition of the organization to meet every four years in the South. New Orleans is the most fascinating and captivating city in the United States. And now the United States Government is taking steps to safeguard the traditions of New Orleans, so that in years to come the new world can see how the old

world at one time lived. When you come there you will spend a great deal of time charting the future course of the American Federation of Labor, and you will not be submerged by a great counter attraction. The deliberations of the American Federation of Labor are beginning to consume a great deal of time, and the national and international officers are beginning to feel that too much time is taken out of their offices. Washington is only 26 hours from New Orleans, St. Louis is 20 hours, and Cincinnati is 23 hours. You can leave the convention and return within 24 hours to your offices if you wish to attend to some serious business.

New Orleans at this time, in spite of the fact that great sums of money the American Federation of Labor have been given it to fight the CIO, has mobilized all its legal forces to subjugate the CIO. That was demonstrated last spring in the case of the Teamsters. We have removed from New Orleans and the state of Louisiana a dual movement. You have spent money there, and you owe it to yourselves as a moral obligation and duty to come to New Orleans next year and see the marvelous progress we have made in American Federation of Labor expansion. If after your work has been done as it should be done, then at night you can relax as you can in no other spot in the United States. It is the Paris of America, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Delegate Adamski, United Garment Workers: Buffalo, the Queen City of the Lakes, invites you there. We will not give you absolution, because we have people to do that job. Come on, come on to Buffalo! We will show you the wonders of the world and a good time, so come to Buffalo. I thank you.

President Green: Are there any further nominations?

Delegate Cauley, Hamilton, Ontario: I am not going to eulogize our fair city, because a majority of us want to get out of here by the week-end, but at the same time I would like to point to the record of Hamilton. We do not require any money from the American Federation of Labor or any other organization to clean house. We have the spirit over there to do things without any help. In view of the situation regarding the international trade union movement in our country, in view of the investments of various national and international unions in that country, in order to reap the benefit of the investments of these

unions, I think it is only right that such a convention as this should come to Canada and see the results of their investments.

Delegate Farrell: The city of Hamilton, one of the greatest cities on the continent, is one which it will pay you to visit. We are getting too much into a position of nationalism by holding so many conventions on this side of the line. I think that every few years the convention should come to Canada. The Province of Ontario, with more members than all the other Provinces combined, has had only one convention in 58 years. Come to the city where we do big things.

President Green: If there are no further nominations we will vote on the selection of one of the cities nominated. The Chair will call upon the delegates to vote by a rising vote. We will vote in the order of the nominations made, and the first vote will be on San Francisco. All in favor of San Francisco as the 1939 convention city please rise to your feet.

The delegates arose and President Green said: It seems an overwhelming majority of the delegates are in favor of San Francisco. The Chair officially declares the selection of San Francisco by this convention as the next convention city of the American Federation of Labor for 1939.

Delegate Burns: I hereby serve notice that New Orleans has just begun to fight for 1940.

Delegate O'Connell, San Francisco: I want to thank all the delegates who will come to San Francisco. When they come there, there will be no disappointment. I will make good on everything I said, and believe me, I will say "Faugh A Ballagh" for the Irish, "Skoel" for the Norwegians, and "Salute" for the Italians.

Delegate Murphy, San Francisco: As a city official of San Francisco, I want to thank the delegates and assure them that it will not only be the hosts of labor that will welcome you there, but it will be the official family of the city that will welcome you.

Delegate Baer, Fire Fighters: I do not rise to find fault with the nomination of San Francisco, but I do rise at this time to toss a challenge in the laps of both Brother O'Connell and Brother Frey. In their statements they said that they are desirous of taking care of the well being of every delegate when the convention assembles in that wonderful

city on the Golden Gate, the city I love, San Francisco. I love its people and I love its set-up. Our organization is founded on care for the well being of the people. We believe in union service for union employes and for the citizenship of that community. That is our desire. So this challenge is to that effect. Not that I want to protest, but if Brother O'Connell will fulfill his duties he will see that the Fire Fighters' well being is cared for in a unionized way, he will co-operate with our international officers in their attempt to organize the Fire Fighters in that city and bring about the safety of all individuals from the standpoint of the American Federation of Labor, and if Brother Frey will use his eloquence when we get there to help organize the Fire Fighters, we will thank him.

REPORT ON COMMITTEE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS (Continued)

Delegate Burke, Chairman of the Committee, and Vice President Woll, Secretary of the Committee, reported as follows:

International Labor Organization, Page 191. Executive Council's Report

It is now four years ago that the President of the United States was authorized by the Congress to enter into active membership in the International Labor Organization at Geneva. In 1935 the first American delegation attended the annual labor conference with all rights and privileges of a member state. During these past four years the United States Government has developed a functional relationship with the organization. The gradual addition of American experts to the staff of the Office has extended our collaboration as a nation and provided for an adequate presentation of the point of view of our country.

During the same period the American Federation of Labor has come to occupy an increasingly important part in the deliberations of these conferences and of the meetings of the governing board. Beginning with the designation of James Wilson, former Vice-President of the American Federation of Labor, as a liaison between the American Federation of Labor and the International Labor Office, and more recently the appointment of Robert Watt as representative of labor on the governing body, steps have been taken

to provide a close link between American labor and the work of this office.

More recently Hon. John Winant, formerly assistant director of the International Labor Office, was selected to succeed Dr. Harold Butler as the Director. Thus by an interesting cycle this international agency, which owed so much to the founding genius of the late Samuel Gompers, who served as the chairman of the International Labor Commission in 1919, is now to be directed by an American citizen who has already shown deep sympathy for the cause of labor.

With the resignation of Dr. Harold Butler to assume the Directorship of a new college to be started at Oxford University the Office has lost a director of rare insight, of deep human sympathies and with a statesman-wide grasp of the role of the International Labor Office in the promotion of better international relations. In particular the American Federation of Labor has lost in Dr. Butler an understanding friend whose frequent visits to this country and to meetings of the Federation has helped to solidify the support which American labor has given to his leadership. Dr. Butler's departure is Oxford's gain, as indeed it is Geneva's loss.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its tribute to Dr. Butler and recommends that a copy of this report be sent to him as expressing both the mind of the Executive Council and of the entire convention.

One of the characteristics of the work of the International Labor Office has been the manner in which it has attempted to make haste slowly in this important field of international labor legislation. It has limited the area of its work and the number of items to be included on the agenda year after year. The result has been that it has been possible to do a competent piece of research in preparing reports and to secure adequate discussion of these matters during the annual conferences.

The thoughtful discussion of the eight items on the agenda for the conference in 1938 and their final disposition by the conference constitute a record of constructive progress. While the 1938 convention adopted but one convention on Wages and Hours statistics they did lay the foundation in discussions for some important steps forward during the 1939 conference, such as, for example, the subject

of Technical and Vocational Education and the International Relation of Migratory Workers. The decision also to attempt some general convention on the 40-hour week will be followed with very much interest in the light of the previous debates at the annual conference and the recent situation in France, where the government was compelled to set aside the 40-hour provision because of the necessity for speeding up the program of rearmament.

Unquestionably the International Labor Office is rendering a distinctive service in the field of international labor relations and labor legislation and it is to be hoped that with the coming of time and the establishment and re-establishment of free trade unionism in lands now dominated and controlled by the State that at least the more important industrial and commercial nations not now represented in the International Labor Office may be embraced in the beneficent fold of this world-wide institution of labor, of capital and of government.

Your Committee recommends concurrence in this part of the Executive Council's report.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

PAN-AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

(Pages 199-200, Executive Council's Report)

We most earnestly commend that portion of the Executive Council's report dealing with the Pan-American Federation of Labor. We agree that reorganization is advisable and at a date as early as possible. We agree that there should be exploration by an observer or a commission, so that there may be accurate indications of genuine labor movements, where they exist.

We believe that the encouragement of the American Federation of Labor should be carried to the workers of the Latin American nations, not to influence them, but to assist them.

We know that there are many Latin American governments which merely wear a mask of democracy, while carrying the sword of dictatorship. Labor can never consent to consort on terms of good neighborliness with dictatorship. We must carry to oppressed peoples the message of free labor and the fraternal strength of free labor.

We believe it is a vital part of sound American labor policy to create a firm and

tasting alliance with labor in the nations of Latin America, on a basis of free association and fraternal union.

It is clear that the poison of communism has made headway in Latin American nations and we would be blind, indeed, if we were not aware also that the totalitarian nations of Europe have likewise sought to penetrate into Latin America, with too much success.

For years the American Federation of Labor has held to the belief that the day might come when the Americas would be the final bulwark of democracy. There may be no such bulwark unless we take quick and energetic action. We recommend adoption of the executive council's report, urging its speedy execution under the direction of the President.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION TREATIES RATIFIED

Page 193 of the Executive Council's Report.

The action on the part of the Senate of the United States at their last session in ratifying the maritime treaties adopted by the Special Maritime Conference in 1936 marks the first step on the part of the United States government to give full force and effect to these international conventions adopted by the International Labor Organization in which our government had a part in drafting. It marks an important step forward and deserves the commendation of this convention. These maritime treaties which come so clearly within the treaty-making power of the Senate establish a precedent for similar action on other conventions adopted by the International Labor Conferences. Under the constitution of the International Labor Organization, however, the draft conventions adopted by the annual labor conferences may be treated as recommendations by any member state which is in fact a Federal State such as the United States. Nevertheless, this initial action in ratifying these important conventions may develop a workable procedure where other conventions can be adopted which will not prejudice our own government and at the same time give full force and effect to these conventions.

Your Committee wishes to commend the Senate on their action and to urge that the various national and international unions

engaged in maritime work be fully informed of the implications of these conventions.

Your Committee, however, regards it as most important that some systematic method be worked out to keep labor in close touch with these conventions after they are ratified to assure their conscientious adherence by employers. This responsibility is ours as a member of an international agency and this service labor should be prepared to render.

We recommend that this matter be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Page 195 of the Executive Council's Report

When the United States Government undertook active membership in the International Labor Organization in 1934 and the American Federation of Labor became the recognized spokesman for Labor in the work of the International Labor Organization, it was logical that the re-affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions should be reviewed and seriously considered. For this International Federation has become an instrument of vital importance to the welfare of the free trade union movement. It not only serves well delegations to the annual conferences of the International Labor office, but in season and out, it is standing foursquare for the interests of freedom, democracy and as a permanent power against the threats of dictatorship.

The decision on the part of the Executive Council with the cordial support of the convention of the American Federation of Labor to re-affiliate with the International Federation of Trade Unions has brought the Federation again into close contact with the International Labor Movement. Today our Federation is one of twenty-six other national centers which go to make up this important organization. The functioning of this International Federation, its machinery, and its broad purpose, as well as its constituent membership have been set forth with clarity in the pages of the report of the Executive Council.

There is also set forth in these pages a report of the General Council meeting in Oslo in May of this year, to which 54 delegates

were in attendance from 14 national centers, as well as from 18 trade secretariats. Vice-President Woll served as the representative of the American Federation of Labor at the Oslo meeting and discharged his trust with great skill and with a statesmanlike vision. As set forth in this report, the two outstanding topics before the meeting related to the danger of war and Fascism and the admission of Soviet trade unions into membership with the International Federation of Trade Unions. The decision of the council to depend upon the voluntary labors of each international center to deal with the threat of Fascism was, in the opinion of your committee, a wise one. Also the decision of the Executive Committee to exclude the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics from membership in the International Federation of Trade Unions for the present seems to your committee to have been an eminently sound decision to take. Increasingly, it should be the effort on the part of the International Federation of Trade Unions to attempt to make its organization a center for rallying all of the free trade unions of the world. Government controlled unions, under any form of totalitarian state, is a denial of the basic principle of trade unions. There can be no free trade unions under a totalitarian state and there is no prospect they can enjoy any degree of freedom of action. Your committee, therefore, recommends that this convention highly commend Vice-President Woll for his effective leadership and for the faithful manner in which he has represented the mind and mood of the American Labor movement.

The proposal to invite the International Federation of Trade Unions to hold the annual meeting of the General Council or of the Executive Committee in the United States next year is most deserving of our support. It would give an opportunity to present to the leaders of the International Federation of Trade Unions a picture of the labor movement in our country and give added strength both to our association with the International Federation of Trade Unions and to a knowledge by their leaders of the declared purposes of our organization.

Your Committee believes the convention will be gratified to learn that at last the Labor Assembly Room in the new wing of the International Labor Office is to be suitably and artistically decorated as a memorial to the late Samuel Gompers. No leader in the

International Labor Movement more fittingly deserves to be associated in memory with the International Labor Office than Mr. Gompers; no memorial would be more appropriate than a room which might be utilized for committee meetings for the labor organization. We, therefore, commend Vice-President Woll for his effective service in bringing to a successful conclusion this adequate method of memorializing Samuel Gompers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Secretary Burke: This completes the report of the committee, which is signed by the following members:

THOMAS E. BURKE, Chairman,
MATTHEW WOLL, Secretary,
WILLIAM GREEN,
D. J. TOBIN,
GEORGE L. BERRY,
W. D. MAHON,
J. J. HYNES,
WM. L. HUTCHESON,
WM. J. BOWEN,
JOHN COEFIELD,
EDWARD J. GAINOR,
ALBERT ADAMSKI,
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI,
JOSEPH P. RYAN,
E. E. MILLIMAN,
J. A. FRANKLIN,
JOHN P. FREY,
CHRISTIAN M. MADSEN,
MICHAEL J. COLLERAN,
EDWARD FLORE,
HENRY F. SCHMAL,
DENNIS LANE,
WILLIAM J. MCSORLEY,
EDWARD CANAVAN,
W. C. BIRTHRIGHT,
JOHN J. HAGGERTY,
P. J. MORRIN,
Committee on International
Labor Relations.

Chairman Burke moved the adoption of the committee as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The Chair now wishes to submit a supplementary report of the Executive Council which contains the report of Fraternal Delegate Morrin to the British Trades Union Congress. This report will be included in the proceedings of today's convention.

REPORT OF P. J. MORRIN
(Fraternal Delegate to the British Trades
Union Congress)

In accordance with the action of the 1931 Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor in electing me as a Fraternal delegate to the 1935 Convention of the British Trades Union Congress, I desire, according to previously established customs, to submit the following report:

The Trades Union Congress convened in Blackpool, England, at the Garden Theater on the morning of September 5th, 1935, and was addressed by many prominent speakers, including an address of welcome by the Lord Mayor of Blackpool, England, at which time all of the Fraternal delegates were introduced to the Seventieth Annual Convention of the British Trades Union Congress.

I was impressed very much by the opening sessions of the Congress, as well as its subsequent sessions, all of which I attended and which were very interesting, and educational. In the course of these daily sessions the Congress was addressed by many leaders in the Labor, Political and other forms of collective activities in Great Britain, all of them transmitting, encouraging, constructive and educational messages, which received the consideration of the Convention.

There were 647 delegates at the Congress, representing 216 organizations with a total membership of approximately Five Million members. Very interesting and detailed addresses and reports were submitted to the Congress by Chairman Elvin and Secretary Citrine, containing many recommendations designed to advance the interest of the British Trades Union Movement.

The General Council submitted its report to the Congress for their consideration and action, which consisted of a very extensive review of the activities of that body during the past year as well as many constructive recommendations offered by the Council for the guidance of the Congress and its affiliated Unions.

Aside from these matters many resolutions and proposals were considered and acted upon by the Convention, all of which would require too much time and space to adequately outline in this report. Undoubtedly all matters of importance which were considered and acted upon by the Convention will be thoroughly covered in the reports which the dele-

gates from the British Trades Union Congress will submit to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The atmosphere of the Congress was charged with the possibilities of war on account of the complications existing in Europe, all of which naturally affected the attitude and actions of the Congress. Labor's position was that their government should take a strong stand for the preservation of the smaller democracies of Europe which policy was approved by the Convention.

The objectives and ideals of the British Trades Union Congress are similar to those of the American Federation of Labor, even though their methods of procedure differ considerably from ours.

The work of the Convention was expedited and the debates and discussions in connection therewith reflected great credit upon the officers and delegates to the Congress, whose deliberations throughout revealed strength and confidence and a thorough knowledge of the subjects under discussion affecting the welfare of the workers of Great Britain.

I was very much impressed by the large volume of business transacted in the five-day session of the Congress, as well as the intelligent and thorough manner which the officers exhibited, especially the General Secretary of the Congress, Sir Walter Citrine and Chairman Elvin, both of whom actively participated in the conduct and deliberations of the Congress in a most capable and efficient manner.

I was called upon Wednesday morning, September 7th, to address the Congress, which I did to the best of my ability and also conveyed to them the Fraternal greetings and sincere good wishes of the officers and membership of the American Federation of Labor, which was well received. I addressed the Congress for almost one-half hour, and the following is an exact copy of my address to them:

Address of Fraternal Delegate P. J. Morrin,
Representing The American Federation of
Labor to the British Trades Union
Congress, 1935

Mr. President, Officers and Delegates:

On behalf of the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor I greet you. I deem it a great honor and privilege to be selected by them to address this great

Congress of Labor, and I want to extend to each of you fraternal greetings from the organized workers across the Atlantic Ocean and their best wishes for your success.

Despite our perplexing problems, the American Federation of Labor has made substantial gains in dues-paying members during the past year. This fact alone sustains our confidence even if there were not evidence of progress in widespread fields of endeavor.

Union organization is being extended into new fields—industries and occupations never before organized. White collar workers, under the sting of wage cuts, are turning to unions for security. Practically all existing nationals and internationals have greatly increased their membership and the scope of collective bargaining. Everywhere there is progress in coordinating the machinery for collective bargaining so that the unions concerned act as units.

The most pressing problem that confronts us is the recurrence of business depressions with attendant increase in unemployment. Since the middle of 1937 orders have fallen off and stock and inventories have piled up for lack of buyers, and the number of unemployed increased from 7,745,883 to 11,129,107 in April of this year. Month by month gains in business activity have slipped away from us until we faced anew the problem of relief of increased millions. Though this problem approaches the proportions of 1932, we have the enormous advantage of the benefits provided under the Social Security Act

Social Security

The relief administration of the great depression had to provide for those with chronic disabilities and permanent handicaps in addition to those whose security had been shattered by business depression and unemployment. Out of these experiences we drafted our Social Security Act—our first national attempt to protect the masses of our citizens from the consequences of inability to earn a living. The Act provides direct assistance for those incapacitated for earning a living and for benefits as a legal right from funds accruing from contributions based on earnings for those accustomed to earn a living—unemployment benefits for those who lose their jobs and old age benefits for workers who reach the age of 65. Our direct assistance program includes federal grants to States making provision for dependent chil-

dren, the blind, for maternal and child welfare, and for the dependent aged. Federal grants supplement and encourage State provisions for these various purposes. In the field of social insurance the Social Security Act created old age insurance for workers in several industries and set up conditions which stimulated the enactment of unemployment compensation laws in 51 jurisdictions under our Federal Government—our 48 States, the District of Columbia, Alaska and the Philippine Islands. These laws vary both in important principles and unimportant details. The Social Security Board has only a measure of authority to promote uniformity in the Standards provided in the Federal Act as a basis for awarding federal grants for administration expenses and for credits against the federal tax authorized against all employers of eight or more employees in covered industries. But for the most part the fundamentals of the law and its administration are determined by the State. Unemployment compensation will be paid by 29 States by the end of 1938, and by the remaining States as provision is made by their respective legislatures which should be completed in 1939.

Because payment of unemployment compensation paralleled a sudden and sharp increase in unemployment, an unexpectedly heavy strain was put upon funds and administrative machinery. This strain is disclosing needed changes and weaknesses in the legislation. However, it is a great advantage that the principle of social responsibility for providing against economic emergencies is accepted and that we have a legislative framework to alter or amend as experience may direct.

The development of Social Security marks the end of a first stage in the history of our country, characterized by a free land and opportunity to escape from industrial employment. We are developing the safeguard which should accompany loss of opportunity to earn a living.

Under the Federal old-age insurance there are over 38,000,000 persons registered; a total of more than 3,500,000 have been paid in lump sum adjustments since the program went into operation. Regular monthly benefits will be paid beginning June, 1941.

Nearly 19,000,000 persons are covered by unemployment compensation laws. The unemployment trust fund in the United States Treasury amounted to \$753,436,934.74 by the end of the first quarter of 1938. During the

first quarter benefit checks amounting to \$61,924,076.80 were issued by the 22 States whose laws had become operative.

Unemployment

Through the past decade unemployment has been a most unyielding problem. Even before depression we were faced with the new problem of "technological unemployment," growing more acute as the teletype, the cotton picker, the new rolling mill processes in steel and other inventions threatened to add new thousands to our unemployed. Even before depression our unemployment was running two to three million yearly. Then, with industry cut to half its normal production, in 1933 our unemployed army rose to more than 15,000,000.

President Roosevelt initiated the first great effort to put the unemployed to work, and by shortening the working week by five hours through the NRA codes, nearly 2,000,000 people were put to work between July and October of 1933. To create jobs by shortening hours was an adjustment long overdue, Labor felt. We had been advocating it for years, for the increase of leisure had by no means kept pace with the shortening of work time through labor-saving machinery, and labor had been paying by unemployment for the profits created by the new techniques. With the shortening of work-hours under NRA we took a long step forward.

This re-employment of 2,000,000 in four months under NRA was an outstanding achievement. It reduced our unemployed army to 13,000,000. After that we made only slow gains year by year during the business recovery, and by 1937 the peak year of recovery, we had only succeeded in reducing our unemployed army to 8,000,000. Our experience compares sadly with yours. For in 1937, when your unemployment was nearly down to 1929 levels we still had four times the unemployment of 1929. We still had 8,000,000 unemployed in 1937 compared to 2,000,000 in 1929. International Labor Office reports show that the world ratio of unemployment in 1937 was only 11 per cent above 1929, but unemployment in the United States was 300 per cent above 1929. In Europe and England the manufacture of munitions has provided employment for hundreds of thousands, and the increase in standing armies has taken thousands more who might otherwise be unemployed.

The 1938 depression has added 2,500,000 to our unemployed army, and with the increase of 500,000 in our working population—young people coming out of school for whom there are no jobs—unemployment today is back to 11,000,000—3,000,000 above the 1937 level.

In the United States 21 per cent of our working population were unemployed in March this year, while you in Great Britain had about 8 per cent unemployed.

I should say a word here about our trade union unemployment figures which are so widely used on this side of the water. Trade union unemployment in the United States is far less than unemployment outside of the unions; it is one of our basic principles to keep our members in jobs. So in March, 1938, when 21 per cent of our entire working population were unemployed, only 17 per cent of our trade union membership were out of work (weighted figures). In 1937 trade union unemployment in general was nearly back to 1929 levels, while unemployment in the country as a whole was still four times that of 1929. The figures I cited above are from the unemployment estimate of the American Federation of Labor for the United States as a whole.

The Federal Government has come to the help of our citizens without work and without income by providing emergency work on a scale never before known in our country. In the winter of 1933 to 1934, our time of worst suffering, nearly 5,000,000 persons were working on our emergency public work programs, and in addition our relief rolls held more than 3,000,000 cases. By 1937 this emergency work and relief had shrunk by a little more than half—2,500,000 were still on our works program, and 1,250,000 cases on relief; but even in 1937 there were still between three and four million families dependent on Government support. With the 1938 depression, 700,000 have been added to our works program and about the same number to our relief rolls.

Our 1938 depression has been due largely to what we may call a strike of capital. A labor strike may throw a few hundred employees out of work, but this strike of capital has cost us 2,500,000 jobs. I call it a strike of capital because private capital flowing into productive industry through the channel of commercial loans has been cut by nearly a billion dollars since last October. This happened at a time when the Federal Govern-

ment had greatly reduced its borrowing of money to prime the industrial pump, and the result has been to dry up business activity until production has fallen back three-quarters of the way to the lowest point of depression.

This strike of capital is partly the result of excesses of business itself in early 1937, but it is also a strike against the undistributed profits tax, Social Security taxes and legislation of recent years which has tended to limit the profits going to capital in order to grant a more equitable share of wealth to working men and women. Business men who no longer see the allurements of high profits withhold their money from investment in productive enterprise. We have not yet developed in America, as you have in England, a strong and widespread Co-operative Movement which produces for the consumer.

Housing

In the past year American Labor's most immediate and vital concern has been in the revival of building activity. The great depression, which began nearly nine years ago, and the recent slump were both marked by disproportionate curtailment of activity in the construction industry.

When the new recession set in, the building deficiency wrought by the depression of 1929-33 was by no means made up. The building budget of the nation was still far from balanced, and the new slow-down in construction activity was in reality not adding new shortages but swelling the old deficits—the deficits in building, in employment, in wages and in profits.

What is America's present deficit in residential building? Interpretations differ, but they are all based on the same evidence. The basic facts this evidence contains are accepted without dispute. In the post-war decade, between 1920 and 1930, residential building averaged 700,000 new family dwelling units a year. The peak of 937,000 units was reached in 1925. The break came in 1928, and the volume of new construction dropped more and more rapidly, until it finally reached the low level of 54,000 non-farm dwelling units in 1938. The recovery was slow and difficult. By 1937 the post-depression high of only 287,000 units was registered. At no time since 1929 has the building industry produced even half the number of dwelling units built on the average every year in the post-war decade.

The total number of dwelling units built

from 1930 through 1937 falls 4,200,000 units short of the average of the last decade. Measured at that rate, this means that there is the equivalent of six years' work to be carried out as the result of the deficient volume of housing built in the past nine years.

But the actual housing deficit is much greater. During these nine years of almost complete inactivity in residential building, the needs of the American people continued to grow at a relentless pace. The population went right on growing and houses continued to wear out. Thus our present deficit is three-fold. It represents, first, the accumulated shortage as a direct result of recent inactivity. This means construction of additional new dwellings, and replacement of old houses, unfit for further use. Second, it reflects the number of dwellings needed to house the increased number of families. Third, it must provide, of course, for new dwellings which would make possible replacement of houses that currently become obsolete.

According to estimates made by the American Federation of Labor economists, to gradually wipe out this deficit, we shall have to build at the rate of about 1,300,000 dwelling units a year for the next ten years. Staggering though it may seem, this figure makes no provision for any improvement in the quality of future housing and does not reflect the full supply of homes that would be required if the American people as a whole were to be housed in the manner to which their natural resources, their labor supply, their technical skill and their ingenuity entitle them.

To offset the growing shortage and to stimulate re-employment for building trades mechanics and laborers an extensive supplementary housing program was enacted in the spring of this year. This program, modifying the machinery of the Federal Housing Administration, relied solely on the stimulation of private enterprise in residential construction by making housing available to home owners on more liberal financial terms. Under the amended law, insuring mortgages on small, modestly-priced homes, Federal mortgage insurance was made available on such terms as to reduce the down payment to 10 per cent of the total cost, reducing at the same time the interest rate and extending the period of amortization.

Although the results of this legislation made themselves quickly apparent in the upturn in residential construction volume in late

spring and early summer, it was clear that private construction of housing for home owners without federal aid could not make housing available to low income groups where the need for housing was more acute. With increasing unemployment and badly lagging business activity, forcibly brought to the fore was the fact that the largest portion of the nation's need for new housing was within the income bracket of the population which cannot afford new housing. Hence there was gained a more widespread and almost universal idea that the problem was to build not only enough housing to meet the effective demand, but also to build enough housing to satisfy an essential and pressing need.

In September, 1937, a new housing law was enacted by Congress to serve that portion of the American people for whom no housing can be profitably provided by private enterprise. Thus for the first time a public housing program was authorized by Congress, in the form of the United States Housing Act of 1937, patterned closely after the British Housing Legislation and based to a large extent on the notable record of experience and leadership in Great Britain.

The United States Housing Act was largely formulated by the American Federation of Labor, and its framework was embodied in the housing program endorsed by the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935. To make its passage possible, however, it required two years of intensive legislative and educational effort, the formation of local labor housing committees throughout the nation, and active participation by labor representatives in the formulation of the law.

The first United States Housing Act was a modest beginning. It could only scratch the surface of the enormous problem of clearing the vast slums in the industrial areas and of rehousing the slum dwellers. The Act made available to the United States Housing Authority a capital fund of \$500,000,000 (100,000,000 pounds sterling) for three years. The United States Housing Authority was authorized to use this fund for loans to local housing authorities to aid them in the construction of low-rent housing projects. These federal loans were limited to 90 per cent of the cost of the project, thus forming the federal share in the total financing of projects valued at over \$550,000,000. In addition to the construction loans the program also pro-

vided annual federal contributions for the management and maintenance of the projects. Labor standards on all construction of housing done in connection with federal loans, annual contributions or federal grants under the United States Housing Act, were carefully safeguarded by a set of stringent provisions regarding the payment of prevailing wages, maintenance of maximum hours of work, prohibition of the so-called kick-back practices and requirement of workmen's compensation payment.

Appreciating the need of close and constant contact with every phase of the administration of the United States Housing Act by representatives of organized labor throughout the country, the Executive Council authorized the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor to continue to present the housing policy of the Federation in order to secure for members of affiliated unions and their families the full measure of benefit and protection from the operation of the program. To this end the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which met in October, 1937, authorized the creation for this purpose of additional local labor housing committees to extend this kind of labor representation to every sizable community in the United States. The Convention also approved the program of liberalizing the United States Housing Act by making more funds available to the United States Housing Authority and to improve the law in other technical respects.

A Bill embodying the purpose of the Convention resolution was introduced in Congress in April. The amendment to the original Act made \$800,000,000 (160,000,000 pounds sterling) available immediately to the United States Housing Authority and temporarily removed the requirement of 10 per cent local participation in the capital loans to local housing authorities to expedite the program. American labor is confident that the expansion of this program of public housing will go a long way toward restoring the incomes of our pauperized families by providing employment income and purchasing power to a great mass of building trades mechanics and laborers as well as to workers engaged in the production of building materials. Because the program, in addition to its effective re-employment features, assured better housing and therefore better living standards to a large number of wage earners, it is regarded as of outstanding importance to American labor.

Conclusion

American labor is planning organization and greatly increased activity in collective bargaining and the administration of labor laws. During the past five years, such important labor legislation as the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, the Public Contracts Act, Wage and Hour Legislation, and Housing have given new opportunities and new responsibilities to the organized labor movement. While handicapped by the division within the ranks of labor, we find that constructive unionism, responsible leadership and devotion in our ranks have won respect and confidence from all with whom we have dealings. We are confident of continued progress.

The American Trade Union Movement will be anxiously watching your activities, and wishes you success and God-speed in your efforts to improve the conditions of the workers of your country.

On the evening before delivering my address to the Congress, a banquet and entertainment, which was largely attended, was tendered to all of the fraternal delegates attending this convention by the past and present officers and the General Council of the Congress, at which time I was called upon by Chairman Elvin to respond in behalf of all the fraternal delegates, which invitation was accepted by me and at which time I conveyed our fraternal greetings and good wishes to them all and expressed to them our deep appreciation for their kindness and the many courtesies extended, which remarks were heartily received.

The whole-hearted friendliness and reception accorded us by the Officials and delegates of the Congress was greatly appreciated, as they made every effort to make our visit a pleasant one. A handsome gift was presented to Mrs. Morrin and also myself as well as all other fraternal delegates and their wives, which remembrances will be highly treasured.

In submitting this report, which is made brief by the pressure of time, as I had only a few hours upon my return to the office from England before leaving for Houston to attend the Conventions of the Metal Trades Department and the Building and Construction Trades Department which convened here a week prior to the American Federation of Labor Convention, I desire to express my thanks and sincere appreciation to the delegates of the Fifty-Seventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, which unanimously elected me as fraternal delegate to the British Trades Union Congress. I trust that my efforts and activities to uphold and maintain the dignity of the American Federation of Labor, its officers and members, and to fill the position of honor, trust, and responsibility placed in me, have merited the confidence and approval of the delegates who elected me to this honorable position.

Respectfully submitted,

P. J. MORRIN,

Fraternal Delegate to the Seventieth Annual Convention of the British Trades Union Congress, Representing the American Federation of Labor.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES

Delegate George E. Browne, Chairman of the Committee, and Delegate James C. Quinn, Secretary, submitted the following report:

Your committee had one resolution referred to it, Resolution No. 105, introduced by the Montana State Federation of Labor, 2nd day's proceedings, Page 229, as follows:

Proposing Constitutional Amendment to Prohibit Affiliation of Central Labor Unions With Chamber of Commerce

"No Central Council shall be affiliated with any Chamber of Commerce and no delegate to a Central Council shall be entitled to a seat who is, or has been, a member of a Chamber of Commerce within twelve months preceding his becoming a member of a Central Council."

Your Committee non-concurs. The Committee, however, suggest that Local Central Bodies and State Federations of Labor take note of the intent of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Recommendation of the Committee

Your Committee also also submits the following: We are mindful of the work carried on during the year by Local Central Bodies for the benefit of the Affiliated Unions. We have received information that there are many Local Unions that make up the National and International Unions, who are not in affiliation with the Central Body in their locality.

Your committee urges the representatives of the National and International Unions to request their Local Unions to affiliate themselves with their Local Central Body, as a strong Central Body can be of great assistance to the Local Unions, and the International Representatives who visit the localities who seek the cooperation of the Central Bodies on behalf of their International Organizations.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Quinn: Mr. Chairman, this concludes the report of your Committee on Local and Federated Bodies and it is signed by:

GEORGE E. BROWNE, Chairman
 JAMES C. QUINN, Secretary
 JOS. M. MARSHALL
 THOMAS C. CASHEN
 A. ADAMSKI
 C. C. COULTER
 R. E. WOODMANSEE
 ALBERT HUNTER
 WILLIAM J. MORAN
 FRANK B. POWERS
 VIC. RIDGEWAY
 ALFRED ROTA
 LAWRENCE FOLEY
 P. J. CULLEN
 J. E. LENTIS
 J. GOLDSTONE
 NAT. NESSING
 E. J. BROWN

Committee on Local and Federated Bodies

Delegate Quinn moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Local and Federated Bodies as a whole.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATIONS

Delegate Bugnizet, Chairman of the Committee, and Delegate Bernice Heffner, Secretary, submitted the following report:

Your Committee on State Organization begs leave to submit the following report:

THE FREE FEDERATION OF WORKINGMEN OF PUERTO RICO Executive Council's Report (Pages 127-133)

Your Committee has reviewed the activities and results of the efforts of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico and commend their collective efforts in arriving at a Sugar Cane collective agreement for the period of 1938.

With reference to the Longshoremen's controversy, your Committee desires to call attention to the officers and members of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico that in the event of the necessity of any future arbitration they should see that the questions to be arbitrated are definitely defined and that they should have one of their own selection to represent them on the Arbitration Board. We are pleased to note that the Longshoremen members of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico are now affiliated with the

International Longshoremen's Association and we feel sure that under the guidance of the International many of their difficulties will be overcome.

Your Committee notes that the activities of the officers and members of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico, that while they were not able to defeat the legislative provision for compulsory arbitration, through many amendments offered they feel that the enactment of same is unimportant and harmless.

Your Committee desires to warn the officers and members of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico that there is great danger in allowing the legislation to remain on the Statute Books for the reason that it being a law it can be amended more easily than passing a new law, and with an amendment might become detrimental legislation to the workers of Puerto Rico. Therefore, the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico should work untiringly for its complete repeal.

We note with interest the other acts of the Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico and also that they have withheld their 1938 convention until November 11, so that they might have the benefit of the action of the American Federation of Labor for its members, to guide them in their efforts for the coming year. The Free Federation of Workingmen of Puerto Rico has been organized for forty years and during that period has made a great deal of progress in the interest of the workers of Puerto Rico.

We recommend to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor that they continue their moral assistance and advice in aiding the workingmen of Puerto Rico in attaining their economic ends and render them such support as is possible to remain a part of the United States.

STATE LABOR LEGISLATION Executive Council's Report (Pages 171-177)

Your Committee in reviewing the report is pleased to note the action of the New York State Federation of Labor in being successful in passing a bill which regulates private detective agencies and restricts their activities against labor organizations.

All State Federations of Labor should study this law with a view to having similar legislation passed in their own states.

Your Committee is pleased to note that two more states, Kentucky and Louisiana, have adopted Minimum Wage laws for women and minors, and your Committee recommends to all other State Federations of Labor, whose state laws do not protect women and minors, to endeavor to have such legislation enacted.

Your committee hopes that with the meeting of State Legislatures better progress will be made with reference to "Wage Payment and Wage Claim Collection."

State Labor Departments

We desire to call to the attention of all State Federations of Labor the necessity of having efficient State Labor Departments to make effective any labor legislation that may be enacted.

With the meeting of many State Legislatures during the coming year all State Federations of Labor who do not have laws in their state for "Compensation for Industrial Accident and Disease" should endeavor to have this legislation enacted for the workers of their state.

Apprenticeship

The committee reaffirms the positions and declarations of the American Federation of Labor that the place to make mechanics and skilled workers is in the industries and trades under a proper Apprenticeship System.

Question of Older Workers

The Committee hopes that the study now being made under the auspices of the Secretary of Labor at the request of the American Federation of Labor that some plan will be developed from this study that will show to industry their responsibility to the older workers.

Workmen's Compensation

We note that the State Federation of Mississippi was unsuccessful in their efforts to have their legislature pass a Workmen's Compensation Law and it is hoped that they will be more successful in passing this legislation at their next session.

Your Committee also hopes that the Arkansas State Federation of Labor will be able to present to the voters of their state the necessity for voting in favor of a change in the State Constitution which will permit Legislators to enact a Workmen's Compensation Law that will properly protect the workers of the state.

Incorporation of Trade Unions

Your Committee was pleased to note that wherever legislation was presented for the enactment of the laws to compel trade unions to incorporate that such efforts were not successful and we recommend to all State Federations of Labor to be ever vigilant and diligent in protecting the rights of the workers of their state in preventing the enactment of any law under any pretext, which provides for the incorporation of labor unions, as such legislation is only to hamper and interfere with the legitimate activities of labor organizations.

Convict Labor

Your Committee in going over this section recommends the following change in the third paragraph—that the word "must" in the second line be changed to "should" and that all after the word "system" in the same line be deleted, as we are of the opinion that if this sentence is not deleted and allowed to remain it would be incorrect and misleading. The paragraph as amended would read as follows:

"The problem has been to impress the legislatures of the southern states that they should arrange for establishing the state-use system."

Child Labor Amendment

With many State Legislatures meeting in the coming year, all State Federations of Labor in whose states the Child Labor Amendment has not been enacted should strive to their utmost in endeavoring to have State Legislatures approve this amendment. They should use every means at their command to distribute information that will crystallize public opinion in favor of this legislation.

It is the hope of the committee that when we convene next year the report will show that the Child Labor Amendment has become part of the Constitution of the United States of America.

We desire to call your attention to the "Warning to Affiliated Organizations" of the care they should exercise in acting, approving or endorsing any contemplated legislation that may affect labor organizations without first having investigated the character and purposes of the legislation, and we recommend to all affiliated organizations when they receive such requests that they immediately get in touch with the officers of the State Federation of Labor or the officers of the American Federation of Labor who will be in a

position to advise what action to take and the reasons therefor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

This concludes the report of the Committee which is signed by the Committee:

G. M. BUGNIAZET, Chairman
BERNIECE B. HEFFNER, Secretary
WILLIAM E. WALTER
F. A. VERHINES
J. N. CUMMINGS
CARL H. MULLEN
JOSEPH A. MULLANEY
JOHN CLINTON
JOSEPH E. MAYEUR
JOSEPH P. RYAN
THOMAS J. DONNELLY
CHARLES T. CRANE
W. S. GROSS
GEORGE MEANY
FRANK C. SNYDER
J. L. DYER
GUST ANDERSON
ROY BREWER
LOUIS KOENIG

Committee on State Organization.

The report of the committee as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON SHORTER WORK DAY

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Shorter Work Day, Vice President Gainer, Chairman.

Vice President Gainer: The report will be submitted by the Secretary, George T. Moore.

Survey of Industries Looking to Reducing Work Hours Proportionately with Increase in Productivity

Resolution No. 14—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The constant pressure of competitive business in America has developed new machinery and methods which have enormously increased the production of each employee; and

WHEREAS, These new methods and machinery have not brought about a proportionate decrease in price, or improvement in quality, but instead have served to create a huge increase in the number of the unemployed and to endanger the economic, social and political life of the community; and

WHEREAS, While more than ten million Americans are vainly seeking work while

merchants and manufacturers have surpluses which they cannot sell because the families of the unemployed lack purchasing power; and

WHEREAS, There are millions of workers who are working forty-eight or fifty-four or sixty hours a week while other millions can find no employment for even one hour a week; and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has established the definite principle, so long supported by organized labor, that the general welfare demands the limitation of hours of work and the establishment of minimum wages; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Annual Convention of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor formally endorses the general principle that hours of work should be reduced to the same proportion that production has been increased over a period of years unless that increase in productivity has been passed along by proportionate decreases in price; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention urge that a survey of each industry be conducted by a competent and adequately staffed commission in cooperation with the Department of Labor and the Works Progress Administration; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, and the Works Progress Administrator; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the delegate to the American Federation of Labor Convention be instructed to submit a resolution to this effect to the 1938 Convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Your Committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the incoming members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, for their investigation and decision called for in this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Chairman Gainer: We submit now a declaration on the part of the committee on the question of the shorter work week.

Declaration of the Committee on Shorter Work Week

In submitting this report to the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, your committee desires to stress the high importance of the shorter work-day and shorter work-week, as a compelling problem whose wise and progressive solution stands as continuing challenge to our best thought. With renewed emphasis we reaffirm the unanswerably sound declarations made by the American Federation of Labor on this subject in preceding conventions. In the light of conditions, as they now present themselves, reinforced by a wealth of practical experience,

we would build on these declarations in charting our future progress.

Dating back from its very beginning, the American Federation of Labor has pointed the way for the shorter work-week to follow, and in doing so has insisted that not only should shorter labor hours and advancing living standards keep steady pace with expanding productive efficiency as a matter of social justice, but also because the observance of this policy provides the only sound answer to the sweeping displacement of men by machines, and the growing menace of millions permanently unemployed.

Let us refresh our memory on this subject. It is a problem of surplus and the disposition of surplus that confronts us, a problem more perplexing than that of scarcity. Call the roll of the key industries in every line of National endeavor, and we are confronted by a potential and steadily increasing productive capacity that can deluge every demand. Thus, through the sheer force of economic pressure, the progressive shortening of the work-week without any reduction in wages presents and will continue to present the only means for balancing production and consumption through a wider diffusion of jobs on the one hand and enhanced purchasing power on the other. In every broad scale program of social betterment this fundamental fact should be the corner stone of our reasoning.

Our record on this score is plain. Realizing that the moving cause of succeeding economic upsets has been centered in the fact the worker's wages have not been increased and labor hours shortened in anything like just proportion to this sweeping upward production trend, the American Federation of Labor in convention after convention has insistently pointed the way that progress should take. Six years ago, at its 1932 Cincinnati convention, the American Federation of Labor reaffirmed its moving philosophy of higher wages and shorter hours as the one and only answer to the mechanization of industry, and in doing so urged the early adoption of the five-day, six-hour work week without any reduction in wages as its chief objective. It also called upon the American people everywhere to join their efforts with those of organized labor in translating this high purpose into effect.

Practical experience has demonstrated the wisdom and timeliness of this declaration. Each A. F. of L. convention since held has

reaffirmed it. With renewed earnestness and without reservation, we again proclaim it. Moreover, your committee in presenting this survey would direct special attention to the remarkable progress made during recent years in forwarding the observance of the shorter work-week. Despite all objections of added costs and otherwise, the shorter work-week movement has succeeded in effecting a reduction of some 20 percent in the average labor hours since 1929. "The forty-hour maximum work-week is provided in a large majority of the union agreements now in effect in the United States," states the Monthly Labor Review (February 1938), United States Department of Labor. Labor hours ranging from a 35-hour to a 37½-hour week, this report shows, are fixed in a substantial number of union agreements.

However, while labor hours have been shortened, the record of the past 10 years also shows that labor costs per unit of production have increased little, if any. Figures from the National Industrial Conference Board show that in manufacturing industries, according to their records, the average length of the work week declined 20 per cent from 1929 to 1936, but the man hours required per unit of product also declined 20 per cent. Thus the reduction in work hours during these years just kept pace with reduction in necessary work time brought about by increasing productivity. In the item of wages and labor costs, average hourly wages had increased by 1936 to 6 per cent above the 1929 level, but because of greater efficiency the labor cost per \$100 worth of product was 1 per cent below 1929.

These figures show that higher wages and shorter hours do not necessarily mean higher labor costs. In the item of profits it is also significant that in 1936, the nation's leading companies earned a substantial profit of 10 per cent on their net worth, according to averages for 1,720 companies compiled by the National City Bank. Higher wages and shorter hours in a period of healthy business volume do not prevent high profits.

Fredrick C. Mills, eminent economist, in a new book, "Employment Opportunities in Manufacturing Industries of the United States," published by the National Bureau of Economic Research, points out that about half the actual employment decline from 1929 to 1935 could be traced to increased industrial efficiency. In 1935 he states, "Only 336,000,000 man-hours of work were required to

produce the same volume of goods requiring 427,000,000 man-hours in 1929." This is a reduction of 21 per cent in the work time needed by industry which took place during this same period.

Mr. Mills also estimates that the output per man-hour has increased 27 per cent from 1929 to 1935. This has eliminated 75,000,000 man-hours of work per week, or 1,875,000 40-hour jobs which would otherwise have been needed to create the 1935 product of our manufacturing industries. This means, Mr. Mills states, that if the 8,839,000 persons employed in our factories in 1929 had all worked in 1935, the 1929 production volume could have been produced with a work-week 10.3 hours shorter.

It is in the matter of unemployment, however, that technocracy takes its biggest toll. In spite of the shorter work week, there is still a large army of the unemployed. In the peak months of 1937, according to the American Federation of Labor unemployment estimates, industrial production nearly reached the 1929 level, missing it by less than 1 per cent in the four spring months, and less than 2 per cent in August, and total employment came within 1,300,000 of the 1929 level. Yet even at the highest point of 1937 employment, there was never less than 7,500,000 workers unemployed.

Unemployment still continues our most pressing problem. "The army of the unemployed," declares the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in its 1938 report, "which has never since depression been reduced below 7,500,000 and today numbers over 11,000,000, is testimony enough to the need for shorter work hours." According to the National Industrial Conference Board, the average full time work-week in July 1938 was 40.3 hours as against 48.3 in 1929 or a gain in leisure of eight hours. Thus, the American Federation of Labor has rendered a notable public service in bringing about this shortening of the work-week. We marvel at the staggering scope that unemployment would have reached were it not for this average reduction of labor hours during the last 10 years. In this regard we approvingly quote from the report of the Executive Council as follows:

"To those who argue that a work-week below forty-four hours would curtail production we would cite records of the United States Department of Labor which show that

in manufacturing industries the hours actually worked per week when part time is included have averaged thirty-nine or less in each year since 1931."

Your committee in concluding this report desires to again emphasize the continued increase on a steadily ascending scale of production per unit of worker through new means and methods of multiplied machine refinements. This constant expansion of productive efficiency is the big factor of our time. It confronts us wherever we turn. To master the machine and make it serve the public welfare is now the supreme challenge confronting society. Its accomplishment will make for a larger life and soften the struggle for existence of all workers to a degree surpassing all that has gone before. To this end we should devote our best efforts.

In the light of the foregoing survey, it appears plain to your committee that the American Federation of Labor must address itself with renewed resolution to the wider observance of the five-day week and the six-hour day as the best means of mastering the unemployment problem and protecting society against recurring depressions. There is only one side to this case. Every fact and factor having to do with its consideration argues for shorter hours and higher living standards as the one and only way to insure economic health.

Your committee, therefore, recommends that this convention strongly reaffirm its endorsement of the five-day week and the six-hour work day without any reduction in the hourly, daily or weekly pay. We further recommend that this purpose be declared the paramount objective of this convention, and that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to spare no effort to insure steady and certain progress toward the attainment of this great objective, and of enlisting the support of all the people in its behalf.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Vice President Gainer: I ask your indulgence for just a minute. Believing as I do that the expansion of productive efficiency through new means and methods and machinery is the biggest factor in the world, believing as I do that it is creating an economic pressure which is writing the history of the world and writing the history of all industry, I regret that we do not have ample time

to consider this subject. However, we have submitted a factual statement of progress brought down to date, a progress that begins with the earlier declarations made by the American Federation of Labor, with particular reference to its 1932 declaration on the five-day week and the six-hour day.

During the intervening period the progress made in shortening the work week has surpassed that of any other efforts in any line in the history of labor. An average of 20 per cent, both organized and unorganized on the whole in labor hours, has been effected. But this outstanding thing, this outstanding fact, in connection therewith remains: As the hours of labor have been shortened twenty per cent, productive efficiency has increased twenty per cent, so that while we have shortened the hours materially, the number of unemployed today by virtue of that fact is as great as it was when we were at the highest point of the depression. Therefore, unemployment continues our greatest problem, and it is a continued challenge to our best thought to solve it.

We cite these facts in this report in recommending a continued adherence to our declaration in favor of the five-day week and the six-hour day.

The motion to adopt the committee's report was carried.

Secretary Moore: This completes the report of the Committee on Shorter Work Day, which is signed:

E. J. GAINOR, Chairman
 GEORGE T. MOORE, Secretary
 JAMES P. MEEHAN
 HARRY STEVENSON
 GEORGE H. DAVIS
 JOHN PELKOFER
 GEORGE SCALISE
 ADAM E. ZUSI
 LOUIS P. MARCIANTE
 SAL. B. HOFFMANN
 A. H. GREENER
 MILTON P. WEBSTER
 JAMES M. CLANCY
 JACK McLAUCHLAN
 JOSEPH TREMBLAY
 EDWARD McMORROW
 PATRICK GORMAN
 JOHN M. FEWKES
 M. J. McDONOUGH
 E. D. MANNING

Committee on Shorter Work Day

Delegate Moore moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried.

President Green: The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Convention Session Extended

The Chair wishes to call the attention of the delegates to the fact that the hour of adjournment has arrived, but it appears to me that we might suspend the rules and stay in session this evening and complete our work, rather than to come back in the morning.

There is just another committee or two to report, and then we are through.

Delegate Koveleski, Hotel and Restaurant Employees: I move the rules be suspended and we stay in session until we finish our work.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

President Green: The Chair recognizes Delegate Flore, of the Committee on Labels.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS

Vice President Flore: The Secretary of the Committee was obliged to keep an engagement so it will be necessary for me to read the report.

Vice President Flore reported as follows:

Urging Demand for Union Label Watermark of Papermakers

Resolution No. 69—By Delegate Kenneth I. Taylor, Massachusetts State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, All members of organized labor, and all those professing friendship for, or membership in organized labor, should be consistent in demanding that all their printing bear the Allied Printing Trades Council Union label, and that such printing be made a 100% union job by insisting that such printing be on paper showing the union watermark of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers; and

WHEREAS, Such consistent demand for, and use of union watermark paper will mean increasing employment for members of the International Brotherhood of Papermakers; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That all delegates and members of local unions, as well as the State Federations use their best endeavors to secure the use of union watermark paper by all local unions, friends of Labor, politicians and political parties; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the 53rd Annual Convention of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor assembled in Worcester, authorize its officers to give this resolution the greatest effect possible by calling same to the attention of all political parties, politicians, and request similar action by the American

Federation of Labor with respect to national political parties, and that same be given to the press.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution.

The recommendation of the committee was adopted.

Sheep Shearers Union Label

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate A. A. Evans, Sheep Shearers Union of North America.

WHEREAS, The membership of the Sheep Shearers' Union of North America following their usual vocation in the States of Arizona and California during the months of February, March and April, 1938, were forced out on strike in their attempt to promote the welfare of the Labor movement by requesting of their employers the privilege of placing the International Sheep Shearers' Union Label on bags containing wool; and

WHEREAS, They were blocked in their efforts due entirely to the activities of the Associated Farmers, Inc., Bankers Associations, Loan and Finance Companies, Wool Merchants and other employer associations too numerous to mention; and

WHEREAS, The above Associations had only one object in view in their activities to prevent the International Sheep Shearers' Union Label from being placed on wool bags, that being to prevent the advancement of the Union Label Department of the American Federation of Labor and prevent organizing the unorganized workers; and

WHEREAS, It is an obligation that every Labor Organization owes to another to give support to the Union Label Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officers and Delegates assembled at the fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, October, 1938, go on record as endorsing the International Sheep Shearers' Union's future program of labelling all wool bags containing wool; and, further, be it

RESOLVED, That the Officials of the American Federation of Labor will, before February 1, 1939, take the necessary action to notify all affiliated Labor Organizations handling wool to give all possible support in making this resolution effective.

In reporting on Resolution No. 70, your Committee begs leave to report:

While in perfect sympathy with every move to promote the use of the union label, and to expand the radius of its influence, it must have some background of authenticated fact upon which to predicate a recommendation. Your Committee, collectively and individually has endeavored to contact Delegate Evans, the introducer of this resolution, but in vain. The sheep raising and the wool producing industry covers a wide range of territory—especially

from the Missouri River Valley to the Pacific Coast. The resolution itself cites that one farm organization has sought to block the efforts toward this branch of union label promotion. Butchers and meat cutters, and kindred crafts have an interest in this movement, and are asking questions relating thereto which your committee is in no position to answer. In this nebulous state of affairs your Committee has no other alternative than to recommend non-concurrence in this resolution, as now constituted, but we further recommend that it be referred to the Executive Council in conjunction with the Union Label Trades Department for proper consideration.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Concluding Observations

In bringing this report to a formal close your Committee submits the following observations:

The Union Label movement is a department of the general scheme of organized labor advancement which is something more than a mere adjunct to a cause. It represents a forward-looking, intelligently constructive and vital force. Year after year this Committee has seen and heard the Department give an account of its stewardship. The Department has reached the point where it can radiate a happy optimism over things accomplished, and give substantial reason for an abiding faith in achievements to be realized in days which are to come.

The Thirty-fifth annual convention of the Union Label Trades Department, which immediately preceded this convention, was the crowning event of a forward-moving year.

An inspirational sign of the times is the disclosure that a revived industrial conscience is being manifested. The seat of power is shifting from the property class to the producing and consuming mass.

Inquiry concerning the union label has increased from an indifferent whisper to a chorus of earnest interrogation. More buttons are being worn, more shop cards decorate the wall.

An event of special significance was the first annual A. F. of L. Union Label and Industrial Exposition held in the Cincinnati Music Hall. It aroused much interest among certain manufacturers and business institutions—the result of which has been a new demand for unionization in many industries and a corre-

spondingly increased demand for the insignia which tells who and what we are.

One of the most elaborate publications ever issued by organized labor for the promotion of an event was the twenty-eight page brochure, which emphasized the fact that there are twenty-five million Union Label-consumers with a total annual purchasing power of over six billion dollars.

President Green was honorary chairman of the Exposition. President Matthew Woll and Secretary-Treasurer I. M. Ornburn both prepared statements for the brochure.

The Labor Press is uniformly helpful in preaching the doctrine of the union label.

Literature is always available for those interested in the cause.

Radio broadcasting has been extensively used.

A Union Label Catalogue-Directory is a fifty-page catalogue which may be had for the asking.

Over a million farmers are now demanding the union label on their wearing apparel and all other purchases wherever available.

There has been a healthy growth in Union Label Leagues.

Eight great national and international unions have become affiliated with the Union Trades Label Department since the last convention.

In many cities Union Label Weeks have been set apart and enthusiastically observed.

Governor Frank F. Merriam issued a proclamation for a Union Label Week in California.

Women Auxiliaries have extended fine cooperation.

The National Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has ever shown a deep interest; exercised a helpful influence, and given appreciative recognition of the Union Label cause.

We earnestly commend to all delegates a thorough perusal of the available literature bearing upon the topic referred to herein. We congratulate the officials in charge upon the progress made. May their zeal be unquenchable, and the fruits of their labor imperishable.

EDWARD FLORE, Chairman
CHAUNCEY A. WEAVER, Secretary
JOSEPH OBERGFELL
H. BARBOUR
PETER BEISEL
ANTHONY MERLINO

M. S. MAXWELL
HERMAN FINKELSTEIN
GEORGE C. SLATER
W. G. DESEPTÉ
MATTHEW BURNS
JAMES A. TAYLOR
JOSEPH ORR
E. L. WHEATLEY
JOHN ZITELLO
ANASTASIA BECKER
EDGAR HANN
R. E. VAN HORN
DAVE OTTER
HENRY E. CLEMENS

Vice-President Flore moved the adoption of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The report of the Committee on Labels as a whole was adopted by unanimous vote and the committee discharged with the thanks of the convention.

President Green: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Building Trades, Delegate McInerney.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON BUILDING TRADES

Chairman McInerney: The report will be submitted by Delegate Rooney, the Secretary of the Committee.

Delegate Rooney, secretary of the committee, submitted the following report:

The following portions of the Executive Council's Report were referred to the Committee on Building Trades:

The portion of the report on National Legislation dealing with the National Housing Act Amendments of 1938 designed to enlarge the Federal Housing Administration program;

The portion of the report on National Legislation dealing with the United States Housing Act Amendments of 1938, designed to expand the low-rent housing and slum clearance program;

The portion of the report on National Legislation dealing with Subcontractors on Public Buildings and dealing with proposed legislation designed to eliminate the practice of "bid peddling" on government contracts;

The portion of the report dealing with the major developments during the past year in the operation of the United States Housing Authority, the Federal Housing Administration and the Farm Security Administration.

It is the desire of the Committee on Building Trades to point out that the parts of the Executive Council's Report presenting these subjects constitute a notable contribution in apprising the delegates to this convention as well as all officers and members of the American Federation of Labor with important legislative and administrative developments which are of vital importance to Labor.

Your committee has considered jointly the related subject matters placed before it and reports as follows:

FEDERAL HOUSING ADMINISTRATION
(Pages 148 and 158 Executive Council Report)

On page 158 the Executive Council reports on the passage of amendments to the National Housing Act of 1934 extending the scope of mortgage insurance operations of the Federal Housing Administration. The report stresses the importance of reducing the interest rates and service charges to the maximum of 5½ percent per year and of raising the coverage of federal insurance from 80 to 90 percent of the appraisal value of housing, made effective by these amendments. The notable success of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and of the A. F. of L. Housing Committee in defeating the so-called "annual wage plan" is also reported. The Council further reports on the efforts to secure the passage of the prevailing wage amendment which was defeated by a narrow margin in the final vote on the bill; although it had been previously approved by a large majority of the Senate.

On page 148 the Executive Council reports on the increased volume of mortgage insurance business handled by the Federal Housing Administration in the first eight months of 1938, reflecting the effectiveness of the 1938 amendments passed with the support of the American Federation of Labor.

We approve the action of the officers of the American Federation of Labor and recommend the continuance of their efforts.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SLUM CLEARANCE AND LOW-RENT HOUSING

(Pages 149 and 159 Executive Council Report)

On page 159 the Executive Council reports on the successful passage of amendments to

the United States Housing Act of 1938 increasing the authorization of funds for the use of the United States Housing Authority in the form of construction loans to local housing authorities from \$500,000,000 to \$800,000,000. The report points out that these important amendments were originally formulated by the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor and that effective backing by local labor housing committees and local building trades councils throughout the nation was largely responsible for the adoption of the amendment by Congress.

On page 149 the Executive Council reports on the progress made by the United States Housing Authority during the first year of its administration of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program. The report indicates that \$517,000,000 have been earmarked by the U.S.H.A. for the construction of low-rent dwellings, that final loan contracts for \$154,000,000 have been approved by the President for projects in 28 cities, and that in a number of these cities slum demolition and construction of projects has begun. The report emphasizes the important fact that more than 250 local labor housing committees are actively functioning to further Labor's interests in the program and that on 50 local housing authorities the American Federation of Labor has direct representation. In conclusion, the Executive Council expresses belief that the work of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor should be pressed with increased vigor and suggests that, in view of the inadequacy of loan funds thus far made available by Congress to fill the vast need for low rent housing, the Housing Committee be requested to formulate for submission to the next Congress further modification of the Wagner-Steagall Act which would enlarge the scope of the program.

We fully concur in the report, conclusions and recommendations of the Executive Council. We further wish to state that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, and the Housing Committee consisting of Vice-President Bates, Vice-President Coefield and President Collieran of the Operative Plasterers, are to be congratulated on their unrelenting efforts to broaden the scope of low-rent housing and slum clearance program and to assure Labor's full share in its benefits.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Co-operation of A. F. of L. Labor Housing Committees Essential to Success of Purposes of Housing Act

Resolution No. 126—By Delegates Joseph A. McInerney, and Herbert Rivers, of A. F. of L. Building and Construction Trades Department.

In accordance with the action of the convention of the Building and Construction Trades Department, we submit the following resolution:

WHEREAS, The low-rent housing and slum-clearance program provided for in the United States Housing Act of 1937 is now well under way, and is reaching the stage of actual construction; and

WHEREAS, Although the Housing Act represents a great legislative victory for labor, and constitutes a first concrete step toward the solution of the housing problem, it was finally passed with certain cuts and amendments which seriously limit the scope of the Act and may even prevent action in many localities, and which will necessitate further legislative action under labor leadership in the next session of Congress; and

WHEREAS, Successful operation of the Housing Act, to insure permanently increased employment of building trades workers and the eventual construction of an adequate supply of low-rent homes to meet the acute housing shortage and fulfill the needs of low-income workers' families, depends absolutely on the active and responsible participation of local labor organizations in every step of the program from appointment of local housing authorities to initiation, construction and management of housing projects; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the Building and Construction Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations shall take all necessary steps to guarantee such amendment of the Housing Act at the earliest possible moment as may seem advisable to guarantee the continuity and extension of the program; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the appointment of local Labor Housing Committees by Building Trades Councils and Central Bodies, to co-operate with the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor, as urged by the Atlantic City Convention of the American Federation of Labor in 1935, shall be continued on a broader scale; and that such Labor Housing Committees shall insure satisfactory labor representation on all local housing authorities, and shall take an active and responsible part in all local housing activities under the Housing Act, including the proper initiation and management of projects as well as the safeguarding of fair wages and working conditions during construction; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution shall be introduced into the convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 126 calls for further amendments of the U. S. Housing Act to guarantee

the extension and continuity of the low-rent housing and slum clearance program. The resolution also calls for establishment of local labor housing committees on broader scale, to insure satisfactory labor representation on all local housing authorities, and to take active and responsible part in all local housing activities under the Act, including the proper initiation and management of projects as well as the safeguarding of fair wages and working conditions during construction. This resolution was considered by the committee in conjunction with the portions of the Executive Council's report dealing with slum clearance and low-rent housing.

Your committee, in recommending concurrence in this resolution, further recommends that the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations take all the necessary steps to formulate such amendments of the Housing Act at the earliest possible moment as may seem advisable to guarantee the continuity and extension of the program, and that the question of the amendments to the Housing Act be referred to the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

We further recommend that pursuant to the action of the American Federation of Labor Convention at Denver, Colorado in 1937, further steps be taken to bring about the formation of Local Labor Housing Committees by every State Federation of Labor and every Central Labor Union and to expand the activity of existing local labor housing committees, under general direction of the Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SUBCONTRACTORS ON PUBLIC BUILDINGS

(Page 163 Executive Council Report)

On page 163 the Executive Council reports on the efforts of the American Federation of Labor to secure the enactment of H.R. 146 designed to require contractors on public building projects to name their subcontractors in order to eliminate the vicious practice known as "bid peddling" in connection with Government contracts. Although passed by both houses of Congress with support of the American Federation of Labor, this measure was given "pocket veto" by the President. The Executive Council recommends that this measure be reintroduced in the next session

of Congress and that every effort be made to enact it into law.

We recommend concurrence in this portion of the Executive Council's report.

Protesting Encroachment of WPA on

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Competitive Private Construction Business

Resolution No. 27—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is a general realization on the part of carpenters as well as on the part of business men of the United States that recovery from the depression in which we now find ourselves will be realized only by the re-establishment of private business in its proper place in our national economic structure; and

WHEREAS, The Works Progress Administration is encroaching more and more on established industry by means of instigation and development of projects which properly belong under and should be conducted by the contract system; and

WHEREAS, There are indications that the Works Progress Administration is becoming more and more of a permanent nature rather than of an emergency character; and

WHEREAS, The expansion of Works Progress Administration into organized construction fields results in a demoralized industry making it incapable of re-employing men at full time jobs and incapable of paying taxes to support the Government; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Council of Carpenters of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America protest against the further expansion of the Works Progress Administration in competitive construction fields which is detrimental to the organized industry and urges the liquidation of the Works Progress Administration as far as possible in those fields through the adjustment and extension of normal existing agencies; be it further

RESOLVED, That this Resolution be referred to the Illinois State Federation of Labor with request for their endorsement; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Resolution No. 27 protests against further expansion of WPA in competitive construction fields as detrimental to labor organized in private industry in such fields and urges the liquidation of WPA activity in these fields.

Developments during the past year in which the WPA has become increasingly active on projects involving construction which would normally be carried out by private contractors employing union labor, have assumed por-

tions of a serious threat to building and construction trades mechanics and laborers and to the wage and other standards established by union labor over many years.

Your committee recommends concurrence in this resolution and further recommends that the Convention instruct the officers of the American Federation of Labor to carry out the purposes of this resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Rooney: This completes the report of the Committee on Building Trades, which is signed:

JOSEPH A. McINERNEY, Chairman
JOHN E. ROONEY, Secretary
WM. J. MCSORLEY
JOSEPH V. MORESCHI
F. B. COMFORT
WM. E. MALONEY
W. J. MCCAIN
JAMES J. RYAN
WILLIAM H. FALLON
EDWARD L. NOLAN
M. W. MITCHELL
JOHN OLIVER
R. T. MOODY
J. M. GAVLAK
JOHN O'DONNELL
DAVID DANAHY
JOHN LOCHER

Committee on Building Trades.

Delegate Coleman, Washington and District of Columbia Federation of Labor: The name of John Locher was added to that committee, and I would request that it be inserted.

President Green: Brother Locher was added to the committee and his name will be inserted.

Delegate Rooney moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention for its services.

The Chair now recognizes the Committee on Industrial Relations, Vice President Coefield, Chairman.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

Vice President Coefield: The report will be submitted by Delegate Kehoe, Secretary of the Committee.

Delegate Kehoe, Secretary of the Committee, submitted the following:

Protesting Labor Lolly of R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, Chicago, Illinois

Resolution No. 128—By Delegates Claude M. Baker, Henry E. Clemens, William H. Harris, Elmer David Manning, Nicholas M. Di Pietro, Glenn L. Mitchell, International Typographical Union; George L. Berry, Fred Verhines, Jos. C. Orr, Daniel C. Murphy, Albert Hunter, International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union of North America; Frank H. Glenn, Matthew Woll, Henry F. Schmal, International Photo-Engravers' Union of North America.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled at Houston, Texas, does hereby wholeheartedly endorse the campaign of the Chicago Printing Trades Unions, against the anti-union concern of R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company, also known as The Lakeside Press and the Reuben H. Donnelley Corporation, and does hereby pledge the facilities of the American Federation of Labor to the end that the vast volume of work now being done at the Donnelley plant shall be printed under union conditions.

Your Committee is in full accord with the purport and objective of this resolution, which is designed to the end that work of printing tradesmen employed by the R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company of Chicago, now done under non-union conditions, shall be performed under union conditions. This of course can be accomplished in one of two ways, either to organize completely this establishment in all of its departments and enforce union standards or through influence that may be brought to bear upon the company through the power of patronage or by a combination of both these procedures.

The resolution does not indicate the procedure to be followed. It refers to a campaign inaugurated by the Chicago Printing Trades Unions, but your Committee is wholly unaware of the character of campaign outlined. Your Committee is unaware, therefore, as to the extent this campaign embraces cooperation on the part of the A. F. of L. and its affiliated unions. Inasmuch as your Committee is desirous and anxious that the A. F. of L. and its affiliated unions shall be of service in every possible way, it recommends reference of this resolution to the Executive Council and in the light and for the purpose herebefore indicated.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate DiPietro, Typographical Union: I rise to support the recommendation of the committee, and under instructions of the Eighty-Second Convention of the International Typographical Union to submit to you at this time a brief report of the campaign against R. R. Donnelley and Sons. The Donnelley enterprises are a giant organization employing more than 12,000 people, with headquarters in the city of Chicago. It is operated under completely anti-union conditions. For years it has been the implacable foe of organized labor, and its officials have been in the forefront of every assault on trade unions in the Chicago area. Some of the most widely circulated magazines of the nation are printed by this concern.

Since 1906, the time of the printing trades strike, R. R. Donnelley & Sons of Chicago have fought the printing trades unions. It was Mr. Donnelley, Senior, who took the initiative in organizing a commission to destroy labor in Chicago. It was he who popularized the so-called open shop plan which he had the effrontery to term the American plan. But Mr. Donnelley did not assail the printing trades unions alone. He interfered in every labor dispute in Chicago and vicinity. It was T. E. Donnelley who formed the notorious Vigilante group called the Citizens Committee for Enforcing the Landis Award. This award had for its purpose the tearing to pieces of the building trades unions of the Middle West. The award provided for a twenty-five to fifty per cent reduction in the wages of all building trades workers. That was in 1921. The labor unions opposed the award and the formation of the Donnelley Committee, and for seven years fought Donnelley, Insull, Marshall Field and others in the State of Illinois. After seven years the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois ordered the committee dissolved. Donnelley revealed his true nature when he hired gunmen and gangsters and placed guns and gas in their hands and had them assault members of the labor unions in Chicago and the Middle West.

Every effort was made to terrorize and destroy every labor group, and since that committee was ordered dissolved by the high court of the State of Illinois, the printing trades and particularly the Typographical Union have carried on a defensive fight against Donnelley, but last March the Chicago Typographical Union was successful in

negotiating a wage increase for its commercial printers. Donnelley immediately sent out salesmen to underbid all union printing shops in Chicago. It was a direct challenge against the higher printing commercial scale in that city. If successful the next commercial scale would be affected in a serious manner, so the Chicago Typographical Union immediately accepted the challenge.

A wide campaign against Donnelley's was instituted. The Chicago Federation of Labor placed Donnelley's on the unfair list. Labor's radio station in Chicago was drafted and the public was notified in every possible manner of the campaign against the Donnelley enterprises.

Time Magazine, Life Magazine, Current History and many other magazines were placed on the unfair list. Hundreds of local unions, building trades Councils, the Carpenters' District Council, the Painters' District Council, the Metal Trades, Street and Electric Railway Brotherhoods, the shop and railroad brotherhoods have become actively engaged in the drive against the Donnelley enterprises.

This reveals clearly the fact that labor has not forgotten Donnelley's past record. It reveals that labor considers the name of Donnelley as synonymous with anti-unionism and anti-Americanism. The campaign against Donnelley's has now become nation-wide. Special representatives have been placed in the national field by the printing trades unions.

Donnelley prints a number of large telephone directories, so we started after that type of work. In Indiana alone 48 telephone directories have been taken from the Donnelley enterprises and are now being printed under union conditions. In other states we have enjoyed successes to a fair degree.

We are carrying on this phase of the campaign with all possible vigor, and hundreds of advertisers have been induced to cancel their ads in the telephone directories being printed now by Donnelley's.

Special efforts are being exerted against Time Magazine, Life, Current History, and many other similar Donnelley publications, and we appeal to all laboring men and women to give special attention to this phase of our campaign. Time, Life and Current History have no legitimate place in the halls nor in the hands of organized men and women, and their friends until such time as they are printed under union conditions.

We are delighted to report that as a result

of our campaign the Catholic Messenger, a magazine with a circulation of a quarter of a million, has been removed from Donnelley's. It is now being printed under union conditions.

Another phase of the campaign is directed against all school books printed by Donnelley's, such as Bobbs-Merrill publications, and we recommend that all labor groups file protest with every school board which purchases a single school book from Donnelley's.

Donnelley also prints the Sears-Roebuck catalogues, one of the largest printing jobs in the United States. We instituted a barrage and convinced Sears-Roebuck it would be better to have their catalog printed under union conditions. Late in August Sears-Roebuck resented our efforts, and they decided to show their resentment by taking a large union job out of a union shop and having it printed by Donnelley. We resented that, so we immediately threw a picket line around the Sears-Roebuck store in the Chicago Loop. But they showed good judgment in taking that job out of the hands of Donnelley within an hour and a half after we threw a picket line around their store.

Finally, Donnelley's decided to go after Moody's Financial Publications. We heard about it and went after Moody, and the result of that was that Moody's Financial Publications are going to continue to be printed under union conditions.

In conclusion, I believe I speak for all printing trade union members when I say we are grateful for the broad and splendid cooperation given to us by all the members of the Chicago Federation of Labor and its friends, and we trust that that cooperation will continue and will increase and that the members of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor will see their way clear to give active and continued assistance during the remainder of the Donnelley campaign. If that is done we are confident that we shall be able to report to a future convention of the American Federation of Labor our campaign against Donnelley's has been successful.

We who sit here in this convention representing the International Typographical Union of North America do believe and are convinced that our membership will decide that its delegation shall return to future conventions of the American Federation of Labor, so that we may be able at that time to report a successful campaign against Donnelley's.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate Kehoe, Secretary of the Committee: This completes the committee's report, Mr. Chairman, and it is signed by the members of the committee:

JOHN COEFIELD, Chairman
JOSEPH J. KEHOE, Secretary
CHARLES D. DUFFY
JOSEPH S. FAY
CHARLES J. CASE
HARRY MILTON
JOHN C. SWEENEY
JOHN O'ROURKE
CHARLES POE
CHARLES N. PAULSEN
JAMES CLOSE
WALTER C. BROOKS
E. Z. HARRIS
W. W. BRITTON
JOHN LUNDERGAN
MICHAEL DWYER
JOHN P. NICK
THOMAS CAIRNS
LEO FISCHER
Committee on Industrial
Relations.

Chairman Coefield moved the adoption of the report of the committee as a whole.

The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention for its report.

The following Supplemental Report of the Executive Council was submitted:

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

(Resolutions received from directly affiliated local and federal labor unions)

The constitution of the American Federation of Labor directs that resolutions received from "directly affiliated local and federal labor unions shall be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and disposition. The Executive Council shall in turn advise the convention of the American Federation of Labor of the disposition made of such proposal or proposals."

The Executive Council herewith reports upon the resolutions received from the A. F. of L. local unions.

Fur Workers Unions Nos. 21479, 21480, 21481, of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, have introduced three resolutions; one, proposing formation of a Fur Workers' National Council;

two, Fur Workers' application for financial assistance; and three, a declaration expressing appreciation for assistance rendered by the A. F. of L.

The latter resolution requires no action since it is one of appreciation and thanks for assistance rendered.

The other two resolutions have been referred by the Council to the executive officers for their further consideration and such action as opportunity affords and may present itself.

Resolution introduced by Federal Labor Union No. 20186, of Barberton, Ohio, urging measures to secure Labor representation in national, state and local Government administrative bodies.

This resolution has been referred to the executive officers of the Federation to further the objective sought.

Resolution introduced by Stenographers, Typists, Bookkeepers and Assistants' Union No. 16812 of Detroit, Michigan, requesting appointment of full time organizers for office employees to increase membership to the point where an International Union of Office Workers can be formed, has been referred to the President who has charge of the appointing and directing of the organizing staff for his consideration.

Resolution introduced by Nurses' Union No. 19923 of San Francisco, requesting organizers and financial assistance for an educational program to organize professional nurses.

The question of appointing an organizer for the purpose of organizing professional nurses has been referred to the President.

President Green: There is one more committee and then we are through, the Committee on Legislation, and the Chair recognizes Delegate Ornburn, Chairman of the Committee.

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee, will submit the report.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION

Secretary George submitted the following report:

Mr. Chairman, officers and delegates to the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Your Committee on Legislation has given careful consideration to the subjects assigned to it and submits for your consideration the following report.

There were referred to this committee the following sections of the Report of the Executive Council:

National Legislation

Relief Legislation
Credit Unions
Merchant Marine Act of 1938
Small Claims Court
Longshoremen's Compensation Act
Workmen's Compensation
Strike Breakers' Transportation
Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938
International Copyright
Profiteering in Time of War
Government Employees Legislation
Equal Rights Amendment
Immigration
Whiskey Tax
Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act
Government Printing Office
Asiatic Exclusion Law
Holiday Compensation
Government Reorganization
Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Schools
Age Limit

There were also referred to this committee 42 resolutions, Nos. 10, 16, 28 to 38 inclusive, 56, 79, 82, 84, 85, 86, 93, 94, 109, 111, 112, 118, 123, and 124.

That portion of the report of the Executive Council referred to this committee begins on page 152.

National Legislation

Under the heading, "National Legislation," on page 152 of its report, the Executive Council lists twenty-three laws enacted by the 75th Congress directly affecting members of the American Federation of Labor and all other American workers that were sponsored by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates.

Particular attention is directed to the Wages and Hours Law. While the law does not contain all that was desired, in its final form many obnoxious features were eliminated, especially the proposed authority for differentials in wages and hours in different sections of the country. The enactment of this law was a distinct American Federation of Labor victory.

Under the succeeding sub-headings more detailed reports are given on various legislative proposals. In this connection it is well to

point out that the prevention of the enactment of adverse or vicious legislation is of equal or greater importance, as a function and responsibility of the legislative machinery of the American Federation of Labor, than that of initiating and securing constructive legislation. Victories for the American Federation of Labor of both kinds were won in the last session of Congress. However, while a successful effort in behalf of a constructive or progressive measure may mean a lasting or a permanent benefit, successful opposition to adverse or vicious proposals can mean only temporary security. The price of lasting security as well as of material progress is thorough effective organization, perpetual vigilance, and the spirit and determination as well as the available facilities for militant and prompt action.

We commend the Executive Council and the legislative staff for the victories of both kinds won in the last Congress.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Age Limit

The report, under the caption, "Age Limit," page 171, notes the failure of Congress to adopt a resolution providing for an investigation of the extent of discrimination against workers on account of age and the effect thereon of pension, retirement, compensation, and group insurance laws or private provisions for same.

We recommend that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to continue intense efforts to secure such an investigation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Asiatic Exclusion Law Attacked

Under the caption "Asiatic Exclusion Law Attacked," page 168, attention is directed to the proposal of the CIO to permit the naturalization of Filipino seamen and to the danger of opening up the entire question of exclusion of certain nationals. Up to date this proposal has been successfully opposed by the American Federation of Labor.

In view of the fact that thousands of American seamen are now unemployed and of the danger to all American labor of any lowering of present safeguards from the competition of alien workers, we recommend that the Executive Council be commended for

its stand and that the utmost vigilance be exercised and determined opposition be presented to any such proposal.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Longshoremen's Compensation Act

Under the caption, "Longshoremen's Compensation Act," page 163, there is reported the enactment of amendments to the original act, greatly improving the administrative provisions as well as liberalizing the benefits.

We commend the Federation for its support of these improvements.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Workmen's Compensation

Under the heading, "Workmen's Compensation," page 166, the Executive Council reviews efforts to secure enactment of a bill to provide compensation for injury or death to employees of contractors on Federal public buildings. This bill failed of passage in the 75th Congress.

It is recommended that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to have similar legislation introduced in the next session of Congress and to exert every possible effort to secure its enactment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938

Under the caption "Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938," on page 162, there is presented a digest of the terms of said act and the labor provisions are presented verbatim.

This act marks an important forward step for airplane pilots and co-pilots engaged in transportation overseas or in foreign transportation or in territories of the United States by guaranteeing at least the minimum conditions enjoyed by pilots and co-pilots in domestic service and the right to secure improvements in conditions through collective bargaining.

The organized Air Line Pilots and the American Federation of Labor are to be congratulated upon securing this legislation in spite of determined and formidable opposition.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Credit Unions

Under the caption, "Credit Unions," page 158, the Executive Council reports the enactment of important amendments to the Federal Credit Union Law throwing around it safeguards for the saving and service features of cooperative credit unions. The development and enlargement of credit unions along sound lines is so highly important that all organizations are urged to give serious consideration to see that their memberships are properly informed before embarking on promotion of these activities. The Executive Council is commended for its support to the development of sound legislation for their protection.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Schools

Under the heading, "Discrimination Against Graduates of Certain Schools," page 170, attention is called to a bill to prohibit the U. S. Civil Service Commission, in announcing examinations for positions requiring legal training or experience, from setting up as a prerequisite for eligibility to take such an examination (1) graduation from a particular law school, (2) graduation from a law school or particular class or one which has been approved or accredited by any association, organization, or group, or (3) college training in addition to law school training. Appointing officers in agencies excepted from the classified civil service would likewise be inhibited from setting up such prerequisite qualifications for appointees.

This bill failed of passage in the 75th Congress. A similar bill will be introduced in the next session and assurance given that every effort will be made to have it enacted into law.

The United States Civil Service Commission has approved it.

In view of a growing tendency on the part of organizations, of which the American Bar Association is an example, to seek to dictate all appointments in the public service, civil service and otherwise, by the setting up of prerequisite qualifications that make it impossible for many able and efficient applicants to be given consideration, we recommend that the Executive Council be commended for its stand and that the incoming Executive Council be instructed to exert its

best efforts to secure favorable action on this legislation and that all orders, rules, laws, or practices that discriminate against workers who possess necessary qualifications for efficient service be opposed.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Copyright Union, International

Under the head of "International Copyright Union," page 164, the Executive Council notes its opposition to a bill proposing to remove restrictions on foreign publications that would seriously and adversely affect more than 70,000 printing trades workers in America.

The provisions of Section 15 of the Copyright Laws are the only protection the organized Printing Trades workers have from having thousands of books, protected by copyright, from being produced by workers in foreign countries.

We believe the Congress of the United States and especially the United States Senate should be advised of how vital this matter is to the organized workers and of our unalterable opposition to our entry into any copyright treaty or change in our laws which permits of copyrighted printed matter being produced by other than by American workers.

We recommend that the Incoming Executive Council be instructed to continue efforts to maintain in the Copyright Treaty and the Copyright laws proper safeguards for American workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Equal Rights Amendment

Under the heading, "Equal Rights Amendment," page 166, the Executive Council reports that the so-called "Equal Rights" Amendment to the United States Constitution which has been advocated by certain groups of organized women for many years was reported to the Senate from the Judiciary Committee by a tie vote. However, when it was considered in the Senate, Senator Borah, a member of the Judiciary Committee who had voted against its approval, asked that it be recommitted to the Committee, which was done.

The proposed amendment reads as follows:

Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

While this subject is one that has been before the American Federation of Labor and the American people continuously for many years, it is not amiss to again call specific attention to its significance. Couched in terms that appeal strongly to our traditional sense of justice as well as to our ideals of chivalry it is necessary to search behind these into the practical effects in order to realize its full significance.

The American Federation of Labor is the one organization that has stood and stands today for the continuous progress toward even justice and the advancement of civilization for all of the people. Recognizing as it does the absolute necessity for raising the standards of living of all citizens and more especially the least fortunate, the unorganized, and the helpless unorganizable groups; realizing that every exploited worker is a menace to the welfare of the more fortunate, the American Federation of Labor, and its constituent organizations, through the years has striven to establish and has established legal safeguards for the welfare of helpless unorganized and unorganizable groups, and most especially women and children.

This proposal, coming in the guise of a great ideal, nevertheless carries in its wake the nullification and abrogation of all the laws, state and national, for the protection of women in industry, that have been secured at such cost by the men and women of labor.

We recommend that this convention reaffirm its position in opposition to this amendment and, commending the Executive Council and the legislative staff upon its past record, instruct the Incoming Executive Council to continue to oppose its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Employees' Legislation

On the subject of "Government Employees' Legislation," on page 165, the Executive Council lists seven bills providing for liberalizing of legislation governing the conditions of Postal and other Government employees. Among these were measures extending salary adjustments to the lower salary groups and the extension of the five-day week to employees not included in the original five-day week law introduced and championed by the Chairman of the House Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, Hon. James M. Mead.

Four bills which were passed by both Houses of Congress were vetoed by the President. Among these were bills to grant increases in pay to carriers and substitutes in the village delivery service and to custodial employees in post offices.

Eight other measures were passed by either the House or Senate, but left pending in the other House of Congress. Among these were bills to grant sick leave and vacations to substitute postal employees, longevity pay for all postal employees, and salary increases for the lower paid groups.

Your committee commends the Executive Council for its support of these measures and urges its continued cooperation with the Government employee organizations in securing favorable action on objectives that failed of passage.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Printing Office

Under the caption, "Government Printing Office," page 167, the Executive Council reports the successful opposition to the enactment of two bills which, if passed, would have deprived several hundred employees of the Government Printing Office of their jobs.

We commend the Executive Council for their action and congratulate both them and the employees affected.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Government Reorganization

Under the title, "Government Reorganization," page 170, the Executive Council reports its opposition to the Reorganization bills in the 75th Congress which resulted in their being recommitted to the committee.

The principal reorganization bill which received wide public attention and discussion was a comprehensive and far-reaching measure and contained provisions that would affect, directly or indirectly, hundreds of thousands of workers and millions of our people. While it contained provisions of merit as well as provisions looked upon as unfavorable, it was the belief that the meritorious objectives could be obtained by other means, while the unfavorable features should be defeated.

We commend the Executive Council and the legislative staff, as well as the legislative staffs of many of the constituent organiza-

tions, for the successful opposition to this measure.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Holiday Compensation

This section of the Executive Council's report, page 168, recites the enactment of a law granting pay to per diem employees of the United States Government for legal holidays and days upon which Government establishments are closed by Executive orders.

We commend the Executive Council for its friendly interest in this legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Immigration

Under the caption, "Immigration," page 167, the report of the Executive Council recites the failure of several bills to liberalize immigration laws in such way as to adversely affect American workers.

We recommend that the Executive Council be commended for its successful opposition to these bills and its stand upon this question, stated in its report as follows:

"The Executive Council is insisting on the policy of the American Federation of Labor to oppose any immigration legislation that will be injurious to the welfare of the wage earners of the United States."

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Merchant Marine Act of 1938

The section of the report under the caption, "Merchant Marine Act of 1938," page 160, recites briefly the terms of several amendments to the Merchant Marine Act of 1936. Also the failure of an amendment to transfer from the National Labor Relations Board the functions of administration of the National Labor Relations Act in the shipping industry to a special board of three members and of a bill to improve conditions as to safety at sea.

It is recommended that efforts be continued to secure favorable action on these and other measures looking to the improvement of conditions in the maritime industry.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Profiteering in Time of War

Under the caption, "Profiteering in Time of War," page 164, the Executive Council reports successful opposition to the May-Shepard Bill which, while represented as a proposal to take the profits out of war activities, would have been in reality a measure to conscript labor.

The consistent opposition of the American Federation of Labor to this form of legislation is based upon sound logic and reasons that are inherent in the principle upon which our ideals of human relationships are based. In the first place, the title of the legislation is a misnomer. It would not eliminate private profits on war activities. It would, however, conscript labor in private or public employment on war activities and would set aside all legislative and other safeguards for workers and labor conditions that have been secured through the sacrifices of organized workers throughout past years. It would be a first long step toward the complete and irrevocable destruction of all that our movement has stood for and of all progress made in the past.

It is certain that similar proposals will be introduced in the next Congress and from time to time in future Congresses.

We therefore recommend that this convention reaffirm its stand in opposition to the conscription of labor and instruct the incoming Executive Council to exert every possible effort to prevent the enactment of such adverse legislation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Relief Legislation

Under the heading, "Relief Legislation," page 156, the report sets forth details regarding appropriations made by the 75th Congress for the W. P. A., and allocations thereof. It is also pointed out that, according to statistics submitted by the administrator of P. W. A., for every employee at the site of a P. W. A. project, two and one-half employees receive employment in the industries furnishing and fabricating materials.

Continued efforts in behalf of adequate appropriations and for administration of the acts in the interest of maintaining prevailing-wage scales is recommended.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Small Claims Court

Under the title "Small Claims Court," page 161, the Executive Council reviews its report to the 1937 convention at which time a bill creating a Small Claims Court for the District of Columbia had passed the Senate and reports that it was passed by the House of Representatives in the Second Session of the 75th Congress and signed by the President on March 5, 1938. The report recites some interesting figures respecting the benefits of its administration and urges City Central bodies and State Federations of Labor to take steps looking to the creation of Small Claims Courts in their respective communities.

Your committee concurs in this recommendation.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Strike Breakers' Transportation, Prohibiting

Under the caption "Strike Breakers' Transportation, Prohibiting," page 162, the Executive Council reports the enactment of a law, amending and amplifying the Act of June 24, 1936, prohibiting the transportation of strike-breakers in interstate or foreign commerce and prohibiting interference with the right of the workers to organize, to engage in collective bargaining, or to peacefully picket.

Your committee commends the Executive Council upon this improvement in the law and urges all organizations to cooperate fully in insisting upon full enforcement.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act

Under the caption, "Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act," page 167, there is reported the enactment of the law named. This was one greatly desired by the Railroad workers and represents a valuable gain upon which they are to be congratulated.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Whiskey Tax

Under the caption "Whiskey Tax," page

167, the Executive Council reports the enactment of a law to protect the interests of distillery workers from threatened unemployment due to the Whiskey Tax law which became effective July 1, 1938.

We commend the Executive Council for their prompt assistance to these workers.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Mr. President: In the interest of clarity and orderly procedure, as well as the conservation of the time of the convention, it has been customary for many years for the delegates representing the various organizations of Federal Government employees to meet and jointly submit those resolutions in which they have a common interest. Because of the constitutional provisions adopted at the Tampa (1936) and Denver (1937) conventions requiring the submission of resolutions thirty days previous to the convention some of these organizations who held conventions or took other action on their objectives within the thirty-day period were unable to join in the submission of some resolutions. The request is therefore made for unanimous consent that the names of George Warfel, delegate of The National Association of Special Delivery Messengers, and Frank W. Meyer, delegate of the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers be added to the list of introducers of resolutions numbers 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 and 35, and the names of Berniece B. Heffner and Cecil E. Custer, delegates of the American Federation of Government Employees be added to the list of introducers of resolution number 35.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Legislative Program of American Federation of Government Employees

Resolution No. 85—By Delegates Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees.

WHEREAS, the American Federation of Government Employees at its Convention held in the City of Chicago, Illinois, September 12, to 15, 1938, adopted the following legislative program:

1. A minimum wage of \$1,500 per annum for all full-time employees with statutory automatic increases in salary.
2. A five-day week of 35 hours with no decrease in pay to be applied throughout the Government Service.

3. Extension of the merit system to include all branches of the civil government now excluded by law.

4. Extension of the Classification Act to the field services desiring the same.

5. Optional retirement after 30 years of service. Amendment of Section 7 of the Retirement Act to permit an employee who has rendered 15 or more years of service and becomes involuntarily separated to receive the benefits otherwise provided in the Act. Unqualified disability retirement after 60 years of age. Optional contributions not to exceed 10 per cent of salary to purchase additional annuities above the specified rate.

6. Compensation for overtime either in the form of salary or leave, with the provision that an employee shall be required to work overtime only upon authorization of the Chief of a major unit of an agency, such authorization being given direct or through the immediate supervisor of the employee. Unlimited accumulation of leave credit as a result of overtime with the provision that it shall be available until used.

7. Application of the night differential to all positions requiring night shifts.

8. Payment of not less than the prevailing wage to craft employees in agencies not affected by wage boards or other machinery for fixing adequate wages.

9. Consideration of length of service, experience, and general fitness in promotional examinations as contemplated by the Executive Orders of June 24, 1938, so as to prevent promotion procedure from becoming mechanical and to assess the true value of each factor entering into the selection of employees for promotion.

10. Creation of a Board of Appeals, independent of the agency in which the employee is employed which shall be so organized as to protect fully the rights of employees.

11. Optional Quarters, Subsistence and Laundry, with provision for applying the cost uniformly to all positions wherein it is customary to supply such services.

12. Shorter hours and more reasonable pay for employees in Veterans' Administration Facilities.

13. Better pay and better working conditions for custodial employees, including charwomen and charmen.

14. More reasonable hours and better working conditions in all Federal Penal Institutions.

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in the City of Houston, Texas, endorse the aforesaid program and assure its affiliate, the American Federation of Government Employees that its representatives will use every effort toward bringing this program to a successful conclusion.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 85.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Employment Conditions of Federal Prison Custodians

Resolution No. 16—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Government Employees working for the United States Penal Institutions, are not enjoying conditions which other employees of the Government are allowed; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled in Houston in 1939, request the incoming Executive Board and the Legislative Committee in Washington, D. C., assist in establishing the following program for employees of Government Penal Institutions.

1—Improvements to Prison Service as a whole

- A. 8 hour day—44 hour week.
- B. Civil Service Court of Appeals.
- C. Retirement optional at twenty years; compulsory at twenty-five years of service because the nature of the work is highly hazardous and causes a mental strain
- D. Physical training, workmanship, and gas training to be on government time.
- E. Mechanical force in field service under classification act and their salaries according to American Federation of Labor Standards.
- F. Proficiency ratings graded same as army officers and not left to any one man's judgment.
- G. That an employee in the prison service be not allowed to work over 12 hours continuously without 8 hours of rest.
- H. Substitute officers, while on furlough, without pay be permitted to leave McNeil Island during the entire furloughed period.
- I. Pressure be brought to bear upon the U. S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., to revoke merger of mechanical group with custodial group as designated in Bulletin No. 377 which took effect April 1, 1938. Also mechanical group be given back their old status previous to merger regarding working conditions, hours and days.

This resolution deals with subjects and affects employees already covered by Resolution No. 85. Your committee therefore recommends no action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

SICK LEAVE AND VACATIONS, FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Correction of Annual and Sick Leave Laws

Resolution No. 29—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer,

M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draby, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; and Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The Acts of March 14, 1938 (Public No. 471 and 472, 74th Congress), establishing for Government employees 26 days annual leave and 15 days sick leave annually with pay, contemplated, in the opinion of organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, who sponsored this legislation, that the absences referred to meant days upon which employees would otherwise work and receive pay; and

WHEREAS, This interpretation of the law was in effect for all per diem 40-hour, five-day week employees, and many others, until January 1, 1938; and

WHEREAS, The executive orders issued by the President on March 21, 1938, which were retroactive to January 1, 1938, provided that in case five-day week employees were on leave and a non-work day occurred within such period of leave, the non-work day would be charged against the annual leave due such employees; and that in case any employees were off on sick leave, included within which period occurred a non-work day and a Sunday, such employees would have the non-work day and the Sunday charged against the sick leave due them; and

WHEREAS, The decision of May 4, 1938, No. A-94536, of the Comptroller General of the United States, held that these executive orders were in conformity with the law; and

WHEREAS, The Attorney General of the United States has advised the President that he has no authority under the law, as enacted, to exclude non-work days and Sundays, as the case may be, from being charged against annual and sick leave due employees under the conditions specified in the President's orders of March 21, 1938; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held at Houston, Texas, express its disappointment and disapproval of the manner in which the leave laws of March 14, 1936, have been interpreted in the instances cited, and that the Executive Council of the American Federation

of Labor render every assistance possible to the affiliated organizations interested, to secure legislation which will entitle employees to 26 days annual and 15 days sick leave, exclusive of Sundays, legal holidays, non-work days, and other time for which employees would not otherwise receive pay.

This resolution seeks amendment of the Federal employees' sick leave and vacation laws to overcome adverse interpretations that have been given them by the Comptroller General and the Attorney General.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 29.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Navy Yard Employees Substituting in Supervisory Positions Should Receive Standard Wage Rates

Resolution No. 53—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing law prohibits mechanics employed in government Navy Yards, Arsenals and on the Panama Canal from receiving the proper rate of pay when substituting temporarily in supervisory positions; and

WHEREAS, This law is particularly objectionable to employees on the Panama Canal because of the long period of time some employees must substitute as supervisors without receiving proper salary for the responsibility taken; and

WHEREAS, In all fairness an employee assigned to a supervisory position should be given the standard wage of the position occupied; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officials of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to make every effort to amend existing law so that employees substituting in higher supervisory positions will receive the wage rate of such position regardless of the length of time occupied.

This resolution requests the payment of the prevailing rate of wages to employees who are temporarily assigned to positions of supervision for which the wage rate is higher than the detailed employee now receives.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 53.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Civil Service as Affecting Masters, Mates and Pilots

Resolution No. 56—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, A large number of members of the National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots of America served for the United States Shipping Board during the World War and were exposed to hazards of the war lanes fully as much as those serving in the military departments in similar service; and

WHEREAS, The Merchant Marine in time of war is always the first line of defense to the navy; and

WHEREAS, These men have been commended by the President of the United States, the Secretary of Navy, the Secretary of War, and other high officials in the government for the patriotic duty they performed during the World War; and

WHEREAS, Through the "march of time" many of these men have now passed the age limit for entering civil service; and

WHEREAS, It is getting more difficult for these men to obtain employment in private industry on account of age; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor go on record favoring changes in the civil service statutes of the state and federal governments to provide for the admission of men who served with the United States Shipping Board during the World War to equal rights and rating with veterans of military establishments; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council and Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to work to advance the intent of this Resolution.

In view of the fact that many groups of employees in State and Federal Government Service, as well as applicants for positions therein, would be affected by the terms of this resolution, your committee recommends that it be referred to the Executive Committee with instructions to confer with the introducers and with the groups affected.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Unemployment Insurance for U. S. Navy Yard Per Diem Employees

Resolution No. 70—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The principle of unemployment insurance has been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor and has been given effect by congressional enactment; and

WHEREAS, Civilian employees on a per diem basis employed in Navy Yards and similar establishments are without unemployment protection; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the American Federation of Labor be, and are, hereby instructed in cooperation with the officers of the Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L. to prepare and have introduced into Con-

gress, legislation establishing unemployment insurance for Navy Yard civilian employees, and those employed in similar establishments.

This resolution asks support of legislation to provide unemployment insurance for civilian navy yard employees and others in similar occupations.

Your committee recommends adoption of this resolution.

In connection with the consideration of Resolution No. 79, urging unemployment insurance for Government employees, the desirability of continuous employment becomes evident; because if there were no discharges or layoffs in Government establishments, there would be no necessity for unemployment insurance.

It has been called to the attention of your committee, that at the present time, layoffs and rotative furloughs are taking place at the New York Navy Yard because of lack of work. The rotative furloughs consist of workmen being required to lose one week's work out of every five, and all employees in the departments affected are thus subjected to unemployment to the extent of one-fifth of their working time.

While the Navy Appropriation Bill was under consideration in the U. S. Senate during the last session of Congress, Senator Homer T. Bone of Washington sought to have eliminated from the bill language inserted by the House, which authorized the Navy Department to let work to private contractors, if such course were deemed advantageous to national defense, even though such work cost more and navy yard employees, who normally would do the work, were laid off.

Following assurances given by Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina, in charge of the bill, and Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts, a member of the Committee and Chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee of the Senate, that there was no intention of letting work to contract, where it could be done at navy yards, if employees would be discharged as a result, the Bone Amendment was rejected.

Since the enactment of that legislation, it appears much work has been let to contract which should have been performed in navy yards, resulting directly or indirectly in these layoffs and rotative furloughs.

In view of these circumstances, your com-

mittee recommends that this phase of your committee's consideration of Resolution No. 79 be referred to the Executive Council for immediate attention, with a view to urging the President of the United States to see to it that the rotative furlough at the New York Navy Yard be discontinued and the furloughed employees be put back to work, and that the two U. S. Senators above mentioned, be appealed to, to use their good offices to see to it, that work be not let to contract, to the detriment of the Government's own employees.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

CUSTODIAL EMPLOYEES—PREVAILING WAGE

Endorsing Ramspeck Bill to Improve Wage Standards of Custodial Service Workers

Resolution No. 93—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, A. F. of L.

WHEREAS, The Classification Act of 1933, as amended, embraces certain trades and other workmen particularly in the Custodial Service, whose wages have not kept pace with those employees coming under the "Wage Board System"; and

WHEREAS, These employees were excepted from the general provisions of the Classification Act of 1923 which excluded the skilled trades from the operation of that Act; and

WHEREAS, It is now proposed to extend the Classification Act to the field service; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, that an effort be made to remove these employees from the purview of the Classification Act of 1923, as amended and to have them placed under a schedule of wages not less than that prevailing in the navy yard service; and to confer upon them the benefits of the 40-hour week, without reduction in weekly earnings; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, endorse the principles of the Ramspeck Bill, H. R. 2698 introduced January 12, 1937, and endeavor to secure its enactment.

This resolution asks that skilled mechanics in the custodial service of the United States Government be excluded from purview of the Classification Act of 1923 as amended, that they be guaranteed no less than the prevailing wage for their respective trades, and that they be granted the benefits of the 40-hour week.

It also asks for endorsement of a specific bill which was introduced in the 75th Congress.

Your Committee is in sympathy with the objective of this resolution. However, in view of the fact that bills of the 75th Congress that failed of enactment, died with that Congress, we recommend that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for appropriate action by the legislative staff.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Enactment of Bill to Prevent Retroactive Liability of State, County and City Employees for Federal Income Tax on Salaries

Resolution No. 124.—By Delegate Carl H. Mullen, Indiana State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, the Federal Department of Justice and the Treasury Department have contended that the principles of immunity protected the Federal Government against taxation by the states, but did not necessarily shield the states against the exercise of the delegated and supreme taxing power of the central government; and

WHEREAS, as a result, firemen employed by the states, counties and municipalities are threatened with an immediate retroactive liability for Federal income tax on their salaries for every year back to 1926; and

WHEREAS, As further result there is drawn into question the immunity from Federal corporate income tax of the revenues derived by the states, their sub-divisions and agencies, taxation of which would derogate state sovereignty and add a crushing burden to the already heavy cost of state and municipal government; and

WHEREAS, The Federal taxing officials have also asserted a constitutional right to add to the cost of state and municipal government by taxing state and municipal bonds while denying to the states and their agencies a constitutional guarantee of their right to reduce that added cost by reciprocal taxation of Federal securities; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Association urge all members of and candidates for both Houses of Congress to support the following bill in Congress at the 1939 Session:

A BILL

To Prevent the Retroactive Application of any Federal Tax Upon the Employees of the States and their Instrumentalities.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled,

That any taxes imposed by the Revenue Act of 1936 or prior Revenue Acts upon any individual in respect of amounts received by him as compensation for personal services as an officer or employee of any state or states or of any political sub-division, or any municipal or public corporate instrumentality or agency thereof (except to the extent that such compensation is paid out of funds of the United States of America) together with

any interest or penalties in connection therewith, shall be cancelled, abated, credited or refunded; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Association opposes any attempt to add to the cost of state and municipal government by Federal taxation without first securing the consent of the states through a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the reciprocal right to tax future issues of Federal Securities in the states and prohibiting any Federal taxation of the revenues already issued, securities of the states, their sub-divisions and agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Association cooperate with the Conference on State Defense in furthering the above program, and that the Executive Committee is hereby given full power and authority to take all steps necessary in connection therewith; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the secretary send a copy of this Resolution to every affiliated local organization, together with the Association's recommendations that a similar resolution be adopted by each, that each local resolution adopted be sent to all members of or candidates for both Houses of Congress from that state and that each local organization actively support and work to secure Congressional and Senatorial commitments for the program endorsed; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we, the members of Local No. 359, do hereby solicit the assistance and the cooperation of the Indiana State Federation of Labor and their affiliates to fight against the decision just recently handed by the Supreme Court, which makes possible retroactive taxation of firemen's salaries and urge the Convention to aid in securing legislation which would prevent such taxation.

Income Tax on State, County, and Municipal Employees; to Prevent Retroactive

This resolution asks for support of legislation to prevent the collection of taxes on the incomes of State, County, or Municipal employees imposed by the Revenue Act of 1936 or prior Acts. It also asks for opposition to legislation imposing taxes on the property of states or municipalities without compensating authority to states, counties, and municipalities to tax Federal securities.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for study and appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension and Improvement of U. S. Civil Service System

Resolution No. 30.—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. F. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Swartz,

Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers, and Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, We believe an equitable merit system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, to be the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its fifty-eighth annual convention reaffirm its unqualified endorsement of the extension of the merit system to all employees of the United States Government except those in positions which the President may determine to be policy-determining in fact; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to continue cooperation with the affiliated organizations of Government employees in their efforts to secure, through legislation and Executive Orders, such extension of the classified civil service.

This resolution is in thorough accord with repeated past declarations and your committee therefore recommends its adoption.

We also recommend that the American Federation of Labor and all constituent organizations, State Federations of Labor, and City Central Bodies cooperate in securing the adoption of classified civil service for all employees of State, County, Municipal, or other political subdivisions of government.

The committee further recommends that the convention go on record as favoring and urging the granting of ample funds to the United States Civil Service Commission with which to give full force and effect to the two Executive Orders of June 24, 1938, extending the competitive classified civil service and amending the Civil Service Rules.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Higher Standards in Government Employment

Resolution No. 31—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, George G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers, and Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor at successive conventions has adopted resolutions favorable to improved working conditions in government employment, relating particularly to the extension and liberalization of sick and vacation leaves; the elimination of harmful and objectionable speed-up practices; the reduction of night work requirements, the establishment of a Civil Service Employees Court of Appeals, as a separate and independent institution with employee representation thereon; employee representation on all personnel boards; unqualified adherence to and extension of the civil service system with respect to appointment and to tenure of office; the improvement of postal substitute employees' and village letter carriers' working and wage conditions; the extension of the shorter week principle without reduction in wages; equitable upward pay revision; equitable automatic promotion systems for all employees; prompt payment of salaries; extension of the classification principle to those groups which would be benefited thereby and who desire it; prompt elimination of the evils of present so-called efficiency rating systems; higher rate of compensation for overtime and for night work and kindred betterments; and

WHEREAS, These measures conform to the program and urgings of the American Federation of Labor to the effect that the government establish and maintain employment standards as a model for establishments in private industry; be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its position in favor of higher gov-

ernment employment standards and instruct the Executive Council to continue its co-operation with the affiliated organizations of government employees in furtherance of the remedial legislative objectives herein mentioned and those of similar purport that are in accord with the program and principles of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution reaffirms endorsement of improvements in working conditions of Government employees heretofore adopted by specific separate action in previous conventions. Your committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Resolutions Nos. 32, 50 and 51, dealing with the subject of retirement laws, were combined by the committee and covered in one report. The resolutions are as follows:

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement for Government Employees

Resolution No. 32—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, George G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Dufly, Luther Swartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Fire Fighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers, and Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, Broad experience has demonstrated the wisdom and usefulness of the present United States Civil Service Retirement Law; and

WHEREAS, This Act has been improved and broadened in its scope and usefulness by amendatory legislation; and

WHEREAS, This beneficent Law would be more humanitarian and also more efficient if retirement were optional with each employee after thirty years of service and provisions made for widows of deceased annuitants; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That in keeping with the requirements of service needs the American

Federation of Labor reaffirm its declaration made in previous conventions and instruct its Executive Council to cooperate with affiliated Government employees' organization to secure the enactment of a thirty-year optional retirement law and a widow's annuity.

Urging Provision in Retirement Act for Widows of Federal Employees

Resolution No. 50—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The present retirement law makes no provisions for the care of the widow of the annuitant; and

WHEREAS, We feel that such provisions are necessary and we realize that the salaries of Federal employees are not sufficient to provide a comfortable living and at the same time enable the worker to save a sum that will insure comfort to his widow in case of death; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, go on record as favoring legislation that shall provide for the widow a sum not less than one-half the amount payable to the annuitant during his or her life under the provisions of the existing retirement law, now in force or hereafter enacted, That such annuity be paid to the widow for the remainder of her unmarried life; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

Thirty-Year Optional Retirement Law—Widow's Annuity

Resolution No. 51—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, We believe that length of service rather than age should determine when an employee retires on pension; and

WHEREAS, The machine age in which we live has created an unemployment problem of the gravest economic and social importance; and

WHEREAS, A 30-year optional retirement law would be one step in the right direction to relieve the above mentioned problem and to give postal employees a more just retirement law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we, the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, favor optional retirement after 30 years' service compulsory retirement at 60 years of age, regardless of rank or title, and that retirement contributions of employees be raised to take care of the employees' share of the additional cost, but not to exceed 5%, and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

These resolutions deal with the question of amending the U. S. Civil Service Retirement Act and are in line with previous declarations of this Federation.

The committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 32.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Non-Civil Service Employees in Postal Service

Resolution No. 33—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Druley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The employment of non-certified temporary employees in the postal service is a menace to the maintenance of civil service and tends to retard appointments to regular positions; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this its fifty-eighth annual convention assert its disapproval of the employment of temporary non-certified civil service employees in the postal service except during bona fide emergencies.

The committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Employees Compensation Commission

Resolution No. 34—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainor, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Letter Carriers; Fred Baer, James A. Petris, International Association of Firefighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Druley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Berniece B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission was originally established largely at the urging of the American Federation of Labor to administer the Workmen's Compensation law covering government employees and since it has subsequently been charged with the duty of administering Federal Workmen's Compensation laws applicable to longshoremen and other harbor workers in private industry, workmen in private employment in the District of Columbia; and the large body of workmen employed on Federal Emergency projects; and

WHEREAS, The United States Employees' Compensation Commission since its establishment has consistently performed its important functions in a humane and sympathetic manner that reflects credit on the system of administration of workmen's compensation legislation by an independent bi-partisan commission; and

WHEREAS, The increase in the number of employees now within the scope of Federal workmen's compensation laws and the possible extension of such laws to other employments within federal jurisdiction makes the administration of these laws a matter of greater interest to the American Federation of Labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its approval of the Commission and the manner in which it has administered the laws under its jurisdiction; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirm its stand for the preservation of the present form of administration of the Federal workmen's compensation laws by maintaining the United States Employees' Compensation Commission as an independent establishment; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

This resolution reaffirms the position taken by the American Federation of Labor in numerous previous conventions.

We recommend its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

U. S. Civil Service Commission

Resolution No. 35—By Delegates Leo E. George, Wm. I. Horner, Geo. G. Case, John C. Sweeney, G. W. Strybos, National Federation of Post Office Clerks; Edw. J. Gainer, M. T. Finnan, C. D. Duffy, Luther Swartz, Wm. J. Gorman, National Association of Fire Fighters; C. L. Rosemund, International Federation of Technical Engineers, Architects, and Draftsmen's Unions; N. P. Alifas, International Association of Machinists; Joseph Draley, International Plate Printers, Die Stampers, and Engravers' Union; Charles E. Gibson, National Association of Post Office and Railway Mail Laborers; Henry Strickland, C. M. Harvey, Wm. J. McCain, Railway Mail Association; Charles I. Stengle, Bernice B. Heffner, Cecil E. Custer, American Federation of Government Employees; George Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers; Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, The administration of the laws and regulations having to do with entrance into and advancement within the classified civil service of the United States, the allocation of positions under the Classification Act of 1923, and the administration of the civil service and other related retirement acts applicable to civilian personnel affect the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees; and

WHEREAS, Regulations and amendments thereto issued pursuant to certain of these laws have the force and effect of law; and

WHEREAS, Many decisions had under these laws are quasi-judicial ones; and

WHEREAS, Such necessarily broad authority affecting the welfare and working conditions of many hundreds of thousands of federal government employees should be vested in a commission composed of at least three members; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be the agency charged with the administration of the laws and regulations affecting civilian personnel within the classified civil service of the United States; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the United States Civil Service Commission continue to be a bi-partisan commission; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that one of the members of the United States Civil Service Commission shall be selected with particular reference to his active interest in organized labor; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution

be transmitted to the President of the United States and to all members of Congress.

Included in the provisions of the Government Reorganization bill was one to supplant the present bi-partisan Civil Service Commission of three members with a single administrator to be appointed for a term of fifteen years. That was one of the chief reasons for the objections of the Civil Service Employee organizations to that bill.

The United States civil service system has been administered by a bi-partisan commission of three members since its inception in 1883. The functions of the Commission in addition to interpreting and administering the laws enacted for establishment and conduct of the classified civil service, are to make rules and regulations and to perform quasi-judicial functions in respect to questions arising out of the operations of recruiting, appointment, transfer, discipline, promotion, and retention in service of over half a million Government employees. To place all of these vital functions into the hands of a single administrator with an assured tenure of fifteen years would be exceedingly dangerous to the equal-handed justice for which a bi-partisan Commission stands.

The vital necessity to the vast group of Government employees of an understanding of the employees' interests by the administration prompts the insistence upon a bi-partisan Commission instead of a single administrator and upon the inclusion on the Commission of at least one selected with regard to interest in and experience with organized labor.

Your committee recommends that the fourth "Resolve," reading as follows:

"RESOLVED, That the Fifty-Eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposition that the tenure of office of commissioners be for a period of fifteen years, with restrictions governing removals similar to those applying to the position of comptroller general of the United States, provided that initial terms under such tenure act be stated at five, ten, and fifteen years, respectively; and be it further," be eliminated and that the resolution as amended be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly on Resolutions Nos. 36 and 39, which are as follows:

Luecke Seniority Bill

Resolution No. 36—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Seniority is a well established principle in most trades and industries and particularly the railroad Brotherhoods; and

WHEREAS, Seniority principles are recognized and operate successfully in several post offices; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the establishment of similar seniority principles among postal workers and other federal employees; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That in accord with this endorsement support be given the Luecke Seniority Bill pending before Congress which will establish a general seniority standard.

Urging Legislation to Establish Recognition of Seniority Among Postal Employees

Resolution No. 39—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Proper recognition of seniority among postal employees promotes the morale of the service; and

WHEREAS, Sentiment among the post office employees throughout the country is strongly in favor of the establishment of seniority by law; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record endorsing a Bill which provides for the recognition of seniority of service in promotions and assignments of clerks in first and second class post offices; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

These two resolutions deal with the same subject, one which has been an objective of postal employees for many years.

Your committee recommends adoption of Resolution No. 36.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution 37 by striking out the second whereans, which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, that very fact tends to destroy any further efforts on the part of the employee to become more efficient in his work, since no material reward can be forthcoming; therefore be it"

The amended resolution would then read:

Proposing Legislation to Provide for Pay Increases on Longevity Service

Resolution No. 37—By Delegate Reuben G.

Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under the present system, a clerk who has reached the highest automatic grade has little chance of receiving any further advancement; and

RESOLVED, That we the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, approve a Longevity Pay Bill, which provides an increase of \$100 at the end of 10 years' service and \$100 increase every five years thereafter; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The principle of longevity pay, that is, periodic increases as a reward for long and efficient service, is in effect in many employments, notably in the military and naval services of the Government itself. Legislation to extend the same conditions to postal employees was introduced as early as 1928 by Representative James M. Mead of New York, now chairman of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads of the House of Representatives.

The second "Whereas" of this resolution is misleading. Longevity pay is a form of reward for long and efficient service. In the postal service efficiency is essential to retention in the service and experience necessarily increases the efficiency of the employee and the value of his service. We recommend that the second "Whereas" be eliminated and that the resolution, as amended, be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Efficiency Rating System, Post Office Employees

Resolution No. 38—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The new efficiency rating system has demonstrated in its operation that it is inherently dangerous to the welfare of the post office employees, in that it has caused the withholding of automatic promotions, and threatened many employees with reduction in salary grade; and

WHEREAS, It is a potential danger to organization activities, in that it may be used to intimidate active organization workers; and

WHEREAS, This system could easily be used as a weapon against the employees in two ways, as a wage cut and a speed-up; and

WHEREAS, Although this system contains

certain improvements its dangers as seen in actual operation, far outweigh its benefits; and

WHEREAS, The National Executive Board of the N. F. P. O. C. has already seen fit to suggest certain revisions in the said system; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record in favor of the following amendments to the efficiency rating system:

1. That the term "cooperation," in view of its vagueness and indefiniteness of definition and application, be eliminated as a factor.

2. That section 37 of the said system, relating to the minimum percentages necessary to maintain grade and for automatic promotion, be stricken out and a new section be substituted therefor, requiring a minimum of 50 per cent to maintain grade and a minimum of 60 per cent to advance into the next automatic grade

3. That section 41 be amended to read: "Any employee should also be considered for removal whose total rating is 30 per cent or less at the annual rating period."

And, be it further

RESOLVED, That in the event all efforts to persuade the Department to revise the rating system along the lines proposed above fail, that the National Officers of the N. F. P. O. C. be directed to draft and introduce in the next session of Congress, appropriate legislation carrying out the intent of this resolution; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

This resolution is aimed at liberalization of the efficiency rating system in the postal service. While the committee was in sympathy with its objective it is not in proper form for presentation to this convention as it provides for direction to the officers of a constituent organization on matters that are purely its own.

We therefore recommend that the resolution be referred to the organization concerned.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 40 and 41.

Substitute Workers in Postal Service

Resolution No. 40—By Delegate James A. Taylor, Washington State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Under present conditions a substitute in the Postal Service has to work an ind-finite period before being appointed to a regular position; and

WHEREAS, During this period he must work under very irregular conditions, his tour of duty sometimes is a span of 14 to 17 hours; and

WHEREAS, The uncertainty of how many hours and how much money he will make imposes an additional hardship upon him; and

WHEREAS, He must qualify on postal examinations the same as a regular and performs the same type of work as a regular without receiving any increase in compensation, regardless of the length of time he is a substitute; and

WHEREAS, The substitutes in the postal service are perhaps the only group of employees in the classified Civil Service who do not receive sick leave and vacation; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That it is the wish of the delegates to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor that this condition of employment be remedied by the passage in the National Congress of the following bill:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That substitute post office clerks, substitute city delivery carriers, substitute railway postal clerks, and substitute laborers in the postal service, after one year of 1,912 hours from date of appointment as a substitute, shall be advanced to the entrance grade and automatically advanced \$100 each year of 1,912 hours to the top grade, or until appointment as a regular employee, credit on the basis of one year for each unit of 1,912 hours of actual service performed as a substitute, and shall be appointed to the grade to which such employee would have progressed had his original appointment been to grade 1, and, in the advancement of substitutes to the grades provided, credit shall be given for past Civil Service. With respect to the advancement to the grade of senior substitute, time elapsed prior to the enactment of this act shall be counted, but no back pay shall be allowed in connection with such advancement for any service prior to the enactment of this act.

Section 2. All substitutes mentioned above shall be granted 15 days' annual leave with pay and ten days' sick leave with pay for each year of 1,912 hours from date of appointment as a substitute, a day's pay constituting eight hours at the prevailing rate.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That this bill be submitted to the National Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor urging that every effort be made to secure the introduction and passage of this Bill at the next meeting of Congress.

Conditions of Employment of Substitute Clerks of U. S. Post Office

Resolution No. 41—By Delegate Reuben C. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The length of time spent in substitute service by a clerk entering the postal service is many years longer than in the past and is constantly increasing; and

WHEREAS, Substitute clerks are required to perform the same duties as regular clerks; and

WHEREAS, These substitutes do not have the advantages of Sunday and holidays off with compensatory time, and the other advantages such as vacation and sick leave; and

WHEREAS, Their pay remains the same throughout their substitute period; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, go on record favoring the enactment of legislation based on the following proposed substitute bill:

1. That substitute Post Office clerks, after one year of 1,912 hours from date of appointment as a substitute shall be advanced to the entrance grade (\$1,700) and automatically advanced \$100 each year of 1,912 hours to the top grade (\$2,100) or until appointed a regular clerk.

2. All substitute clerks shall be granted 15 days annual leave with pay and 10 days sick leave with pay for each year of 1,912 hours.

3. All substitute post office clerks shall be considered employees of the post office immediately upon the enactment of the bill.

These resolutions deal with the same subject and the Committee recommends that resolution No. 41 be amended as follows: In the first "Resolve" strike out "Illinois State Federation of Labor"; and insert "American Federation of Labor"; strike out the second "Resolve."

As amended your Committee recommends the adoption of Resolution No. 41 in lieu of all resolutions on this subject.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 42 by striking out the words "Illinois State" in the first resolve, and inserting in lieu thereof the word "America," and by striking out the second resolve. The amended resolution reads:

Overtime Pay for Post Office Clerks for Study Time Required to Memorize Post Office Names

Resolution No. 42—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Post office clerks in order to handle the mails efficiently, accurately and rapidly, are required to memorize difficult schemes of distribution involving thousands of post office names, on which they must attain maximum efficiency; and

WHEREAS, All this scheme study must be performed by post office clerks on their own time, which constitutes overtime without pay; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record favoring legislation to provide a time allowance be given for scheme study.

The committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging Court of Appeals for Government Employees

Resolution No. 52—By Delegate Reuben G. Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There is an urgent need for a law granting employees the right of appeal from the judgment of officials in cases involving removal from the service, reduction in salary or other severe disciplinary action; and

WHEREAS, Injustices may frequently be inflicted upon postal employees in the absence of such protective measures; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Illinois State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, go on record as favoring the immediate enactment of a Court of Appeals Law; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That this resolution be introduced in the coming convention of the American Federation of Labor.

The committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Extension of the Civil Service System to Include the Special Delivery Messengers of the Postal Service

Resolution No. 91—By Delegate Geo. L. Warfel, National Association of Special Delivery Messengers.

WHEREAS, It is our belief that an equitable merit system for all Government employees, as exemplified by the classified civil service, is the only system guaranteeing efficient and loyal service to the Government and just employment conditions to employees; and

WHEREAS, The Special Delivery Messengers of the Postal service are unclassified, and it is the desire of the Brotherhood of the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers to obtain for their membership a civil service classification as Special Delivery Messengers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in this, its 58th Annual Convention unqualifiedly endorse such legislation as will give to the Special Delivery Messengers such civil service classification; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to cooperate with the National Association of Special Delivery Messengers in their efforts to secure through legislation or executive order, such extension of the classified civil service.

This resolution is in line with repeated declarations of this Federation in favor of extension of the benefits of the classified

Civil Service to all regular employees of the U. S. Government occupying positions not of a policy-forming nature.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee amended Resolution No. 118 in the first "Resolve," by striking out all after the words "five days per week" in the fifth line, and inserting in lieu thereof the words, "and that no rural carrier shall be reduced in pay because of adjustment of route, and be it further."

The amended resolution reads:

Proposing Legislation to Improve Standards of Employment of Rural Mail Carriers

Resolution No. 118, by Delegate Frank W. Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers.

WHEREAS, A large number of Rural Mail Carriers are required to work excessively long and overburdened hours, some as high as twelve hours per day, six days per week, with no pay for overtime for hours in excess of the long hours mentioned, at all kinds of basic salaries upon the unfair mileage basis; and

WHEREAS, Rural Mail Carriers are required to transfer from one city to another against their wishes in order that rural routes may be consolidated; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse the proposed legislation that no Rural Mail Carrier shall be required to work more than eight hours per day, five days per week and that no rural carrier shall be reduced in pay because of adjustment of route; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Fifty-eighth Convention of the American Federation of Labor endorse proposed legislation that no Rural Mail Carrier be transferred from one city to another against his wishes in order to consolidate rural routes.

With this amendment, the committee recommends adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the report of the committee.

Delegate Meyer, National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers: I rise to support the report of the committee and also to acquaint the delegates of the convention with some of the unfair existing working conditions now within the rural delivery service. Under the present law rural letter carriers are paid according to the number of miles they serve, whereas hours of duty are

no object. Because of this fact it is very unfair to a large number of rural mail carriers throughout the country. It has resulted in reduction of a great number of rural routes.

In 1926 there were approximately 45,000 rural routes in this country. In 1933 that force had been reduced to 42,000 rural routes. Up to this time the reduction has been brought down to a total of 32,000 rural routes, and the fact of the matter is that these 32,000 rural routes still in existence serve approximately 116,000 more miles than the 42,000 rural routes did and several thousand more rural patrons.

Because of these conditions it has developed to a point where a large number of rural mail carriers are compelled to work from ten to twelve hours per day six days per week. It also has resulted to a point where one group of rural mail carriers have been able to serve a route of sixty miles within eight hours, and another group will be compelled to serve a 60-mile route requiring 12 hours per day, both receiving the same amount of basic salary.

The National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers maintains, as has been said by a number of Congressmen, that it is a contradiction of sound logic for our government to establish laws relating to workers in private industry, and at the same time compel its own employees to work long and excessive hours. We believe that while our country is seeking a way to spread employment, the world's largest business, the postal service, should not compel its own employees, particularly the rural letter carriers, to work long and over-burdened hours.

We must open up new avenues of employment and provide available jobs for all those willing to work. Therefore, we maintain that the shortening of the work week and limiting the day to eight hours justifies us in introducing this bill.

We had a bill of this type introduced in the 1937 session of Congress. The Chairman of the House Post Office Committee submitted and asked for a report from the Postmaster General's office. This bill stipulated to limit the work day of a rural carrier to eight hours per day, with a five-day week. A report came back, as we have received a copy, that the Postmaster General's office had given an unfavorable report on this piece of legislation. Therefore, as a part of the American

Federation of Labor we appeal for the help of that organization to have it enacted at the next session of Congress.

In order to acquaint the delegates with some of the excessively long hours I am going to read one or two of the instances that I have on hand, and the balance I will file with the Secretary to be entered in the record.

Part 1: State of Texas, 53 miles, 1,403 boxes, 2,888 families; average number of hours on duty per day 13, per week 78.

Part 2: Indiana—52 miles, 900 boxes, 1,074 families; 12 hours per day, 72 hours per week.

Following is the table of statistics referred to by Delegate Meyer, which he asked to have inserted in the record:

Tabulation of a Few of the Large Number of Rural Routes Throughout the United States Showing Hours of Official Duty While 40 Hours Per Week Is the Maximum for All Other Civil Service Postal Employees.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Texas	53	1403	2888	13	78
Indiana	52	900	1074	12	72
Wisconsin	56.7	1010	1125	10	60

In addition this carrier hires and pays, at his expense, assistance for 2 hours each day.

California	42	810	....	11½	69
Washington	34	675	986	11	66
Indiana	43.2	925	2500	11	66
California	34	630	912	11	66
California	40	535	831	11	66
Wisconsin	34.50	435	618	9	54

In addition this carrier hires and pays, at his expense, assistance for 2 hours each day.

California	49	651	809	11	66
Ohio	42	521	614	11	66
California	42.25	895	973	10½	64½
California	49.25	800	....	10½	63
Washington	60.25	730	900	10½	63
New York	37.25	654	703	10½	63
California	74	625	800	10	60
New Mexico	45	724	1200	10	60

In addition this carrier hires and pays, at his expense, assistance certain days each month.

Ohio	46.75	509	631	10	60
Ohio	44.85	588	718	10	60
Ohio	35.5	505	578	10	60
Ohio	38	610	685	10	60
New York	26.78	620	830	10	60
Oregon	36	384	418	10	60
Wisconsin	45.10	1087	1208	10	60
Wisconsin	48	780	900	10	60

In addition this carrier hires and pays assistance, 2½ hours a day, about 8 days a month.

Ohio	48	500	600	10	60
New Jersey	34	595	1200	10	60
Washington	40	684	1000	10	60
New York	41.75	611	812	10	60

Washington ...	43	340	519	9½	57
Wisconsin	47.15	550	702	9½	57
Pennsylvania ..	44.32	637	1086	9½	57
Pennsylvania ..	38	551	667	9½	57
Pennsylvania ..	43	480	650	9½	57
Pennsylvania ..	29	708	744	9½	57
Pennsylvania ..	37	830	1150	9½	57
Wisconsin	49	880	1245	9½	57
Wisconsin	33.42	820	1000	9½	57
Wisconsin	45.75	825	893	9½	57
Oregon	50.95	394	424	9½	57
Pennsylvania ..	30.49	530	700	9½	57
Michigan	36	645	825	9½	57
Washington	30.15	875	1057	9½	56
California	54.29	292	310	9	54½
Colorado	31.06	675	750	9	54
Washington	47	462	550	9	54
Wisconsin	45	796	1200	9	54
Wisconsin	49.95	450	525	9	54
Oregon	33	467	535	9	54
Washington	38	900	1000	9	54
Texas	49	782	1130	9½	55½
Texas	60	818	1339	9	54
Texas	64	800	1362	9	54
Washington	39	618	815	9	54
California	37	560	690	9	54
California	48	690	745	9	54
California	48	690	745	9	54
Minnesota	45	450	530	9	54
New York	37	475	500	9	54
Pennsylvania ..	36.64	498	637	9	54
Washington	40.95	425	500	9	54
New Mexico	38	506	....	9	54
New Jersey	30	567	707	9	54
Ohio	40	485	580	9	54
Massachusetts ..	54.17	444	742	8½	52
Ohio	41	380	385	8½	51
Missouri	35	525	800	8½	51
New Jersey	31.35	458	535	8½	51
Washington	44.3	570	690	8½	51
Washington	38.5	750	900	8½	51
Washington	31.5	665	871	8½	51
Ohio	40.70	600	....	8½	51
California	40.58	746	1241	8½	50
Indiana	56	510	517	8½	50
New Jersey	19.25	647	1082	8½	49½
Massachusetts ..	50.6	334	586	8 1-10	49
Michigan	29.95	602	769	8	48
Michigan	29	595	722	8	48
Indiana	75	....	....	8	48
Ohio	27.29	430	601	8	48
Pennsylvania ..	27.4	337	825	8	48
Washington	52.5	440	560	8	48
Wisconsin	26	619	916	8	48
Wisconsin	47	300	330	8	48
Oregon	35	425	655	8	48
New Jersey	26.90	424	730	8	48
Missouri	29.95	325	570	8	48
Texas	40	500	1300	8	48
New Jersey	36	570	800	8	48
New Jersey	37.28	512	799	8	48
North Carolina ..	58.56	410	700	8	48
North Carolina ..	65.67	297	428	8	48
North Carolina ..	56	285	428	8	48
North Carolina ..	65.85	418	551	8½	49½
Ohio	35	555	680	8	48
Ohio	38	410	435	8	48
Massachusetts ..	47.98	329	577	7 5-6	47
Washington	53.65	410	550	7½	46½
California	40	685	750	7½	45
California	70	695	1050	7½	45
California	36	350	382	7½	45
Minnesota	28.1	360	418	7½	45
North Carolina ..	54.29	321	412	7½	45
Ohio	26.7	337	370	7½	45
Ohio	44.05	535	650	7½	45

Tabulation of Rural Routes—Continued

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Wisconsin	48.85	354	362	7½	45
New Jersey	26.25	421	632	7½	45
New Jersey	29.25	350	440	7½	46
California	38	270	....	7	42
Idaho	33	320	344	7	42
Oregon	30	277	290	7	42
Wisconsin	52	279	321	7	42
Ohio	44	375	412	7	42
Maryland	24.57	600	1378	7	42
North Carolina	65.25	228	339	7	42

Above hours of duty given do not include time necessary for vehicle care.

(1) Routes out of; (2) Miles; (3) Boxes; (4) Families; (5) Average No. of hours on duty in Oct.-Nov., 1937, per day; (6) Average No. of hours on duty in Oct.-Nov., 1937, per week.

Delegate Meyer (continuing): This piece of legislation will correspond with the working conditions of all other civil service employees. We, the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, are very happy that all other civil service employees have a five day, forty-hour week, and we feel that we, too, who are civil service employees, are entitled to the same working conditions, especially where the country is seeking a way to provide employment and attempting to shorten the hours for workers in industry.

We have in this country another rural carrier organization known as the National Rural Letters Carriers Association. That organization, at its recent national convention, has not taken any steps to propose legislation to alter the unfair conditions which now exist within the rural delivery service. We therefore believe that when we come with this piece of legislation before Congress in this coming session, we will have to contend with opposition from this rural letter carriers' organization, but I want to say here now that the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers, combined with the American Federation of Labor and all other postal employees affiliated with it, will be able to defeat the action and the contentions of that organization in the halls of Congress. Therefore, I would urge all of the rural carriers within the United States who believe that the National Association of Rural Letter Carriers is not fighting for their interests to come into the modern, fighting champions for the rural carriers, the National Federation of Rural Letter Carriers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Appointments to Annapolis Naval Academy from Among Sons of Employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad

Resolution No. 43—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, In 1934, the Congress of the United States approved an amendment to then pending legislation providing for an appointment by the Governor of the Panama Canal to the Military Academy at West Point from among the sons of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, There will be introduced in the next session of Congress a similar bill providing for appointments by the Governor to the Naval Academy at Annapolis; and

WHEREAS, It is highly desirable that young United States citizens from the Canal Zone be allowed this representation in the two academies; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to assist and further legislation that will be before the next session of Congress, which will provide for appointments to the Naval Academy by the Governor of the Panama Canal from among sons of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor for legislation authorizing the Governor of Panama Canal to make appointments to the Annapolis Naval Academy from among the sons of employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad.

Your committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Saturday Half Holiday for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 44—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, On March 3, 1931, an act was passed which provided as follows:

"That on and after the effective date of this act, four hours, exclusive of the time for luncheon, shall constitute a day's work on Saturday throughout the year, with pay or earnings for the day the same as on other days when full time is worked."

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad on the Isthmus were specifically excluded from the provisions of this act of 1931, together with employees of the Department of the Interior, and the Postal Service; and

WHEREAS, Approximately two-thirds of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad employees have never enjoyed this Saturday half holiday; and

WHEREAS, In the interim, both the postal employees in the United States and the employees of the Department of the Interior have been brought under the provisions of this act by legislation or executive order, leaving the Panama Canal as the only agency originally excluded from the benefits of the act, which has not been brought within its provisions to date; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees included in the Act of March 3, 1931, by executive order.

This resolution requests the support of the American Federation of Labor in securing the benefits of the Act of March 3, 1931, to employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad through an Executive Order.

Your committee recommends its adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Shorter Work Week for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 45—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Section 23 of the Independent Offices Appropriation Act, 1935 (Thomas Amendment) provides a forty-hour week with no reduction in salary for certain employees of the United States Government; and

WHEREAS, Employees of the Panama Railroad, not being considered employees of the United States Government, have not been allowed the advantages of the forty-hour week; and

WHEREAS, Less than half of the Panama Canal employees receive the forty-hour week; less than one-third of the total number of employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; and

WHEREAS, Realizing the limitation placed on the application of the shorter work week, legislation has been proposed providing for the shorter work week to all government employees alike; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor make every effort to have the shorter work week, not to exceed forty hours per week and with no reduction in salary applied to all the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama.

This resolution asks the cooperation of the American Federation of Labor in securing for the employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad a work-week of not more than forty hours without reduction in pay.

Your committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Wage Differential for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 46—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Existing law provides for employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad a differential up to 25 per cent over rates paid for similar work in the United States; and

WHEREAS, All the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad except policemen, firemen, school teachers, and postal employees receive this differential in pay; and

WHEREAS, There seems to be no satisfactory reason why these employees should not receive equal consideration for their labor with the other employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor assist in every way possible in obtaining the full differential for all the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad.

This resolution requests assistance in securing for employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad the twenty-five per cent additional compensation authorized by existing law.

The committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 47 and 82, which are as follows:

Employment of American Citizens on Panama Canal Work

Resolution No. 47—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, On August 15, 1938, employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad approximated 13,000 and of this number 3,000 were citizens of the United States and 9,000 were alien subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to three aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,000 aliens in the Canal and Railroad organizations, occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions,

which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries with whom we might conceivably be at war to injure or destroy the canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, A bill to provide for the employment of American citizens in skilled positions on the Panama Canal has been pending in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, as follows:

"Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"That within five years from the effective date of this act all positions of artisan, baggagemaster, baker, blacksmith, blueprinter, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, calker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (air compressor), operator (crane), operator (motorboat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, power shovel, concrete pavers, and dragline operators, printer, riveter, salesman, secretary (clubhouse), signalman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water tender, and wheelwright, on the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be filled by American citizens, on the gold roll, compensated in accordance with wage policies in effect on the effective date of this act"; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to have the above mentioned alien bill introduced and endeavor to have it passed during the next session of Congress.

Urging Enactment of Bill Providing That American Citizens Shall Be Employed for Skilled Work on Panama Canal.

Resolution No. 82.—By Delegates William J. Bowen, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran and Edward L. Nolan, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has spent vast sums of money in the construction and operation of the Panama Canal; and

WHEREAS, Funds are appropriated yearly to provide for the operation and maintenance of the Canal; and

WHEREAS, Such funds should be spent as far as practicable to provide employment for American citizens; and

WHEREAS, On August 15, 1937, employees of the Panama Canal and the Panama Rail-

road approximated 13,000, and of this number 3,000 were citizens of the United States and 9,000 were aliens—subjects of European nations, an approximate ratio of one United States citizen to three aliens; and

WHEREAS, There are more than 3,000 aliens in the Canal and Railroad organizations, occupying skilled or semi-skilled positions which should be held by United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, There are now millions of workers in the United States who are unemployed; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal is an important part of our system of national defense, vastly increasing the sailing radius of our naval vessels; and

WHEREAS, In time of war attempts might be made by citizens of foreign countries with whom we might conceivably be at war to injure or destroy the Canal, it is therefore essential that all positions of responsibility be filled by American citizens; and

WHEREAS, A bill to provide for the employment of American citizens in skilled positions on the Panama Canal has already been introduced in the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, as follows:

Be It Enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

"That within five years from the effective date of this Act all positions of artisan, baggagemaster, baker, blacksmith, blue printer, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, caulker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (air compressor), operator (crane), operator (motor boat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, printer, riveter, salesman, secretary (club house), signalman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water tender, and wheelwright in the employ of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Company on the Isthmus of Panama, shall be filled by American citizens, on the gold roll, compensated in accordance with wage policies in effect on the effective date of this act," therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the officers of the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union request the American Federation of Labor have the above mentioned alien bill introduced and endeavor to have it passed during the next session of Congress.

These two resolutions are practically identical in their import and request support of legislation to prohibit the employment of other than citizens of the United States by the Panama Canal and the Panama Railroad Company. A specific legislative proposal is outlined in which numerous trades and occupations are listed. Your Committee has been informed of the omission of several groups and therefore recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Committee with instructions to so amend the proposal as to include all employees of the Panama Canal

and the Panama Railroad and as so amended endeavor to secure its enactment.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 48 and 84, which are as follows:

Employment of American Citizens by the U. S. Army and Navy and Contractors for Work on the Isthmus of Panama

Resolution No. 48—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, The United States Government has expended huge sums of money to provide adequate means of defending the Panama Canal from attack by land or sea; and

WHEREAS, Millions of dollars will be expended from time to time in the extending and improvement of these defense works and the operation and maintenance thereof; and

WHEREAS, All money appropriated for this purpose should be expended in benefiting through employment and otherwise, citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is no legislation providing for the employment of citizens of the United States only, in skilled and semi-skilled positions in the construction and maintenance of these enormous and elaborate defense works and reservations; and

WHEREAS, We believe that legislation should be passed prescribing that the following positions be filled by American citizens by the Army and Navy in all maintenance, operation, construction and contract work on the Panama Canal: artisan, baggagemaster, baker, blacksmiths, blueprinter, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, calker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter office helper, oiler, operator (crane), operator (telephone), policeman, operator (motorboat), operator (pump), power shovel, concrete pavers, and dragline operators, printer, riveter, salesman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Legislative Committee to introduce and aid a bill during the next session of Congress providing that no person other than citizens of the United States shall be employed (in the positions outlined above) by the United States Army or the United States Navy or contractors, directly or otherwise, in any of its or their departments or branches in connection with the work on the Isthmus of Panama.

Employment of American Citizens by the U. S. Army and Navy and Contractors for Work on the Isthmus of Panama.

Resolution No. 84—By Delegates William J. Bowden, Harry C. Bates, Richard J. Gray, John J. Stretch, William J. Moran and Ed-

ward L. Nolan, Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America.

WHEREAS, the U. S. Government has expended huge sums of money to provide adequate means of defending the Panama Canal from attack by land or sea; and

WHEREAS, Millions of dollars will be expended from time to time in the extending and improvement of these defense works and the operations and maintenance thereof; and

WHEREAS, All money appropriated for this purpose should be expended in benefiting through employment and otherwise, citizens of the United States; and

WHEREAS, There is no legislation providing for the employment of citizens of the United States only, in skilled and semi-skilled positions in the construction and maintenance of these enormous and elaborate defense works and reservations; and

WHEREAS, We believe that legislation should be passed prescribing that the following positions be filled by American citizens by the Army and Navy in all maintenance, operation, construction and contract work on the Panama Canal: Artisan, baggage master, baker, blacksmith, blue printer, boatswain, brakeman, butcher, captain, carpenter, caulker, compositor, cook, checker, chauffeur, engineer, fireman, foreman, money counter, office helper, oiler, operator (crane), operator (motor boat), operator (pump), operator (telephone), policeman, printer, riveter, salesman, steward, storeman, tailor, teacher, upholsterer, vulcanizer, water-tender, and wheelwright; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union of America request the Legislative Committee of the American Federation of Labor to introduce and aid a bill during the next session of Congress providing that no person other than citizens of the United States shall be employed in the positions outlined above by the United States Army or the United States Navy or contractors, directly or otherwise, in any of its or their departments or branches in connection with the work on the Isthmus of Panama.

These two resolutions, nearly identical in text, ask the support of the American Federation of Labor in securing legislation prohibiting the employment of other than American citizens on work on the Isthmus of Panama by the U. S. Army, the U. S. Navy, or contractors in connection with work on the Isthmus of Panama.

It has been called to the attention of the committee that in the listing of trades and positions to which it would apply, some important groups were omitted. The committee recommends that the "Resolve" of Resolution No. 48 be amended by striking out the words "in the positions outlined above," making it read as follows:

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor instruct its Legislative Committee to introduce and aid

a bill during the next session of Congress providing that no person other than citizens of the United States shall be employed by the United States Army or the United States Navy or contractors, directly or otherwise, in any of its or their departments or branches in connection with the work on the Isthmus of Panama.

We recommend that Resolution No. 48, as amended, be adopted.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Twenty-Five Year Optional Retirement and Widows Annuity for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad Employees

Resolution No. 49—By Delegate John P. Frey, Metal Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Climatic conditions incident to employment on the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad are very rigorous due to the high temperature, great humidity and the actinic rays of the tropical sun; and

WHEREAS, The effects of such a climate on the health of white men, women and children are accumulative and as they grow older in the service their resistance is undermined; and

WHEREAS, Congress during the last session passed a bill reducing the period of service for military personnel from three to two years because of the climatic conditions said to be most undesirable in all military tropical service; and

WHEREAS, Large numbers of employees now entering the service of the government on the Panama Canal are of such an age as will require them to work more than 30 years in the tropics to reach the present retirement age of sixty-two; and

WHEREAS, Several bills have been introduced in recent sessions of Congress providing for a reduction in the years of service when completing retirement and extending certain benefits to widows; and

WHEREAS, The Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees do not come under the provision of the Civil Service retirement acts but have a special retirement law approved March 1, 1937, and incorporated in the Canal Zone Code June 19, 1934; and

WHEREAS, Any retirement legislation sponsored by the American Federation of Labor should include the employees of the Panama Canal and Panama Railroad on the Isthmus of Panama, and provide for optional retirement at 55 years of age, twenty-five years of service, and with full annuity; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this convention of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to support during the next session of Congress any measure supported by the Canal Zone Central Labor Union providing for an earlier retirement age with full annuity and extension of these benefits to widows.

This resolution requests support of legis-

lation lowering the optional retirement age for Panama Canal and Panama Railroad employees and extension of the benefits of the retirement act to widows.

Your committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Urging State Laws to Regulate Night Work of Women in Enameling Industry

Resolution No. 28—By Delegate Edward J. Winter, Stove Mounters' International Union.

WHEREAS, There are no laws on the statute books of the various States governing the working hours of women working between the hours of midnight and 7 a.m.; and

WHEREAS, Number of Enamel Plants are working their female help between these hours, and we further believe, that this is injurious to their health; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates of this convention go on record promoting legislation in their various States and State Federations of Labor to do all in their power to abolish this vicious condition; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the International Union do everything in their power to promote the passage of such legislation through the State Federation of Labor that do not at the present time have such laws.

We are calling this to the attention of the delegates and officers that every force of energy that can be brought to bear to bring about such legislation as we propose above.

This resolution requests the co-operation of all delegates, and State Federations of Labor in securing the enactment of state laws to regulate the working hours of women in the enameling industry.

Your committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Disapproving "Patman Bill" for Taxation of Chain Stores

Resolution No. 86—By Delegate I. M. Ornburn, Union Label Trades Department, American Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, There has been introduced in Congress a bill (H. R. 9464), 75th Congress, Third Session, otherwise known as the "Patman Bill," providing for a steeply pyramiding series of license taxes on chain stores graduated from \$50 per store for chains of 15 or less stores to \$1,000 per store for chains with 500 or more stores and further providing that such tax shall be multiplied by the number of states in which such chains operate; and

WHEREAS, The intention of re-introducing this bill has been announced; and

WHEREAS, The object of this proposed punitive tax is not the raising of revenue but the openly stated destruction of one form of retail distribution for the benefit of other forms; and

WHEREAS, The destruction of chain store operation which would result from this proposed law would dislocate upwards of one million wage earners, many, and an increasing number of whom, are members of organized labor, and have an immediate effect on living costs; be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor does go on record as condemning and disapproving the Patman Bill and all forms of taxation, which prostitute the taxing power of the government to a weapon for the destruction of worthy enterprises by business rivals.

By order of the Convention of the Union Label Trades Department.

The convention has already taken action concerning a resolution authorizing and directing the Executive Council to make a study of taxation with reference to taxes of a discriminatory and punitive character. It is the opinion of the committee that the Patman Bill, to which this resolution refers, is of that character.

The object of the bill is, as stated, to be the destruction of one big form of retail distribution, that commonly called the chain store system. Chain stores employ directly upwards of 300,000 workers. Indirectly, through the printing, teaming, building and various manufacturing industries, they employ a number which can be estimated as well within the statement of the resolution of 1,000,000.

Destruction of chain store operation would disturb and dislocate the employment and working conditions of all those directly and indirectly employed. Thousands of these workers are members of organized labor. The number of agreements with chain store companies shows a rapid increase so that the time is in sight when the retail trade industry will be fully unionized.

Aside from the interests of the very large number of wage earners involved, are the interests of the entire population as consumers. Chain store operation results in lower prices of the necessities of life. If these prices are the result of the exploitation of labor, the remedy lies through the vigorous and successful campaign now going on for their unionization. If they are made possible through unfair trade practices, abundant legislation already exists for the correction of these practices and further safeguards can be provided as the need is developed.

Labor clearly realizes that it cannot obstruct the growth of technological efficiency. It is our function to see that the wage earners and the public receive their share of such improvements in better working conditions and lower prices and better quality of product.

Your committee believes that the so-called Patman Bill runs in direct opposition to the entire trend of modern industrial development and of established policy on the part of the public and of organized labor.

It therefore recommends that the resolution be referred to the Executive Council for such action as it deems proper in connection with the tax study authorized by the previous resolution.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Amendments to U. S. Employment Service Act and Social Security Act to Place Administration of Public Employment Offices and Unemployment Insurance Under U. S. Department of Labor

Resolution No. 109.—By Delegate C. E. Westbrook, Central Labor Union, El Paso and vicinity, Texas.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor has for many years advocated and sponsored a system of public employment offices for the purpose of rendering a placement service for unemployed persons; and has advocated and sponsored a system of unemployment insurance for unemployed workers; and

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor supported the passage of the Wagner-Payser Act, the Social Security Act, and the various state laws, creating our present system of public employment offices and unemployment compensation, and has seen therein the enactment into law of many of the principles for which it has earnestly labored; and

WHEREAS, It is provided by law that the Wagner-Payser Act be administered by the United States Employment Service and that the Social Security Act be administered by the Social Security Board; and

WHEREAS, The Social Security Board, in order to provide facilities for the payment of unemployment compensation benefits to insured workers, finances to this extent the administrative expenses of the public employment offices out of funds provided for the administration of unemployment insurance; and

WHEREAS, Because of the restriction of Social Security Board funds to insured workers, the services of the public employment offices have been so contracted and are being so restricted that the millions of uninsured workers in this country who are not touched

by unemployment insurance are in grave danger of being wholly deprived of the use, benefits, and services of the public employment offices; and

WHEREAS, This system of financing has created an unsatisfactory condition recognized by the Congressional Sub-Committee on Appropriations in a report dated February 17, 1938, which report stated in part: "If proper accounting and congressional control is to be exercised it appears that a remedy must be afforded by amending the law in order that all funds used in connection with the Employment Service in the States should clear through one sub-committee on appropriation and be expended by one administrative agency"; and

WHEREAS, The resulting confusion and dissatisfaction is now undermining and weakening, if not actually destroying, the effectiveness of the entire system of public employment offices through the failure of the present system to give the same sympathetic attention and service to the uninsured worker that is now being given to the insured worker; and

WHEREAS, The public employment services and unemployment insurance affect the daily employment of the millions of workers in this country; now therefore, be it

RESOLVED, By the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Houston, Texas, October 3, 1938:

1. That the Wagner-Payser Act and the Social Security Act be so amended as to place the administration of the public employment offices and of unemployment insurance both in and under the United States Department of Labor as two coordinate and equal divisions therein under the direction of an assistant Secretary of Labor; and

2. That the funds appropriated by the Congress for grants to states for the maintenance of the public employment offices be in such amount as will provide employment service facilities to all workers in this country without regard to the unemployment insurance status of such workers and that these funds be earmarked for this purpose alone; and

3. That the funds appropriated by the Congress for grants to states for the administration of unemployment compensation laws be in such amount as will provide insurance facilities for the insured workers, and that these funds be earmarked for this purpose alone; and, be it further

RESOLVED, That the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor be instructed to furnish copies of this Resolution to the President of the United States, the Secretary of Labor, the Chairman of the Social Security Board, and to each Member of Congress.

This resolution asks for support of amendments to the Wagner-Payser U. S. Employment Service Act and the Social Security Act to place the administration of the Employment System and the Unemployment Insurance under the jurisdiction of the Department of

Labor and to extend the benefits of unemployment insurance to all workers.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for investigation and appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

The committee reported jointly upon Resolutions Nos. 111 and 112, as follows:

Favoring Compulsory Health Insurance

Resolution No. 111—By Delegate Tom Nickola, California State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Health is of primary importance to every wage earner and his family; and

WHEREAS, President Roosevelt has recognized this need and the failure of existing facilities to properly care for the bulk of the people of the nation, and called a National Health Conference in Washington, D. C., July 18-20, 1938; and

WHEREAS, The deliberations of this conference made it plain that there is need of legislation which will enable every worker of any means to benefit from the many advancements of medical science in the preserving and restoring of health, particularly families with small incomes; and

WHEREAS, Medical surveys show that there is a direct relationship between income and need for medical care, and that those having smaller incomes are unable to get adequate care; and

WHEREAS, More than 1,000,000,000 work days are lost annually, and the industrial worker carries the greater part of the expense from this loss; and

WHEREAS, There is a growing interest in and need for a national plan of social insurance or socialized medicine throughout the nation; and

WHEREAS, The Thirty-ninth Annual Convention of the California State Federation of Labor, in regular session assembled in Santa Barbara, California, September 19-23, 1938, gave full study and consideration to a number of proposals on this subject and did concur in them with the full realization of the need for such a plan; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That this Fifty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, assembled in Houston, Texas, go on record as favoring the principle of compulsory health insurance with cooperative payments by the National Government, State, employer and employee on whatever equitable basis is determined upon by the proper governmental agencies; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention urge upon all members of the Congress of the United States the passage of legislation at the next session that will put such a health plan into operation on a national basis.

Condemning Opposition of American Medical Association to Health Group Insurance

Resolution No. 112—By Delegate Henry Ohl, Jr., Wisconsin State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, Sickness with its attendant drain on the resources of the workers and a cutoff of income at the same time is one of the greatest hardships always confronting the workers; and

WHEREAS, The average individual worker is in no position to adequately meet this hardship and to provide for a full measure of medical care for himself and family under the usual conventional methods; and

WHEREAS, Workers realizing this condition have through their labor organizations endeavored to promote health insurance, co-operative medical service and prepaid budget plan service but such efforts on the part of labor have met with the obstinate opposition of the Medical Societies and Associations; and

WHEREAS, One example of such opposition has come from the Medical Society of Milwaukee County which expelled the Doctors associated with the Milwaukee Medical Center and has through its members barred these Doctors from the use of the facilities of most Milwaukee hospitals; and

WHEREAS, The American Medical Association has used similar pressure methods on hospitals in many cities; and

WHEREAS, Such pressure methods to bar workers, who want to use a prepared budget plan for their medical needs, from hospitals is unfair and anti-social; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor in convention assembled, September 21 to 24, 1938, condemn the methods used by the Medical Society of Milwaukee County and the American Medical Association, and that we direct the legislative committee of the Federation to intensify the drive for health insurance and the legislation enacted which would prevent hospitals from unfairly discriminating against Doctors who operate on a collective basis; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we direct our delegates to the American Federation of Labor to introduce and work for a resolution which will place the American Federation of Labor on record for the inclusion of health insurance as a part of Social Security Legislation.

These resolutions request the support of the American Federation of Labor to the effort to establish for all workers compulsory health insurance in the form of medical and hospital facilities on terms making them available to all workers.

Your committee recommends that these resolutions be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to investigate this subject and to take such steps in furtherance of the objective as seems appropriate.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Proposing Amendment to Wage and Hour Law to Regulate Employment of Alien Workers

Resolution No. 123—By Delegate Andrew S. McBride, Texas State Federation of Labor.

WHEREAS, American labor must look for its "Protection Tariff" to laws restricting the admission into the United States of alien labor from abroad and laws giving American labor preference in the matter of jobs over such aliens; and

WHEREAS, The primary function of our Government is to safeguard the welfare and interests of its nationals at home and abroad; and

WHEREAS, It appears that a permanent situation of unemployment exists in our country and from recent press dispatches that a movement is now on foot to establish unemployed United States citizens in the Republic of Brazil; and

WHEREAS, Before any such drastic and far-reaching action is taken it appears everything possible should be done to provide gainful employment for United States citizens in their native or adopted land; and

WHEREAS, Other nations, notably the Republic of Mexico, have legislatively recognized the fairness and equity of providing employment for their nationals in preference to those who owe allegiance to other countries; and

WHEREAS, In the United States a survey will disclose that many United States citizens are unemployed while aliens are gainfully employed; and

WHEREAS, In many cases the standard of living of such aliens is considerably lower than that of the United States citizens in the same line of work, resulting in unfair competition because of the lower wages for which such aliens will work; and

WHEREAS, Recent legislation has provided a "floor" for wages and a "ceiling" for hours; and

WHEREAS, It appears that this legislation and the benefits thereof will accrue to American labor fully ONLY to the extent that jobs are made available which are now held by aliens; now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Wage and Hour Bill be amended to provide as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the Act entitled Wage and Hour Bill be amended as hereinafter set forth.

Six months after the passage of this amendment, it shall be unlawful for any employer to have in his employ (except in agriculture or in the domestic services) in connection with any enterprise or any department or division thereof, over five per centum (5%) of persons who are not citizens of the United States.

Pursuant to regulations prescribed by the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization and approved by the Secretary of Labor, all persons not citizens of the United States

shall be registered and their fingerprint records secured within six months following the passage of this Act and it shall be unlawful for any such person to fail to register or for another to advise such person to not register or to aid or abet any such alien in his failure to so register.

It shall be unlawful for any alien crossing from foreign contiguous territory to perform any class of labor in the United States, except that aliens coming from such foreign contiguous territory in pursuance of and incidental to employment abroad may be permitted to perform such incidental labor in the United States but only to the extent that same cannot be performed without seriously interfering with international commerce by workers entitled to perform labor in the United States.

Immediately following the passage hereof each employer affected hereby shall submit report of the aliens employed by him to the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the latter with the approval of the Secretary of Labor.

It shall be unlawful for any person knowingly to harbor or conceal an alien illegally in the United States or employed in violation of the provisions of this Act.

Any person who shall violate the provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a felony and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than five thousand dollars (\$5,000.00) or by imprisonment for a term of not more than five years, or both, such fine and imprisonment.

This Act, except as otherwise provided, shall take effect and be enforced immediately upon passage.

The appropriation of such sums as may be necessary for the enforcement of this Act are hereby authorized.

If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any person or circumstances, is held invalid, the remainder of the Act shall not be affected hereby.

This resolution urges amendment of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, commonly called the Wages and Hours Law, to restrict the employment of aliens and proposes a specific bill for introduction in the next Congress.

Your committee recommends that this resolution be referred to the Executive Council for consideration and appropriate action.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Anti-Lynching Bill

Resolution No. 10.—By Delegates A. Philip Randolph, M. P. Webster, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

WHEREAS, In the last half century, some 5,000 or more persons have been the victims

of lynching in the United States of America, some of whom have been white and women; and

WHEREAS, Lynching harks back to the brutal methods of the barbarian and savage, and constitutes a blot, a stigma and a shame and disgrace upon a so-called civilized country, and earns the condemnation and scorn of all civilized peoples; and

WHEREAS, Convention after convention, together with the Executive Council and President William Green of the American Federation of Labor, has made definite and sharp declarations against this national evil and inhuman practice, and that there is a growing enlightened sentiment in the South against this horror; and, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor express its unqualified condemnation of lynching and mob terror, and denounces the Southern filibuster in the United States Senate against the Wagner-Van Nuys-Gavagan Anti-Lynching Bill, as opposed to and in contravention of all democratic procedure and practice, preventing, as it were, through physical force and a blocking process, the will of the people from being heard and registered, and calls upon the Congress to enact a law to wipe out lynching.

This resolution requests reaffirmation of the position of the American Federation of Labor in favor of legislation to wipe out lynching and denounces the filibuster in the last session of Congress which prevented a vote.

Your Committee recommends adoption.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted.

Delegate George, Secretary of the Committee: This completes the report of the Committee on Legislation, which is signed by the following members:

I. M. ORNBURN, Chairman
LEO E. GEORGE, Secretary
EMANUEL KOVELESKI
B. M. JEWELL
C. L. ROSEMUND
C. M. HARVEY
JAMES M. DUFFY
RICHARD J. GRAY
JAMES T. MORIARTY
M. J. REILLY
CHARLES I. STENGLE
THOS. V. GREEN
JOSEPH DRALEY
M. T. FINNAN
ARNOLD S. ZANDER
DON M. BURROWS
CHRISTIAN MADSEN
HENRY STERNAU
DAVID BEHNCKE
WM. H. HARRIS
Committee on Legislation.

Secretary George moved the adoption of the report of the Committee on Legislation as a whole. The motion was seconded and carried by unanimous vote.

President Green: The committee is discharged with the thanks of the convention.

FINAL REPORT, COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Secretary Frey, Chairman of the Committee, submitted the following report:

Resolution of Thanks

Resolution No. 138—By Committee on Resolutions.

WHEREAS, The organized labor movement of the City of Houston has entertained the convention in a splendid and most hospitable manner; and

WHEREAS, We have been mindful of the active cooperation of the press of the city and the Nation; and

WHEREAS, The citizens of the city and state have cooperated in all efforts to make our stay here most pleasant, comfortable, and memorable; and

WHEREAS, The delegates and visitors to this convention have been extended all possible courtesy and assistance by the highest city and state officials during our stay here; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the 58th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor in this way extends to our fellow trade unionists of Houston, to the people of the city, the officials of the city and state governments, and to the press, our most sincere and hearty thanks for their generous hospitality and their untiring efforts to make this a most successful convention.

The resolution was adopted by the unanimous vote of the convention.

PRESIDENT GREEN'S CLOSING STATEMENT

President Green: Now, we have completed the work of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention. All the convention committees have submitted their final report. All of the reports of the committees have been acted upon. The Chair expresses deep appreciation of the service rendered by all the convention committees. They are discharged with the thanks of the convention.

I express to the delegates in attendance at this convention my sincere thanks for the splendid cooperation they have given the Chair in the administration of the work of the convention. I know we shall go back to our homes with our faith renewed and our expression of loyalty and devotion again repeated to the American Federation of Labor. We shall go back as happy warriors in a great cause, determined that the American Federation of Labor shall win and shall triumph.

I thank you all for your attendance at this convention and I wish for you a happy and safe return to your homes.

And now, in this solemn moment I officially declare the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor adjourned sine die.

At 7:40 o'clock Thursday, October 13, 1938, the Fifty-Eighth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was adjourned sine die.

Frank Morrison.

Secretary-Treasurer,
American Federation of Labor.

James O. Hubbard

Assistant Secretary of Convention.

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